

# Totemism and Exogamy

A Treatise on Certain Early Forms  
of Superstition and Society

BY

J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D., F.B.A.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE  
PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. I

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED  
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1910

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*La pauvre humanité est ainsi faite qu'elle n'obtient le bien qu'au prix du mal, la vérité qu'en traversant l'erreur.*

E. RENAN, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*,  
livre iv. chapitre vii.

179112

TO

MY WIFE

TO WHOSE ENCOURAGEMENT AND INSPIRATION

I OWE MORE THAN I CAN TELL

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

AS A MEMORIAL

OF LOVE AND GRATITUDE



## PREFACE

THE man who more than any other deserves to rank as the discoverer of totemism and exogamy was the Scotchman John Ferguson McLennan. It was not that he was the first to notice the mere existence of the institutions in various races nor even that he added very much to our knowledge of them. But with the intuition of genius he perceived or divined the far-reaching influence which in different ways the two institutions have exercised on the history of society. The great service which he rendered to science was that he put the right questions ; it was not that he answered them aright. He did indeed attempt, with some confidence, to explain the origin of exogamy, but his explanation is probably erroneous. On the origin of totemism he did not even speculate, or, if he did, he never published his speculations. To the last he appears to have regarded that problem as unsolved, if not insoluble.

While McLennan's discovery of exogamy attracted attention and excited discussion, his discovery of totemism made comparatively little stir, and outside of a small circle of experts it passed almost unnoticed in the general world of educated opinion. The very few writers who touched on the subject contributed little to its elucidation. For the most part they contented themselves with repeating a few familiar facts or adding a few fresh theories ; they did not attempt a wide induction on the basis of a systematic collection and classification of the evidence. Accordingly, when in the

year 1886 my revered friend William Robertson Smith, a disciple of McLennan's, invited me to write the article on totemism for the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which was then in course of publication under his editorship, I had to do nearly the whole work of collection and classification for myself with very little help from my predecessors. The article which embodied my researches having proved somewhat too long for its purpose, an abridgment of it only was inserted in the *Encyclopædia*; but through Robertson Smith's friendly mediation Messrs. A. & C. Black kindly consented to publish the original article, unabridged and unchanged, in the form of a small volume. The book comprised little more than a classified collection of facts, for when I wrote it I had as yet formed no theory either of totemism or of exogamy. However, the new evidence which it contained appears to have been welcome to students of primitive man; for since the appearance of the volume in 1887 totemism has received a large, perhaps exorbitant, share of their attention; the literature of the subject, which was extremely scanty before, has swollen enormously in volume; and, better than all, there has been a large accession of facts observed and recorded among living totemic tribes by competent scientific investigators. As the little book has long been out of print and is still, I am told, in demand, I decided to reprint it; and it now occupies the first place in these volumes. The errors which subsequent research has revealed in it are generally not very serious. Such as they are, the reader will find them corrected in the Notes appended to the last volume, in which I have also been careful to retrench the boundaries of totemism wherever, in the first ardour of exploration, I had pushed them too far. I beg the reader, therefore, to read the "Notes and Corrections" throughout in connection with my original treatise.

Having decided to reprint *Totemism* I resolved to add

to it by way of supplement some essays which in the meantime I had written on the subject. The main purpose of these essays, which appeared in *The Fortnightly Review* for the years 1899 and 1905, was to direct attention to the great importance of the discoveries of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia and to point out the necessity of revising and remodelling our old ideas of totemism and exogamy in the light of the new evidence. My judgment as to the need of that revision has never wavered since, but it is only after many years of study that I have come to see how thoroughgoing that revision must be if our conceptions are to square with the facts. Holding this view I felt that to reprint *Totemism* without noticing discoveries which had, in my opinion, revolutionised the whole aspect of the subject, would be unpardonable; hence my decision to add the essays in question as an appendix to the reprint. They now occupy the second place in this work. Like the original *Totemism* they are republished without any change except the addition of a marginal summary. Such corrections and modifications of them as subsequent reflection and increased knowledge have suggested will be found in the Notes appended to the last volume.

This was all that at first I proposed to do; for my intention had long been to defer writing a larger treatise on totemism until the whole totemic harvest should have been reaped and garnered; and moreover at the time, a little more than two years ago, I was deeply engaged in other work which I was unwilling to interrupt. To-day the totemic harvest still stands white to the sickle in many fields, but it may be left for others hereafter to see the sheaves brought home. My sun is westering, and the lengthening shadows remind me to work while it is day. Be that as it may, having begun with a notice of the new Australian evidence I thought I could hardly pass over in silence the additions which had been made to our know-

ledge of totemism in other parts of the world, and thus insensibly, step by step, I was led into writing the Ethnographical Survey of Totemism which now forms the great bulk of this book. Its aim is to provide students with what may be called a digest or corpus of totemism and exogamy, so far as the two institutions are found in conjunction. I have taken pains to compile it from the best sources, both published and unpublished, so far as these were accessible, to the rigid exclusion of all such as appeared to me to be of dubious or less than dubious authority. The facts are arranged in ethnographical order, tribe by tribe, and an attempt has been made to take account of the physical environment as well as of the general social conditions of the principal tribes which are passed in review. In this way I have sought to mitigate the disadvantages incidental to the study of any institution viewed abstractedly and apart from the rest of the social organism with which it is vitally connected. Such abstract views are indeed indispensable, being imposed by the limitations of the human mind, but they are apt to throw the object out of focus, to exaggerate some of its features, and to diminish unduly others which may be of equal or even greater importance. These dangers cannot be wholly avoided, but they may be lessened by making our study as concrete as is compatible with the necessary degree of abstraction. This accordingly I have attempted to do in writing the Survey.

My account of the facts would be very much more imperfect than it is, had it not been for the liberal assistance which I have received from experts, who have freely imparted to me of their knowledge, generously permitting me in many cases to make use of unpublished information. Amongst those to whom I am indebted for help of various kinds I desire particularly to thank: for Australia, Professor Baldwin Spencer and the late Dr. A. W. Howitt; for New Guinea, Dr. C. G. Seligmann; for Melanesia and Polynesia,

the Rev. George Brown, D.D., and especially Dr. W. H. R. Rivers; for India, Mr. J. D. Anderson, Mr. W. Crooke, Colonel P. R. T. Gurdon, Sir Herbert Risley, and Mr. Edgar Thurston; for Africa, the Hon. K. R. Dundas, Mr. C. W. Hobley, Mr. A. C. Hollis, Mr. T. A. Joyce, the Rev. H. E. Maddox, Mr. H. R. Palmer, the Rev. John Roscoe, and Mr. N. W. Thomas. My gratitude above all is due to my valued friend the Rev. John Roscoe, formerly of the Church Missionary Society, for the great generosity with which he has placed all the stores of his unrivalled knowledge of Central African tribes, especially of the Baganda, unreservedly at my disposal for the purposes of this work. If my account of Central African totemism contains not a little that is new and instructive, it is to him chiefly that I owe it. For America, I desire to return my grateful thanks to the authorities of the Bureau of American Ethnology, the Smithsonian Institution, the American Museum of Natural History at New York, and the Field Columbian Museum at Chicago, who have liberally supplied me with many valuable publications which have been of the greatest assistance to me in my work. Nor would I omit to mention my gallant correspondent, the late Captain J. G. Bourke, of the United States Cavalry, who in the intervals of his arduous professional duties devoted much time to studying and describing with the pen the Indians whom he had fought with the sword.

My primary subject is totemism, and I have treated of exogamy for the most part only so far as it occurs in conjunction with totemism; for the two institutions not only differ but overlap, each of them being sometimes found without the other. Tribes which are exogamous without being totemic do not properly fall within the scope of the book; but I have noticed a few of them, such as the Todas in India and the Masai in Africa, either on the ground of their association with totemic tribes or because their social system presents some features of special interest. However,

I must request the reader to bear constantly in mind that the two institutions of totemism and exogamy are fundamentally distinct in origin and nature, though they have accidentally crossed and blended in many tribes. The distinction was for the first time placed in a clear light by the epoch-making researches of Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia, which proved that the exogamous class is a totally different social organisation from the totemic clan and not, as we had previously inclined to suppose, a mere extension of it. Still more recently the same sharp line between totemism and exogamy has been detected by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers in the Banks' Islands, where the natives have pure totemism and pure exogamy, existing side by side, without the one institution exercising the least influence upon the other. That example should finally set at rest the doubt whether exogamy is or is not a necessary feature of true totemism. If the reader will only remember that the two things, though often conjoined, are really distinct and independent, he will escape many perplexities and much confusion of thought in tracing the history of their relations to each other in the following pages.

Inseparably connected with exogamy is the classificatory system of relationship, and accordingly I have treated it as an integral part of my subject. The discovery of that remarkable system, which is now known to obtain throughout a large part of the human race, was the work of the great American ethnologist L. H. Morgan alone. In spite of its apparent complexity the system originated very simply. A community was bisected into two exogamous and intermarrying groups, and all the men and women were classified according to the generation and the group to which they belonged. The principle of the classification was marriageability, not blood. The crucial question was not, Whom am I descended from? but, Whom may I marry? Each class no doubt included blood relations, but

they were placed in it not on the ground of their consanguineous but of their social relationship to each other as possible or impossible husbands and wives. When the custom of group marriage had been replaced by individual marriage, the classificatory terms of relationship continued in use, but as the old group rights fell into abeyance the terms which once expressed them came more and more to designate ties of blood and affinity in our sense of the words. Hence in most races of the world the classificatory system of relationship now survives only as a social fossil testifying to a former condition of exogamy and group marriage which has long passed away.

Having completed the survey of totemism, exogamy, and the classificatory system of relationship I have endeavoured in the last volume to mark the place which the institutions occupy in the history of society, to discuss some theories of their origin, and to state those which I believe to be true or probable. That my conclusions on these difficult questions are final, I am not so foolish as to pretend. I have changed my views repeatedly, and I am resolved to change them again with every change of the evidence, for like a chameleon the candid enquirer should shift his colours with the shifting colours of the ground he treads. All I can say is that the conclusions here formulated are those which I have at present reached after a careful consideration of all the facts known to me. I have not discussed the vexed question of totemism in classical and Oriental antiquity. With the evidence at our disposal the problem hardly admits of a definite solution, and in any case an adequate discussion of it would require a treatise to itself.

In estimating the part played by totemism in history I have throughout essayed, wherever the occasion offered, to reduce within reasonable limits the extravagant pretensions which have sometimes been put forward on behalf of the

institution, as if it had been a factor of primary importance in the religious and economic development of mankind. As a matter of fact the influence which it is supposed to have exercised on economic progress appears to be little more than a shadowy conjecture; and though its influence on religion has been real, it has been greatly exaggerated. By comparison with some other factors, such as the worship of nature and the worship of the dead, the importance of totemism in religious evolution is altogether subordinate. Its main interest for us lies in the glimpse which it affords into the working of the childlike mind of the savage; it is as it were a window opened up into a distant past.

Exogamy is also a product of savagery, but it has few or none of the quaint superstitions which lend a certain picturesque charm to totemism. It is, so to say, a stern Puritanical institution. In its rigid logic, its complex rules, its elaborate terminology, its labyrinthine systems of relationship, it presents an aspect somewhat hard and repellent, a formality almost mathematical in its precision, which the most consummate literary art could hardly mollify or embellish. Yet its interest for the student of history is much deeper than that of its gayer and more frivolous sister. For whereas totemism, if it ever existed among the ancestors of the civilised races, has vanished without leaving a trace among their descendants, exogamy has bequeathed to civilisation the momentous legacy of the prohibited degrees of marriage.

However the two institutions may have survived into higher planes of culture, both of them have their roots in savagery, and the intrinsic interest of their study is enhanced by the circumstances of the age in which we live. Our contemporaries of this and the rising generation appear to be hardly aware that we are witnessing the last act of a long drama, a tragedy and a comedy in one, which is being silently played, with no fanfare of trumpets or roll of drums,

before our eyes on the stage of history. Whatever becomes of the savages, the curtain must soon descend on savagery for ever. Of late the pace of civilisation has so quickened, its expansion has become so beyond example rapid, that many savage races, who only a hundred years ago still led their old life unknown and undisturbed in the depth of virgin forests or in remote islands of the sea, are now being rudely hustled out of existence or transformed into a pathetic burlesque of their conquerors. With their disappearance or transformation an element of quaintness, of picturesqueness, of variety will be gone from the world. Society will probably be happier on the whole, but it will be soberer in tone, greyer and more uniform in colouring. And as savagery recedes further and further into the past, it will become more and more an object of curiosity and wonder to generations parted from it by an impassable and ever-widening gulf of time. Its darker side will be forgotten, its brighter side will be remembered. Its cruelties, its hardships, its miseries will be slurred over ; memory will dwell with delight on whatever was good and beautiful, or may seem to have been good and beautiful, in the long-vanished life of the wilderness. Time, the magician, will cast his unfailing spell over these remote ages. An atmosphere of romance will gather round them, like the blue haze which softens into tender beauty the harsher features of a distant landscape. So the patriarchal age is invested for us with a perennial charm in the enchanting narratives of Genesis and the Odyssey, narratives which breathe the freshness of a summer morning and glisten as with dewdrops in the first beams of the rising sun of history.

It is thus that by some strange witchery, some freak of the fairy imagination, who plays us so many tricks, man perpetually conjures up for himself the mirage of a Golden Age in the far past or the far future, dreaming of a bliss that never was and may never be. So far as the past is

concerned, it is the sad duty of anthropology to break that dream, to dispel that mirage, to paint savagery in its true colours. I have attempted to do so in this book. I have extenuated nothing, I have softened nothing, and I hope I have exaggerated nothing. As a plain record of a curious form of society which must soon be numbered with the past, the book may continue to possess an interest even when, with the progress of knowledge, its errors shall have been corrected and its theories perhaps superseded by others which make a nearer approach to truth. For though I have never hesitated either to frame theories which seemed to fit the facts or to throw them away when they ceased to do so, my aim in this and my other writings has not been to blow bubble hypotheses which glitter for a moment and are gone; it has been by a wide collection and an exact classification of facts to lay a broad and solid foundation for the inductive study of primitive man.

J. G. FRAZER.

CAMBRIDGE,  
27th February 1910.

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# TOTEMISM

*Reprinted from the First Edition, Edinburgh 1887*



## TOTEMISM

A TOTEM is a class of material objects which a savage <sup>Totem defined.</sup> regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between him and every member of the class an intimate and altogether special relation. The name is derived from an Ojibway (Chippeway) word *totem*, the correct spelling of which is somewhat uncertain. It was first introduced into literature, so far as appears, by J. Long, an Indian interpreter of last century, who spelt it *totam*.<sup>1</sup> The form *toodaim* is given by the Rev. Peter Jones, himself an Ojibway;<sup>2</sup> *dodaim* by Warren<sup>3</sup> and (as an alternative pronunciation to totem) by Morgan;<sup>4</sup> and *ododam* by Francis Assikinack, an Ottawa Indian.<sup>5</sup> According to the abbé Thavenet<sup>6</sup> the word is properly *ote*, in the sense of "family or tribe," possessive *otem*, and with the personal pronoun *nind otem* "my tribe," *kit otem* "thy tribe." In English the spelling *totem* (Keating, James, Schoolcraft,<sup>7</sup> etc.) has become established by custom. The connection <sup>Connection between a man and his totem.</sup> between a man and his totem is mutually beneficent; the totem protects the man, and the man shows his respect for the totem in various ways, by not killing it if it be an

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter*, p. 86, London, 1791.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Ojibway Indians*, London, 1861, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> "History of the Ojibways," in *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, vol. v. (St. Paul, Minn., 1885) p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Society*, p. 165.

<sup>5</sup> See *Academy*, 27th Sept. 1884, p. 203.

<sup>6</sup> In J. A. Cuoq's *Lexique de la*

*langue Algonquine* (Montreal, 1886), p. 312. Thavenet admits that the Indians use *ote* in the sense of "mark" (limited apparently to a family mark), but argues that the word must mean family or tribe.

<sup>7</sup> *Expedition to Itasca Lake*, New York, 1834, p. 146, etc. Petitot spells it *todem* in his *Monographie des Dènè-Dindjé*, p. 40; but he writes *otémisme* in his *Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-ouest*, p. 446.

animal, and not cutting or gathering it if it be a plant. As distinguished from a fetich, a totem is never an isolated individual, but always a class of objects, generally a species of animals or of plants, more rarely a class of inanimate natural objects, very rarely a class of artificial objects.

Considered in relation to men, totems are of at least three kinds:—(1) the clan totem, common to a whole clan, and passing by inheritance from generation to generation; (2) the sex totem, common either to all the males or to all the females of a tribe, to the exclusion in either case of the other sex; (3) the individual totem, belonging to a single individual and not passing to his descendants. Other kinds of totems exist and will be noticed, but they may perhaps be regarded as varieties of the clan totem. The latter is by far the most important of all; and where we speak of totems or totemism without qualification, the reference is always to the clan totem.

The clan totem.

Totemism both a religious and a social system.

*The Clan Totem.*—The clan totem is revered by a body of men and women who call themselves by the name of the totem, believe themselves to be of one blood, descendants of a common ancestor, and are bound together by common obligations to each other and by a common faith in the totem. Totemism is thus both a religious and a social system. In its religious aspect it consists of the relations of mutual respect and protection between a man and his totem; in its social aspect it consists of the relations of the clansmen to each other and to men of other clans. In the later history of totemism these two sides, the religious and the social, tend to part company; the social system sometimes survives the religious; and, on the other hand, religion sometimes bears traces of totemism in countries where the social system based on totemism has disappeared. How in the origin of totemism these two sides were related to each other it is, in our ignorance of that origin, impossible to say with certainty. But on the whole the evidence points strongly to the conclusion that the two sides were originally inseparable; that, in other words, the farther we go back, the more we should find that the clansman regards himself and his totem as beings of the same species, and the less he distinguishes between conduct towards his totem and towards

his fellow-clansmen. For the sake of exposition, however, it is convenient to separate the two. We begin with the religious side.

**Totemism as a Religion, or the Relation between a Man and his Totem.**—The members of a totem clan call themselves by the name of their totem, and commonly believe themselves to be actually descended from it. Totemism as a religion. —

Thus the Turtle clan of the Iroquois are descended from a fat turtle, which, burdened by the weight of its shell in walking, contrived by great exertions to throw it off, and thereafter gradually developed into a man.<sup>1</sup> The Bear and Wolf clans of the Iroquois are descended from bears and wolves respectively.<sup>2</sup> The Cray-Fish clan of the Choctaws were originally cray-fish and lived underground, coming up occasionally through the mud to the surface. Once a party of Choctaws smoked them out, and, treating them kindly, taught them the Choctaw language, taught them to walk on two legs, made them cut off their toe nails and pluck the hair from their bodies, after which they adopted them into the tribe. But the rest of their kindred, the cray-fish, are still living underground.<sup>3</sup> The Carp clan of the Outaouaks are descended from the eggs of a carp which had been deposited by the fish on the banks of a stream and warmed by the sun.<sup>4</sup> The Ojibways are descended from a dog.<sup>5</sup> The Crane clan of the Ojibways are descended from a pair of cranes, which after long wanderings settled on the rapids at the outlet of Lake Superior, where they were transformed by the great spirit into a man and woman.<sup>6</sup> The Black Shoulder clan (a Buffalo clan) of the Omahas were originally buffaloes and dwelt under the surface of the water.<sup>7</sup> The Osages are descended from a male snail and a female beaver. The snail burst his shell, developed arms, feet, and legs, and Belief in the descent of people from their totems.

<sup>1</sup> *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1883, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York* (London, 1823), iv. p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Callin, *North American Indians*, ii. p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses*, Paris, 1781, vi. p. 171.

<sup>5</sup> A. Mackenzie, *Voyages through*

*the Continent of North America*, p. cxviii; Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 118. So with the Kaniagnuts, Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 404 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Morgan, *Anc. Soc.*, p. 180.

<sup>7</sup> *Third Ann. Rep. of Bur. of Ethnol.*, Washington, 1884, pp. 229, 231. Another Buffalo clan among the Omahas has a similar legend (*ib.* p. 233).

Belief in  
the descent  
of people  
from their  
totems.

became a fine tall man; afterwards he married the beaver maid.<sup>1</sup> The clans of the Iowas are descended from the animals from which they take their names, namely, eagle, pigeon, wolf, bear, elk, beaver, buffalo, and snake.<sup>2</sup> The Moquis say that long ago the Great Mother brought from the west nine clans in the form of deer, sand, water, bears, hares, tobacco-plants, and reed-grass. She planted them on the spots where their villages now stand and transformed them into men, who built the present pueblos, and from whom the present clans are descended.<sup>3</sup> The Californian Indians, in whose mythology the coyote or prairie-wolf is a leading personage, are descended from coyotes. At first they walked on all fours; then they began to have some members of the human body, one finger, one toe, one eye, etc., then two fingers, two toes, etc., and so on till they became perfect human beings. The loss of their tails, which they still deplore, was produced by the habit of sitting upright.<sup>4</sup> The Lenape or Delawares were descended from their totem animals, the wolf, the turtle, and the turkey; but they gave precedence to the Turtle clan, because it was descended, not from a common turtle, but from the great original tortoise which bears the world on its back and was the first of living beings.<sup>5</sup> The Haidas of Queen Charlotte Islands believe that long ago the raven, who is the chief figure in the mythology of the north-west coast of America, took a cockle from the beach and married it; the cockle gave birth to a female child whom the raven took to wife, and from their union the Indians were produced.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Schoolcraft, *The American Indians*, p. 95 sq.; Lewis and Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*, 8vo, London, 1815, i. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, iii. 268 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tri.*, iv. 86. With the Great Mother Mr. Morgan compares the female deity worshipped by the Shawnees under the title of "Our Grandmother" (*Anc. Soc.*, p. 179 n.).

<sup>4</sup> Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, iv. 224 sq., cf. v. 217; Boscana, in A. Robinson's *Life in California*, p. 298. Mr. Stephen Powers, perhaps the best

living authority on the Californian Indians, finds no totems among them (*Tribes of California*, p. 5). See, however, pp. 147, 199 of his work for some traces of totemism.

<sup>5</sup> Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Geological Survey of Canada, Report of Progress for 1878-79*, p. 149B sq.; F. Poole, *Queen Charlotte Islands*, p. 136; *Ausland*, 6th October 1884, p. 796. Among the neighbouring Thlinkets the raven (Jëshl) is rather a creator than an ancestor. See Holmberg, "Ethnographische Skizzen ueber die Voelker des russischen Amerika,"

Kutchin trace the origin of their clans to the time when all beasts, birds, and fish were people; the beasts were one clan, the birds another, and the fish another.<sup>1</sup> The Arawaks in Guiana assert that their clans are descended from the eponymous animal, bird, or plant.<sup>2</sup> Some of the aboriginal tribes of Peru (not the Inca race) were descended from eagles, others from condors.<sup>3</sup> Some of the clans of Western Australia are descended from ducks, swans, and other water fowl.<sup>4</sup> The Geawe-gal tribe in New South Wales believe that each man is akin to his totem in an unexplained way.<sup>5</sup> The Santals in Bengal, one of whose totems is the wild goose, trace their origin to the eggs of a wild goose.<sup>6</sup> In Senegambia each family or clan is descended from an animal (hippopotamus, crocodile, scorpion, etc.) with which it counts kindred.<sup>7</sup> The inhabitants of Funafuti or Ellice Island in the South Pacific believe that the place was first inhabited by the porcupine fish, whose offspring became men and women.<sup>8</sup> The Kalang, who have claims to be considered the aborigines of Java, are descended from a princess and a chief who had been transformed into a dog.<sup>9</sup> Some of the inhabitants of the islands Ambon, Uliase, Keisar (Makisar), and Wetar, and the Aaru and Babar archipelagoes, are descended from trees, pigs, eels, crocodiles, sharks, serpents, dogs, turtles, etc.<sup>10</sup>

Somewhat different are the myths in which a human ancestress is said to have given birth to an animal of the totem species. Thus the Snake clan among the Moquis

Descent of  
totem  
animals  
from  
women.

in *Acta Soc. Sc. Fennicae*, Helsingfors, iv. (1856) p. 292 sq.; Baer and Helmersen, *Beitr. zur Kenntn. des russ. Reiches*, i. p. 104. So with the wolf in North-West America; it made men and women out of two sticks (Baer and Helmersen, *op. cit.* i. 93). In Thlinket mythology the ancestor of the Wolf clan is said never to appear in wolf form (Holmberg, *op. cit.*, p. 293).

<sup>1</sup> Dall, *Alaska*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, pt. i. bk. i. chs. 9, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Sir George Grey, *Vocabulary of the Dialects of South-Western Australia*, pp. 29, 61, 63, 66, 71.

<sup>5</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 280.

<sup>6</sup> Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 209; *Asiat. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p. 76.

<sup>7</sup> *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iii. p. 396, v. p. 81.

<sup>8</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, p. 281.

<sup>9</sup> Raffles, *History of Java*, ed. 1817, i. p. 328.

<sup>10</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluit- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (The Hague, 1886), pp. 32, 253, 334, 414, 432.

Other  
myths ex-  
planatory  
of totem-  
ism.

of Arizona are descended from a woman who gave birth to snakes.<sup>1</sup> The Bakalai in Western Equatorial Africa believe that their women once gave birth to the totem animals; one woman brought forth a calf, others a crocodile, hippopotamus, monkey, boa, and wild pig.<sup>2</sup> In Samoa the prawn or cray-fish was the totem of one clan, because an infant of the clan had been changed at birth into a number of prawns or cray-fish.<sup>3</sup> In some myths the actual descent from the totem seems to have been rationalised away. Thus the Red Maize clan among the Omahas say that the first man of the clan emerged from the water with an ear of red maize in his hand.<sup>4</sup> A subclan of the Omahas say that the reason why they do not eat buffalo tongues and heads is that one of their chief men, while praying to the sun, once saw the ghost of a buffalo, visible from the flank up, rising out of a spring.<sup>5</sup> Two clans of Western Australia, who are named after a small species of opossum and a little fish, think that they are so called because they used to live chiefly on these creatures.<sup>6</sup> Some families in the islands Leti, Moa, and Lakor reverence the shark, and refuse to eat its flesh, because a shark once helped one of their ancestors at sea.<sup>7</sup> The Ainos of Japan say that their first ancestor was suckled by a bear, and that is why they are so hairy.<sup>8</sup>

Respect  
shown to  
totems:  
totem  
animals  
not killed  
nor eaten.

Believing himself to be descended from, and therefore akin to, his totem, the savage naturally treats it with respect. If it is an animal he will not, as a rule, kill or eat it. In the Mount Gambier tribe (South Australia) "a man does not kill or use as food any of the animals of the same subdivision with himself, excepting when hunger compels; and then they express sorrow for having to eat their *wingong* (friends) or *tumanang* (their flesh). When using the last word they touch their breasts, to indicate the close relationship, meaning almost a part of themselves. To illustrate:—One day one of the blacks killed a crow. Three or four

<sup>1</sup> Bourke, *Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Du Chaillu, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> E. James, *Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, London,

1823, ii. p. 48 sq.; *Third Ann. Rep. of Bur. of Ethnol.*, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> *Third Report*, p. 231.

<sup>6</sup> Grey, *Vocabulary*, 4, 95.

<sup>7</sup> Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 376 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Reclus, *Nouv. Géogr. Univ.*, vii. p. 755.

days afterwards a Boortwa (crow) named Larry died. He had been ailing for some days, but the killing of his *wingong* hastened his death."<sup>1</sup> Here the identification of the man with his totem is carried very far; it is of the same flesh with him, and to injure any one of the species is physically to injure the man whose totem it is. Mr. Taplin was reproached by some of the Narrinyeri (South Australia) for shooting a wild dog; he had thereby hurt their *ngaitye* (totem).<sup>2</sup> The tribes about the Gulf of Carpentaria greatly reverence their totems; if any one were to kill the totem animal in presence of the man whose totem it was, the latter would say, "What for you kill that fellow? that my father!" or "That brother belonging to me you have killed; why did you do it?"<sup>3</sup> Again, among some Australian tribes "each young lad is strictly forbidden to eat of that animal or bird which belongs to his respective class, for it is his brother."<sup>4</sup> Sir George Grey says of the Western Australian tribes that a man will never kill an animal of his *kobong* (totem) species if he finds it asleep; "indeed, he always kills it reluctantly, and never without affording it a chance to escape. This arises from the family belief that some one individual of the species is their nearest friend, to kill whom would be a great crime, and to be carefully avoided."<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Indians of British Columbia a man will never kill his totem animal; if he sees another do it, he will hide his face for shame, and afterwards demand compensation for the act. Whenever one of these Indians exhibits his totem badge (as by painting it on his forehead), all persons of the same totem are bound to do honour to it by casting property before it.<sup>6</sup> The Osages, who, as we have seen, believe themselves descended from a female beaver, abstained from hunting the beaver, "because in killing that animal they killed a brother of the Osages."<sup>7</sup> The Ojibways (Chippeways) do not kill, hunt, or eat their totems. An Ojibway

<sup>1</sup> Stewart, in Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, xiii. p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 303.

<sup>5</sup> Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia*, ii. p. 228.

<sup>6</sup> R. C. Mayne, *British Columbia*, p. 258.

<sup>7</sup> Lewis and Clark, i. p. 12.

Totem  
animals  
not killed  
nor eaten.

who had unwittingly killed his totem (a bear) described how, on his way home after the accident, he was attacked by a large bear, who asked him why he had killed his totem. The man explained, apologised, and was dismissed with a caution.<sup>1</sup> Being descended from a dog, the Ojibways will not eat dog's flesh, and at one time ceased to employ dogs to draw their sledges.<sup>2</sup> Some of the Indians of Pennsylvania would not kill the rattlesnake, because they said it was their grandfather, and gave them notice of danger by its rattle. They also abstained from eating rabbits and ground-hogs, because "they did not know but that they might be related to them."<sup>3</sup> The Damaras in South Africa are divided into totem clans, called "candas"; and according to the clan to which they belong they refuse to partake, *e.g.*, of an ox marked with black, white, or red spots, or of a sheep without horns, or of draught oxen. Some of them will not even touch vessels in which such food has been cooked, and avoid even the smoke of the fire which has been used to cook it.<sup>4</sup> The negroes of Senegambia do not eat their totems.<sup>5</sup> The Mundas (or Mundaris) and Oraons in Bengal, who are divided into exogamous totem clans, will not kill or eat the totem animals which give their names to the clans.<sup>6</sup> A remarkable feature of some of these Oraon totems is, that they are not whole animals, but parts of animals, as the head of a tortoise, the stomach of a pig. In such cases (which are not confined to Bengal) it is of course not the whole animal, but only the special part which the clansmen are forbidden to eat. Such totems may be distinguished as *split totems*. The Jagannáthi Kumhár in Bengal abstain from killing or injuring the totems of their respective clans

<sup>1</sup> J. Long, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> A. Mackenzie, *loc. cit.*; Bancroft, i. 118. The dog does not appear in the list of Ojibway totems given by Morgan (*A. S.*, p. 166) and P. Jones (*Hist. of Ojibway Indians*, p. 138).

<sup>3</sup> J. Heckewelder, "Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring States," in *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, Philadelphia, 1819, i. p. 245. This, combined with the mention of the ground-hog in the myths of their origin,

points, as Heckewelder observes, to a ground-hog tribe or clan (*ib.*, p. 244).

<sup>4</sup> C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 222 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iii. p. 396.

<sup>6</sup> Dalton, in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, New Series, vi. p. 36; *id.*, *Ethnol. of Bengal*, pp. 189, 254; *As. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p. 76. Among the Munda totems are the eel and tortoise; among the Oraons the hawk, crow, heron, eel, kerketar bird, tiger, monkey, and the leaves of the *Ficus Indicus*.

(namely tiger, snake, weasel, cow, frog, sparrow, tortoise), and they bow to their totems when they meet them.<sup>1</sup> The Badris, also in Bengal, may not eat of their totem, the heron.<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of Ambon Uliase, Keisar (Makisar), Wetar, and the Aaru and Babar archipelagoes may not eat the pigs, crocodiles, sharks, serpents, dogs, turtles, eels, etc., from which they are respectively descended.<sup>3</sup>

When the totem is a plant the rules are such as these. A native of Western Australia, whose totem is a vegetable, "may not gather it under certain circumstances and at a particular period of the year."<sup>4</sup> The Oraon clan, whose totem is the leaf of the *Ficus Indicus*, will not eat from the leaves of that tree (the leaves are used as plates).<sup>5</sup> Another Oraon clan, whose totem is the Kujrar tree, will not eat the oil of that tree, nor sit in its shade.<sup>6</sup> The Red Maize clan of the Omahas will not eat red maize.<sup>7</sup> Those of the people of Ambon and Uliase who are descended from trees may not use these trees for firewood.<sup>8</sup>

The rules not to kill or eat the totem are not the only taboos; the clansmen are often forbidden to touch the totem or any part of it, and sometimes they may not even look at it.

Amongst the Omaha taboos are the following. (1) The Elk clan neither eat the flesh nor touch any part of the male elk, and they do not eat the male deer.<sup>9</sup> (2) A subclan of the Black Shoulder (Buffalo) clan may not eat buffalo tongues nor touch a buffalo head (split totem).<sup>10</sup> (3) The Hanga clan is divided into two subclans, one of which may not eat buffalo sides, geese, swans, nor cranes, but they may eat buffalo tongues; the other may not eat buffalo tongues but may eat buffalo sides (split totems).<sup>11</sup> (4) Another subclan may not touch the hide of a black bear nor eat its flesh.<sup>12</sup> (5) The Eagle subclan, curiously enough,

<sup>1</sup> *As. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Dalton, *Ethnol. of Bengal*, p. 327.

<sup>3</sup> Riedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 253, 341, 414, 432.

<sup>4</sup> Grey, *Journals*, ii. 228 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Dalton, *Ethn. of Bengal*, p. 254; *As. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.*, 254; *id.*, in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, vi. p. 36; *As. Quart. Rev.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> E. James, *Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, ii. p. 48; *Third Rep. Bur. Ethnol.*, p. 231.

<sup>8</sup> Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>9</sup> James, *op. cit.*, ii. 47; *Third Rep.*, 225.

<sup>10</sup> *Third Rep.*, 231.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*, 235.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.*, 237.

Totem  
taboos  
among the  
Omahas.

may not touch a buffalo head.<sup>1</sup> (6) A Turtle subclan may not eat a turtle, but they may touch or carry one.<sup>2</sup> (7) Another clan may not touch verdigris.<sup>3</sup> (8) The Buffalo-Tail clan may not eat a calf while it is red, but they may do so when it turns black; they may not touch a buffalo head; they may not eat the meat on the lowest rib, because the head of the calf before birth touches the mother near that rib.<sup>4</sup> (9) The Deer-Head clan may not touch the skin of any animal of the deer family, nor wear moccasins of deer skin, nor use the fat of the deer for hair-oil; but they may eat the flesh of deer.<sup>5</sup> (10) A subclan of the Deer-Head clan had a special taboo, being forbidden to touch verdigris, charcoal, and the skin of a wild cat. According to others, the whole Deer-Head clan was forbidden to touch charcoal.<sup>6</sup> (11) Another clan does not eat a buffalo calf.<sup>7</sup> (12) Another clan does not touch worms, snakes, toads, frogs, nor any other kind of reptiles; hence they are sometimes called Reptile People.<sup>8</sup>

Totem  
taboos in  
India.

Of the totem clans in Bengal it is said that they "are prohibited from killing, eating, cutting, burning, carrying, using, etc.," the totem.<sup>9</sup> The Keriaks in India not only do not eat the sheep, but will not even use a woollen rug.<sup>10</sup> Similarly in ancient Egypt (a nest of totems) the sheep was revered and eaten by no one except the people of Wolf town (Lycopolis), and woollen garments were not allowed to be carried into temples.<sup>11</sup> Some of the Bengal totem taboos are peculiar. The Tirki clan of the Oraons, whose totem is young mice, will not look at animals whose eyes are not yet open, and their own offspring are never shown

<sup>1</sup> *Third Rep.*, 239. There seems to be a cross connection between the Eagles and the Buffaloes among the Omahas; for a subclan of the Buffalo clan (the Black Shoulder clan) had a series of eagle birth-names in addition to the buffalo birth-names common to the whole clan (*ib.*, 231 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 240. James (*op. cit.*, ii. 49) says they "do not touch turtles or tortoises."

<sup>3</sup> James, *loc. cit.*; *Third Rep.*, 241.

<sup>4</sup> James, *loc. cit.*; *Third Rep.*, 244.

<sup>5</sup> James, *loc. cit.*; *Third Rep.*, 245.

<sup>6</sup> *Third Rep.*, 245 sq. Verdigris

was thought to symbolise the blue sky.

<sup>7</sup> *Third Rep.*, 248.

<sup>8</sup> James, ii. 50; *Third Rep.*, 248.

<sup>9</sup> *As. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p. 75.

<sup>10</sup> V. Ball, *Jungle Life in India*, p. 89.

<sup>11</sup> Herod., ii. 42, 81; Plut. *Is. et Os.*, §§ 4, 72. Again the sheep was worshipped in Samos (Aelian, *N. A.* xii. 40; Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, 39); and Pythagoras, a native of Samos, forbade his followers to wear or be buried in woollen garments (Herod., ii. 81; Apuleius, *De Magia*, 56).

till they are wide awake.<sup>1</sup> Another Oraon clan objects to water in which an elephant has bathed.<sup>2</sup> A Mahili clan will not allow their daughters to enter their houses after marriage ; a Kurmi clan will not wear shell ornaments ; another will not wear silk ; another give children their first rice naked.<sup>3</sup>

The Bechuanas in South Africa, who have a well-developed totem system, may not eat nor clothe themselves in the skin of the totem animal.<sup>4</sup> They even avoid, at least in some cases, to look at the totem. Thus to a man of the Bakuena (Bakwain) or Crocodile clan, it is "hateful and unlucky" to meet or gaze on a crocodile ; the sight is thought to cause inflammation of the eyes. So when a Crocodile clansman happens to go near a crocodile he spits on the ground as a preventive charm, and says, "There is sin." Yet they call the crocodile their father, celebrate it in their festivals, swear by it, and make an incision resembling the mouth of a crocodile in the cars of their cattle as a mark to distinguish them from others.<sup>5</sup> The puti (a kind of antelope) is the totem of the Bamangwats, another Bechuana clan ; and to look on it was a great calamity to the hunter or to women going to the gardens.<sup>6</sup> The common goat is the sacred animal (totem?) of the Madenassana Bushmen ; yet "to look upon it would be to render the man for the time impure, as well as to cause him undefined uneasiness."<sup>7</sup>

A Samoan clan had for its totem the butterfly. The insect was supposed to have three mouths ; hence the Butterfly men were forbidden "to drink from a cocoa-nut shell water-bottle which had all the eyes or openings perforated. Only one or at the most two apertures for drinking were allowed. A third would be a mockery, and bring down the wrath of his butterflyship."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dalton, in *Tr. Ethnol. Soc.*, vi. 36. For the totem, *id.*, *Ethnol. of Bengal*, p. 254 ; *As. Quart. Rev.*, 76. The reason of the taboo is perhaps a fear of contracting blindness. Some North American Indians will not allow their children to touch the mole, believing that its blindness is infectious (J. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 133).

<sup>2</sup> *Tr. Ethnol. Soc.*, vi. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *As. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 211.

<sup>5</sup> Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 255 ; John Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, p. 135 n. ; Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 211.

<sup>6</sup> J. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, 391 sq. ; *cf. Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, xvi. p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> J. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, 135.

<sup>8</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, p. 76.

Cross  
totems,  
*i.e.* totems  
which  
comprise  
several  
distinct  
species.

*Cross Totems.*—Another Samoan clan had for its totem the ends of leaves and of other things. These ends were considered sacred, and not to be handled or used in any way. It is said to have been no small trouble to the clansmen in daily life to cut off the ends of all the taro, bread-fruit, and cocoa-nut leaves required for cooking. Ends of yams, bananas, fish, etc., were also carefully laid aside and regarded as being as unfit for food as if they had been poison.<sup>1</sup> This is an example of what may be called a cross totem, *i.e.* a totem which is neither a whole animal or plant, nor a part of one particular species of animal or plant, but is a particular part of all (or of a number of species of) animals or plants. Other examples of cross totems are the ear of any animal (totem of a Mahili clan in Bengal);<sup>2</sup> the eyes of fish (totem of a Samoan clan);<sup>3</sup> bone (totem of the Sauks and Foxes in North America);<sup>4</sup> and blood (totem of the Blackfoot Indians).<sup>5</sup> More exactly, such totems should be called cross-split totems; while the name cross totem should be reserved for a totem which, overstepping the limits of a single natural species, includes under itself several species. Examples of such cross totems are the small bird totem of the Omahas, the reptile totem of the Omahas,<sup>6</sup> and the big tree totem of the Sauks and Foxes.<sup>7</sup>

Totem  
animals fed  
or kept in  
captivity.

Sometimes the totem animal is fed or even kept alive in captivity. A Samoan clan whose totem was the eel used to present the first fruits of the taro plantations to the eels;<sup>8</sup> another Samoan clan fed the cray-fish because it was their totem.<sup>9</sup> The Delawares sacrificed to hares; to Indian corn they offered bear's flesh, but to deer and bears Indian corn; to fishes they offered small pieces of bread in the shape of fishes.<sup>10</sup> Amongst the Narrinyeri in South Australia men of the Snake clan sometimes catch snakes, pull out their teeth or sew up their mouths, and keep them as pets.<sup>11</sup> In a Pigeon clan of Samoa a pigeon was carefully kept and

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, 70.

<sup>2</sup> *As. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Morgan, *A. S.*, p. 170.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 171.

<sup>6</sup> *Third Rep.*, 238, 248.

<sup>7</sup> Morgan, *A. S.*, 170.

<sup>8</sup> Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, p. 77.

<sup>10</sup> Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren in North America*, i. p. 40; De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 95 sq.

<sup>11</sup> *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 63.

fed.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Kalang in Java, whose totem is the red dog, each family as a rule keeps one of these animals, which they will on no account allow to be struck or ill-used by any one.<sup>2</sup> Eagles are kept in cages and fed in some of the Moqui villages, and the eagle is a Moqui totem.<sup>3</sup> The Ainos in Japan keep eagles, crows, owls, and bears in cages, and show a superstitious reverence for them; the young bear cubs are suckled by the women.<sup>4</sup>

The dead totem is mourned for and buried like a dead clansman. In Samoa, if a man of the Owl totem found a dead owl by the road-side, he would sit down and weep over it and beat his forehead with stones till the blood flowed. The bird would then be wrapped up and buried with as much ceremony as if it had been a human being. "This, however, was not the death of the god. He was supposed to be yet alive, and incarnate in all the owls in existence."<sup>5</sup> The generalisation here implied is characteristic of totemism; it is not merely an individual but the species that is revered. The Wanika in Eastern Africa look on the hyæna as one of their ancestors, and the death of a hyæna is mourned by the whole people; the mourning for a chief is said to be as nothing compared to the mourning for a hyæna.<sup>6</sup> A tribe of Southern Arabia used to bury a dead gazelle wherever they found one, and the whole tribe mourned for it seven days.<sup>7</sup> The lobster was generally considered sacred by the Greeks, and not eaten; if the people of Seriphos (an island in the Aegean) caught a lobster in their nets they put it back into the sea; if they found a dead one, they buried it and mourned over it as over one of themselves.<sup>8</sup> At Athens any man who killed a wolf had to

Dead totem animals mourned and buried.

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Raffles, *Hist. of Java*, i. p. 328, ed. 1817.

<sup>3</sup> Bourke, *Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, pp. 252, 336.

<sup>4</sup> *J. A. I.*, ii. 252, 254; *id.*, iii. 239; Rein, *Japan*, i. 446 sq.; Siebold, *Ethnol. Stud. ueber die Ainos*, p. 26; Scheube, *Der Baerencultus und die Baerenfest der Ainos*, p. 44 sq. Young bears are similarly brought up (though not suckled) by the Giljaks, a people on the lower Amoor, who are perhaps

akin to the Ainos (Scheube, *Die Ainos*, p. 17; *Revue d'Ethnographie*, ii. p. 307 sq.).

<sup>5</sup> Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 21, cf. 26, 60 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa*, p. 122.

<sup>7</sup> Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 195.

<sup>8</sup> Aelian, *N. A.*, xiii. 26. The solemn burial of a sardine by a river-side is a ceremony observed in Spain on Ash Wednesday (*Folk-Lore Record*, iv. 184 sq.).

bury it by subscription.<sup>1</sup> A Californian tribe which revered the buzzard held an annual festival at which the chief ceremony was the killing of a buzzard without losing a drop of its blood. It was then skinned, the feathers were preserved to make a sacred dress for the medicine-man, and the body was buried in holy ground amid the lamentations of the old women, who mourned as for the loss of a relative or friend.<sup>2</sup>

Totem animals not spoken of by their proper names.

As some totem clans avoid looking at their totem, so others are careful not to speak of it by its proper name, but use descriptive epithets instead. The three totems of the Delawares—the wolf, turtle, and turkey—were referred to respectively as “round foot,” “crawler,” and “not chewing,” the last referring to the bird’s habit of swallowing its food; and the clans called themselves, not Wolves, Turtles, and Turkeys, but “Round Feet,” “Crawlers,” and “Those who do not chew.”<sup>3</sup> The Bear clan of the Ottawas called themselves not Bears but Big Feet.<sup>4</sup> The object of these circumlocutions is probably to give no offence to the worshipful animal, just as Swedish herd girls are careful not to call the wolf and the bear by their proper names, fearing that if they heard themselves so called the beasts would attack the cattle. Hence the herd girls call the wolf “the silent one,” “grey legs,” “golden tooth”; and the bear “the old man,” “great father,” “twelve men’s strength,” “golden feet,” etc.<sup>5</sup> Similarly the Kamtchatkans never speak of the bear and wolf by their proper names, believing that these animals understand human speech.<sup>6</sup> Bushmen think it very unlucky to refer to the lion by name.<sup>7</sup>

Supposed ill effects of ill-treating the totem.

The penalties supposed to be incurred by acting disrespectfully to the totem are various. The Bakalai think that if a man were to eat his totem the women of his clan would miscarry and give birth to animals of the totem kind,

<sup>1</sup> ἀγέλπει αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ταφὴν. Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Boscana, in Alfred Robinson’s *Life in California*, p. 291 sq.; Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, iii. p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, p. 39; Morgan, *A. S.*, p. 171; Heckewelder, p. 247.

<sup>4</sup> *Acad.*, 27th Sept. 1884, p. 203, quoting from the *Canadian Journal* (Toronto), No. 14, March 1858.

<sup>5</sup> L. Lloyd, *Peasant Life in Sweden*, p. 251.

<sup>6</sup> Steller, *Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, p. 276.

<sup>7</sup> J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, p. 151.

or die of an awful disease.<sup>1</sup> The Elk clan among the Omahas believe that if any clansman were to touch any part of the male elk, or eat its flesh or the flesh of the male deer, he would break out in boils and white spots in different parts of the body.<sup>2</sup> The Red Maize subclan of the Omahas believe that, if they were to eat of the red maize, they would have running sores all round their mouth.<sup>3</sup> And in general the Omahas believe that to eat of the totem, even in ignorance, would cause sickness, not only to the eater, but also to his wife and children.<sup>4</sup> White hair is regarded by them as a token that the person has broken a totem taboo, e.g. that a man of the Reptile clan has touched or smelt a snake.<sup>5</sup> The inhabitants of Wetar think that leprosy and madness are the result of eating the totem.<sup>6</sup> The worshippers of the Syrian goddess, whose creed was saturated with totemism, believed that if they ate a sprat or an anchovy their whole bodies would break out in ulcers, their legs would waste away, and their liver melt, or that their belly and legs would swell up.<sup>7</sup> The Egyptians, one of whose totems seems to have been the pig, thought that if a man drank pig's milk his body would break out in a scab.<sup>8</sup> The Bosch negroes of Guiana think that if they ate the *capiai* (an animal like a pig) it would give them leprosy.<sup>9</sup> The Singhie tribe of Dyaks, whose totem seems to be the deer (they will not eat its flesh nor allow it to be carried into their houses or cooked at their fires; the grown men will not even touch it), believe that if any man were to eat deer's flesh he would go mad; a man who ran about the forest naked, imitating the noises and habits of a deer, was thought to have eaten venison.<sup>10</sup>

The Samoans thought it death to injure or eat their totems. The totem was supposed to take up his abode in the sinner's body, and there to gender the very thing which he had eaten till it caused his death.<sup>11</sup> Thus if

In Samoa death the consequence of injuring the totem.

<sup>1</sup> Du Chaillu, *Equat. Afr.*, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> *Third Rep.*, 225.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 231.

<sup>4</sup> James, *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, ii. p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Third Rep.*, 275.

<sup>6</sup> Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch, *De Superst.*, 10; Selden, *De dis Syris*, p. 269 sq., Leipsic, 1668.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch, *Isis et Os.*, 8.

<sup>9</sup> J. Crevaux, *Voyages dans l'Amérique du Sud*, p. 59.

<sup>10</sup> Low, *Sarawak*, p. 265 sq., 306.

<sup>11</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, p. 17 sq.

In Samoa  
death the  
conse-  
quence of  
injuring the  
totem.

a Turtle man ate of a turtle he grew very ill, and the voice of the turtle was heard in his inside saying, "He ate me; I am killing him."<sup>1</sup> If a Prickly Sea-Urchin man consumed one of these shell-fish, a prickly sea-urchin grew in his body and killed him.<sup>2</sup> Pig's heart and octopus were equally fatal to the eater who had these for his totem.<sup>3</sup> If a Mullet man ate a mullet he squinted.<sup>4</sup> If a Cockle man picked up a cockle and carried it away from the shore, it appeared on some part of his person; if he actually ate it, it grew on his nose.<sup>5</sup> If a man whose totem was the ends of banana leaves used one of them as a cap, baldness was the result.<sup>6</sup> If a Butterfly man caught a butterfly, it struck him dead.<sup>7</sup> The Wild Pigeon clan might not use as plates the reddish-seared breadfruit leaves "under a penalty of being seized with rheumatic swellings, or an eruption all over the body called tangosusu, and resembling chicken-pox."<sup>8</sup> If a Domestic Fowl man ate of that bird, delirium and death were the consequence.<sup>9</sup>

Samoan  
mode of  
appeasing  
an offended  
totem.

In such cases, however, the Samoans had a mode of appeasing the angry totem. The offender himself or one of his clan was wrapped in leaves and laid in an unheated oven, as if he were about to be baked. Thus if amongst the Cuttle-Fish clan a visitor had caught a cuttle-fish and cooked it, or if a Cuttle-Fish man had been present at the eating of a cuttle-fish, the Cuttle-Fish clan met and chose a man or woman who went through the pretence of being baked. Otherwise a cuttle-fish would grow in the stomach of some of the clan and be their death.<sup>10</sup> So with the stinging ray fish and the mullet. But if a member of the clan of which these two fish were the joint totem tasted either of them, then, in addition to the baking, he had to drink a cup of rancid oil dregs, probably as a purgative.<sup>11</sup> This pretence of cooking a clansman seems to have been especially obligatory when the totem had been cooked in the oven. To have afterwards used the oven without going through this form of expiation would have been fatal to the family.<sup>12</sup>

In Australia, also, the punishment for eating the totem

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, 61, 75.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, 40.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, 76.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, 70.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, 31 sq.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.*, 59, cf. 58, 69 sq., 72.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, 37.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*, 38, cf. 72.

appears to have been sickness or death.<sup>1</sup> But it is not merely the totem which is tabooed to the Australians; they have, besides, a very elaborate code of food prohibitions, which vary chiefly with age, being on the whole strictest and most extensive at puberty, and gradually relaxing with advancing years. Thus young men are forbidden to eat the emu; if they ate it, it is thought that they would be afflicted with sores all over their bodies.<sup>2</sup> The restrictions on women till they are past the age of child-bearing seem to be more numerous than those on men. Children are not restricted at all, nor are old men and old women.<sup>3</sup> These restrictions are removed by an old man smearing the person's face with the fat of the forbidden animal.<sup>4</sup>

Food  
taboos in  
Australia.

In some tribes the respect for the totem has lessened or disappeared. Thus the Narrinyeri in South Australia do not kill their totem unless it is an animal which is good for food, when they have no objection to eating it.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Eyre never observed any reluctance on the part of the natives of South Australia to kill their totems.<sup>6</sup> Some natives of New South Wales, though they will not themselves kill their totem, have no objection to any one else killing it and they will then eat it.<sup>7</sup> The Dieri in South Australia pay no particular respect to their totems, and they eat them.<sup>8</sup> A Samoan of the Turtle clan, though he would not himself eat a turtle, would help a neighbour to cut up and cook one; but in doing so he kept a bandage over his mouth lest an embryo turtle should slip down his throat, grow up, and kill him.<sup>9</sup>

Respect  
for totem  
lessened or  
lost.

A Bechuana will kill his totem if it be a hurtful animal, e.g. a lion, but not without apologising to the animal; and the slayer must go through a form of purification for the sacrilege.<sup>10</sup> Similarly in North America, if an Outaouak of the Bear clan killed a bear, he made the beast a feast of its

Apologies  
for killing  
totem.

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> T. L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, ii. p. 341.

<sup>3</sup> See especially Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, ii. 293 sq.; but see below, p. 41 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 456, xiv. 316.

<sup>5</sup> *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> Eyre, *Jour.*, ii. 328.

<sup>7</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiv. 350.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Samuel Gason of Beltana, South Australia, in a letter to the present writer. See *J. A. I.*, xvii.

<sup>9</sup> Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 67 sq.

<sup>10</sup> Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 211.

own flesh and harangued it, apologising for the necessity he was under of killing it, alleging that his children were hungry, etc.<sup>1</sup> Some but not all of the Moqui clans abstain from eating their totems.<sup>2</sup> The tribes about Alabama and Georgia had no respect for their totems, and would kill them when they got the chance.<sup>3</sup> The Omahas do not worship their totems.<sup>4</sup>

Totem  
expected to  
help his  
people.

The relation between a man and his totem is one of mutual help and protection. If the man respects and cares for the totem, he expects that the totem will do the same by him. In Senegambia the totems, when they are dangerous animals, will not hurt their clansmen; e.g. men of the Scorpion clan affirm that scorpions (of a very deadly kind) will run over their bodies without biting them.<sup>5</sup> A similar immunity from snakes was claimed by a Snake clan (Ophiogenes) in Cyprus.<sup>6</sup> Another Snake clan (Ophiogenes) in Asia Minor, believing that they were descended from snakes, and that snakes were their kinsmen, submitted to a practical test the claims of any man amongst them whom they suspected of being no true clansman. They made a snake bite him; if he survived, he was a true clansman; if he died, he was not.<sup>7</sup>

Tests of  
kinship  
with sacred  
animal.

Similar is the test of a medicine-man among the Moxos of Peru. One of their totems is the tiger (jaguar); and a candidate for the rank of medicine-man must prove his kinship to the tiger by being bitten by that animal and surviving the bite.<sup>8</sup> The Psylli, a Snake clan in Africa, had a similar test of kinship; they exposed their new-born children to snakes, and if the snakes left them unharmed or only bit without killing them, the children were legitimate; otherwise they were bastards.<sup>9</sup> In Senegambia, at the

<sup>1</sup> *Lett. Édif.*, vi. p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Morgan, *A. S.*, p. 180, *cf. id.*, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Adair, *Hist. Amer. Indians*, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Dorsey, in *American Antiquarian*, v. 274.

<sup>5</sup> *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iii. p. 396.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, xxviii. 30.

<sup>7</sup> Varro in Priscian x. 32, vol. i. p. 524, ed. Keil. For the snake descent of the clan see Strabo, xiii. 1, 14; Aelian, *N. A.*, xii. 39.

<sup>8</sup> "Relation de la Mission des Moxes dans le Perou," printed in Fr. Coreal's *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, iii. p. 249, and in *Lett. Édif.*, viii. p. 89.

<sup>9</sup> Varro, *loc. cit.*; Pliny, *N. H.*, vii. § 14. Pliny has got it wrong end on. He says that if the snakes did *not* leave the children they were bastards. We may safely correct his statement by Varro's.

present day, a python is expected to visit every child of the Python clan within eight days after birth; a Mandingo of this clan has been known to say that if his children were not so visited, he would kill them.<sup>1</sup> The Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance to a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it to see whether they would trample on it or not, was perhaps originally a kinship test.<sup>2</sup> Another birth test of kinship with the sacred animal (though of a different kind) is that used to discover the new Dhurma Raja in Assam. He is supposed to be an incarnation of the deity; and when he dies the child that refuses its mother's milk and prefers that of a cow is the new Dhurma Raja.<sup>3</sup> This points to a cow totem.

Other totem clans regard a man who has been bitten by the totem, even though he survives, as disowned by the totem, and therefore they expel him from the clan. Among the Crocodile clan of the Bechuanas, if a man has been bitten by a crocodile, or merely had water splashed over him by a crocodile's tail, he is expelled the clan.<sup>4</sup> Some judicial ordeals may have originated in totem tests of kinship. Thus, in Travancore, there was a judicial ordeal by snake-bite; the accused thrust his hand into a mantle in which a cobra was wrapped up; if it bit him, he was guilty; if not, he was innocent.<sup>5</sup> That we have here a relic of totemism appears not only from the worship of snakes in the district, but also from the fact that, if a dead cobra was found by the people, it was burned with the same ceremonies as the body of a man of high caste.<sup>6</sup> Oaths were originally ordeals, and some of them are of totem origin. The Crocodile clan of the Bechuanas swear by the crocodile; the Santals (or Sonthals), a totem tribe of Bengal, are said to adore the tiger (which probably means that the tiger is one of their

Some  
judicial  
ordeals and  
oaths  
perhaps  
derived  
from  
totemism.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iii. p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis, *Hist. of Madagascar*, i. p. 157. According to Mr. Sibree, this was only done with children born in the month Alakaosy (*Folk-Lore Rec.*, ii. 35 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, *Descriptive Account of Assam*, p. 342 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Livingstone, *South Africa*, p. 255.

<sup>5</sup> J. Canter Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, p. 69. For an ordeal by crocodiles in Madagascar (where the crocodile is much revered) see *Folk-Lore Rec.*, ii. p. 35, cf. p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Visscher, *op. cit.*, p. 162. For ordeal by snake-bite cf. *Asiatick Researches*, i. p. 391.

totems), and to swear on a tiger's skin is their most solemn oath.<sup>1</sup>

Benefits conferred by the totem on his people.

But it is not enough that the totem should merely abstain from injuring, he must positively benefit the men who put their faith in him. The Snake clan (Ophiogenes) of Asia Minor believed that if they were bitten by an adder they had only to put a snake to the wound and their totem would suck out the poison and soothe away the inflammation and the pain.<sup>2</sup> Hence Omaha medicine-men, in curing the sick, imitate the action and voice of their (individual) totem.<sup>3</sup> Members of the Serpent clan in Senegambia profess to heal by their touch persons who have been bitten by serpents.<sup>4</sup> A similar profession was made in antiquity by Snake clans in Africa, Cyprus, and Italy.<sup>5</sup> The Small Bird subclan of the Omahas, though ordinarily they are forbidden to eat small birds, in sickness may eat prairie chickens.<sup>6</sup> The Samoan clan whose totem was the ends of leaves and of other things, though in ordinary life they might not use them, were allowed and even required to fan a sick clansman with the ends of cocoa-nut leaflets.<sup>7</sup> Members of the Sea-Weed clan in Samoa, when they went to fight at sea, took with them some sea-weed, which they threw into the sea to hinder the flight of the enemy; if the enemy tried to pick it up it sank, but rose again when any of the Sea-Weed clan paddled up to it.<sup>8</sup> This resembles the common incident in folk tales of magic obstacles thrown out by fugitives to stay pursuit.

Totem gives omens to his people.

Again, the totem gives his clansmen important information by means of omens. In the Coast Murring tribe of New South Wales each man's totem warned him of coming danger; if his totem was a kangaroo, a kangaroo would warn him against his foes.<sup>9</sup> The Kurnai in Victoria reverence

<sup>1</sup> Dalton, *Eth. of Ben.*, p. 214. For the Sonthal (Santal) totems see *As. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p. 76. For other oaths bearing strong impress of a totem origin (swearing on a bear's skin, a lizard's skin, earth of an ant hill, etc.) see Dalton, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 158, 294.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xiii. 1, 14. In Madagascar a god of healing was also, like Aescula-

pius, a god of serpents; his attendants carried living serpents in their hands (*Folk-Lore Rec.*, ii. 20).

<sup>3</sup> James, *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, i. p. 247.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iii. p. 396.

<sup>5</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, xxviii. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Third Rep.*, 238.

<sup>7</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, 70. <sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, p. 71.

<sup>9</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 195 n., xvi. 46.

the crow as one of their ancestors, and think that it watches over them and answers their questions by cawing.<sup>1</sup> The Samoan totems gave omens to their clansmen. Thus, if an owl flew before the Owl clan, as they marched to war, it was a signal to go on; but if it flew across their path, or backwards, it was a sign to retreat.<sup>2</sup> Some kept a tame owl on purpose to give omens in war.<sup>3</sup> The appearance of the totem in or about the house was by some clans regarded as an omen of death; the totem had come to fetch his kinsman. This was the case with land-crabs and eels.<sup>4</sup>

When the conduct of the totem is not all that his clansmen could desire, they have various ways of putting pressure on him. In harvest time, when the birds eat the corn, the Small Bird clan of the Omahas take some corn which they chew and spit over the field. This is thought to keep the birds from the crops.<sup>5</sup> If worms infest the corn the Reptile clan of the Omahas catch some of them and pound them up with some grains of corn which have been heated. They make a soup of the mixture and eat it, believing that the corn will not be infested again, at least for that year.<sup>6</sup> During a fog the men of the Turtle subclan of the Omahas used to draw the figure of a turtle on the ground with its face to the south. On the head, tail, middle of the back, and on each leg were placed small pieces of a red breech-cloth with some tobacco. This was thought to make the fog disappear.<sup>7</sup> Another Omaha clan, who are

Compulsion applied to totem.

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. I.*, xv. p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, 21, 24, 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 25 *sq.* Other omens were drawn from the rainbow (*ib.*, 21, 35), shooting star (21), species of fish (27), clouds (27), cuttle-fish (29), herons (35), a creeper-bird (38), lizards (44, 47), a species of bird (48), kingfishers (48, 54), dogs (49), bats (51), shark's teeth (55), lightning (59 *sq.*), rail bird (61, 65), the bird called porphyris Samoensis (64), eels (66), and centipedes (69).

<sup>4</sup> Turner, *ib.*, 66, 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Third Report*, p. 238 *sq.* The idea perhaps is that the birds eat in the persons of their clansmen, and give tangible evidence that they have eaten their fill. But *cf.* Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

<sup>6</sup> *Third Rep.*, 248. With this custom compare a Syrian superstition. When caterpillars invaded a vineyard or field the virgins were gathered and one of the caterpillars was taken and a girl made its mother. Then they bewailed and buried it. Thereafter they conducted the "mother" to the place where the caterpillars were, consoling her, in order that all the caterpillars might leave the garden (Lagarde, *Reliquia juris Ecclesiastici Antiquissima*, p. 135). *Cf.* *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xv. p. 93; *The People of Turkey*, by a Consul's daughter and wife, ii. p. 247.

<sup>7</sup> *Third Rep.*, 240.

described as Wind people, "flap their blankets to start a breeze which will drive off the mosquitoes."<sup>1</sup>

Inanimate  
objects as  
totems.

It is more difficult to realise the relation between a man and his totem when that totem is an inanimate object. But such totems are rare.

In Australia we find: thunder (Encounter Bay tribe, S. Australia) (*Nat. Tr. S. Aust.*, 186), rain (Dieri, S. Australia) (*J. A. I.*, xii. 33 n.), the star  $\alpha$  Aquilae or Fomalhaut (Mukjarawaint, W. Victoria) (*id.*, xii. 33 n., xiii. 193 n.), hot wind and sun (Wotjoballuk, N.W. Victoria) (*id.*, xvi. 31 n.; *Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1883*, p. 818), honey (Kamilaroi, N.S. Wales) (*J. A. I.*, xii. 500), and clear water (Kuin-Murbura, Queensland) (*id.*, xiii. 344). Flood-water and lightning are names of what Messrs. Fison and Howitt call the two primary classes of the Kiabara tribe in Queensland (*id.*, xiii. 336). As we shall see, they probably are or were totems. In America we find ice (Punka totem) (Morgan, *A. S.*, 155), thunder (Omaha, Kaw, Winnebago, Potawattamie, Sauk and Foxes) (*ib.*, 155, 156, 157, 167, 170), earth (Kaw) (*ib.*, 156), water (Minnitaree, Miami, Moqui) (*ib.*, 159, 168; Bourke, *Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, 50, 117, 335), wind (Creek) (Morgan, *op. cit.*, 161; Adair, *Hist. Amer. Indians*, p. 15; Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. p. 155), salt (Creek) (Morgan, *loc. cit.*; Gatschet, *op. cit.*, i. 156), sun (Miami, Moqui) (Morgan, *op. cit.*, 168; Bourke, *op. cit.*, 50, 117, 335 sq.), snow (Miami) (Morgan, *loc. cit.*; cf. below, p. 36), bone (Sauk and Foxes) (*ib.*, 170), sea (Sauk and Foxes) (*ib.*, 170), sand (Moqui) (*ib.*, 179; Bourke, *op. cit.*, 335), and rain (Moqui) (Morgan, *op. cit.*, 179). In Africa sun and rain are Damara totems (Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 221). In India one of the constellations is a Santal (Sonthal) totem (*As. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p. 76); and the foam of the river is an Oraon totem and not to be eaten by the clansmen (Dalton in *Tr. Ethnol. Soc.*, N. S., vi. 36). In Samoa we have the rainbow, shooting star, cloud, moon, and lightning (Turner, *Samoa*, 21, 27, 35, 53, 59, 67).

In a few cases colours are totems: thus red is an Omaha totem (Morgan, *A. S.*, p. 155), red paint and blue

<sup>1</sup> *Third Rep.*, 241.

are Cherokee totems (*ib.*, 164), and vermilion is the name of a subdivision of the Delawares (*ib.*, 172; however, the nature of these subdivisions of the three Delaware clans is not clear). This perhaps explains the aversion which some tribes exhibit for certain colours. Thus red was forbidden in one district of Mangaia (in the South Pacific) because it was thought offensive to the gods (Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 29). Light yellow is a detestable colour to a Hervey islander (*ib.*, 227). The Yezidis abominate blue (Layard, *Nineveh*, i. p. 300).

It is remarkable how small a part is played in totemism by the heavenly bodies. In the lists of totems before us, the sun occurs once in Australia, once in Africa, and several times in America (besides Morgan and Bourke as above, *cf.* M'Lennan in *Fortn. Rev.*, October 1869, p. 413). The sun was the special divinity of the chiefs of the Natchez, but that it was a totem is not certain; *cf.* Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, i. 168; Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, vi. 177 sq.; *Lett. Édif.*, vii. 9 sq.; Chateaubriand, *Voyage en Amérique*, 227 sq., ed. 12mo, Michel Lévy; C. C. Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 23); but a star or constellation appears only twice, and the moon appears, with a doubtful exception in America (S. Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean*, p. 148; it may have been an individual totem), only in Samoa.

With regard to artificial totems, we are told generally that Bengal totems include artificial objects (*As. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p. 75), and net is given as a Kurmi totem (*ib.*, 77). In America, tent is a totem of the Kaws (Morgan, *A. S.*, 156); ball of the Onondaga Iroquois (*ib.*, 91);<sup>1</sup> good knife of the Mandans (*ib.*, 158); and knife, lodge, and bonnet of the Minnitarees (*ib.*, 159). Schoolcraft gives cord as a Huron (Wyandot) totem, but it is not included in Morgan and Powell's lists of Huron totems (Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tr.*, iv. 204; Morgan, *op. cit.*, 153; *First Rep. Bur. Ethnol.*, p. 59).

In order, apparently, to put himself more fully under

<sup>1</sup> But according to Mr. Beauchamp (*American Antiquarian*, viii. p. 85) no such totem existed, and the mention of it is due to a misunderstanding.

Assimilation of men to their totems.

the protection of the totem, the clansman is in the habit of assimilating himself to the totem by dressing in the skin or other part of the totem animal, arranging his hair and mutilating his body so as to resemble the totem, and representing the totem on his body by cicatrices, tattooing, or paint. The mental state thus revealed is illustrated by the belief held by many North American Indians that they have each an animal (bison, calf, tortoise, frog, bird, etc.) in their bodies.<sup>1</sup>

Dressing in the skin or feathers of the totem.

In going to battle the Minnitarees dress in wolf skins; the skin with the tail attached hangs down the back, the man's head is inserted in a hole in the skin, and the wolf's head hangs down on his breast.<sup>2</sup> Lewis and Clarke saw a Teton Indian wearing two or three raven skins fixed to the back of the girdle, with the tails sticking out behind; on his head he wore a raven skin split into two parts and tied so as to let the beak project from the forehead.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Thlinkets on solemn occasions, such as dances, memorial festivals, and burials, individuals often appear disguised in the full form of their totem animals; and, as a rule, each clansman carries at least an easily recognisable part of his totem with him.<sup>4</sup> Condor clans in Peru, who believed themselves descended from the condor, adorned themselves with the feathers of the bird.<sup>5</sup>

The hair dressed in imitation of the totem.

The Iowa clans have each a distinguishing mode of dressing the hair, e.g. the Buffalo clan wear two locks of hair in imitation of horns. These modes of dressing the hair, however, are confined to male children, who, as soon as they are grown, shave off all the hair except the scalp-lock, with a fringe of hair surrounding it.<sup>6</sup> Amongst the Omahas, the smaller boys of the Black Shoulder (Buffalo) clan wear two locks of hair in imitation of horns.<sup>7</sup> The Hanga clan of the Omahas (also a Buffalo clan) wear a crest of hair about two

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das innere Nord-Amerika*, ii. pp. 190, 270.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, ii. 224. The Minnitarees regard the wolf as especially strong "medicine" (*ib.*). This is the spirit, if not the letter, of totemism.

<sup>3</sup> Lewis and Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*, i. p. 123,

London, 1815.

<sup>4</sup> Holmberg, in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennica*, iv. 293 sq., 328; Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, p. 166.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. Müller, *Gesch. d. amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 327.

<sup>6</sup> Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tr.*, iii. 269.

<sup>7</sup> *Third Rep.*, 229.

inches long, standing erect and extending from ear to ear; this is in imitation of the back of a buffalo.<sup>1</sup> The Small Bird clan of the Omahas "leave a little hair in front, over the forehead, for a bill, and some at the back of the head, for the bird's tail, with much over each ear for the wings."<sup>2</sup> The Turtle subclan of the Omahas "cut off all the hair from a boy's head, except six locks; two are left on each side, one over the forehead, and one hanging down the back in imitation of the legs, head, and tail of a turtle."<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Manganja in Eastern Africa "one trains his locks till they take the admired form of the buffalo's horns; others prefer to let their hair hang in a thick coil down their backs, like that animal's tail."<sup>4</sup>

The practice of knocking out the upper front teeth at puberty, which prevails in Australia and elsewhere, is, or was once, probably an imitation of the totem. The Batoka in Africa who adopt this practice say that they do so in order to be like oxen, while those who retain their teeth are like zebras.<sup>5</sup> The Manganja chip their teeth to resemble those of the cat or crocodile.<sup>6</sup> It is remarkable that among some Australian tribes who knock out one or two of the upper front teeth of boys, the most prized ornaments of the women are the two upper front teeth of the kangaroo or wallaby; those are tied together at the roots so as to form a V, and are worn in a necklace or hung amongst the hair.<sup>7</sup> In other cases it is the boys' teeth which the women wear round their necks.<sup>8</sup>

The bone, reed, or stick which some Australian tribes thrust through their nose may be also an imitation of the totem. It is not worn constantly, but is inserted when danger is apprehended; which perhaps means that the man then seeks most to assimilate himself to his totem when he

<sup>1</sup> *Third Rep.*, 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 238.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 240.

<sup>4</sup> Livingstone, *Zambesi*, p. 114. But it does not appear whether this people have totems or not.

<sup>5</sup> Livingstone, *South Africa*, p. 532.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, *Zambesi*, p. 115. On the general custom of filing the teeth among savages see *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv. p. 213 sq.

<sup>7</sup> *Tr. Ethnol. Soc.*, New Series, i. p. 287 sq.; *Jour. and Proc. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, xvii. (1883) p. 26; cf. G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Austr. and New Zeal.*, i. pp. 92, 98; Eyre, *Jour.*, ii. p. 342.

<sup>8</sup> Collins, *Account of the English Colony of N.S. Wales*, London, 1798, p. 581.

most needs the totem's protection.<sup>1</sup> Kurnai medicine-men could only communicate with the ghosts when they had these bones in their noses.<sup>2</sup>

Totems  
tattooed on  
the bodies  
of the  
people.

The Haidas of Queen Charlotte Islands are universally tattooed, the design being in all cases the totem, executed in a conventional style. When several families of different totems live together in the same large house, a Haida chief will have all their totems tattooed on his person.<sup>3</sup> The Iroquois tattooed their totems on their persons.<sup>4</sup> Mr. E. James, a high authority on the North American Indians, denies that it was a universal—from which we infer that it was a common—practice with them to have their totems tattooed on their persons.<sup>5</sup> Mackenzie says that the Ojibways (Chippeways) are tattooed on their cheeks or forehead “to distinguish the tribe to which they belong.”<sup>6</sup> The Assinibois (Assiniboëls) tattooed figures of serpents, birds, etc. (probably their totems) on their persons.<sup>7</sup> Tribes in South America are especially distinguished by their tattoo marks, but whether these are totem marks is not said.<sup>8</sup> The same applies to the natives of Yule Island,<sup>9</sup> Eskimos of Alaska,<sup>10</sup> and Manganjas in Africa.<sup>11</sup> In one of the Hervey Islands (South Pacific) the tattooing was an imitation of the stripes on two different species of fish, probably totems.<sup>12</sup> The Australians do not tattoo but raise cicatrices; in some tribes these cicatrices are arranged in patterns which serve as the tribal badges, consisting of lines,

<sup>1</sup> T. L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions into the Interior of New South Wales*, ii. p. 339.

<sup>2</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Geolog. Surv. of Canada, Rep. for 1878-79*, pp. 108B, 135B; *Smithsonian Contrib. to Knowl.*, vol. xxi. No. 267, p. 3 sq.; *Nature*, 20th January 1887, p. 285; *Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1886, p. 67 sq. How different the conventional representation in tattooing may be from the true, we learn from the Hindu tattoo marks (conventionally supposed to represent ducks, geese, peacocks, etc.) depicted by Major-General A. Cunningham in his work,

*The Stûpa of Bharut*, plate lii.

<sup>4</sup> E. de Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> James, in *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, p. 315.

<sup>6</sup> A. Mackenzie, *Voyages through the Continent of North America*, p. cxx.

<sup>7</sup> *Lettr. Édif.*, vi. 32.

<sup>8</sup> Martius, *Zur Ethnographie America's zumal Brasiliens*, p. 55.

<sup>9</sup> D'Albertis, *New Guinea*, i. p. 419.  
<sup>10</sup> Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 48.

<sup>11</sup> Livingstone, *Last Journals*, i. p. 110, cf. p. 125.

<sup>12</sup> Gill, *Myths and Songs of the S. Pacific*, p. 95.

dots, circles, semicircles, etc.<sup>1</sup> According to one authority, these Australian tribal badges are sometimes representations of the totem.<sup>2</sup> For the cases in which the women alone tattoo see the note below.<sup>8</sup>

Again, the totem is sometimes painted on the person of the clansman. This, as we have seen (p. 9), is sometimes done by the Indians of British Columbia. Among the Hurons (Wyandots) each clan has a distinctive mode of painting the face, and, at least in the case of the chiefs at installation, this painting represents the totem.<sup>4</sup> Among the Moquis the representatives of the clans at foot-races, dances, etc., have each a conventional representation of his totem blazoned on breast or back.<sup>5</sup> A Pawnee, whose totem was a buffalo head, is depicted by Catlin with a buffalo's head clearly painted on his face and breast.<sup>6</sup>

The clansman also affixes his totem mark as a signature to treaties and other documents,<sup>7</sup> and paints or carves it on his weapons, hut, canoe, etc.

Thus the natives of the upper Darling carve their totems on their shields.<sup>8</sup> The Indians who accompanied Samuel

<sup>1</sup> Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. pp. xli sq., 295, ii. 313; Eyre, *Journ.*, ii. 333, 335; Ridley, *Kamilaroi*, p. 140; *Journ. and Proceed. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1882, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Chatfield, in Pison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 66 n. On tattooing in connection with totemism see Haberlandt, in *Mittheil. der anthrop. Gesell. in Wien*, xv. (1885) p. [53] sq.

<sup>3</sup> Among most of the Californian tribes, the Ainos of Japan, the Chukchi in Siberia, and many of the aborigines of India, it is the women alone who are tattooed. See S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 109; Siebold, *Ethnol. Stud. ueber die Ainos*, p. 15; Scheube, *Die Ainos*, p. 6; Nordenskiöld, *Voyage of the Vega*, p. 296, popular edition; Dalton, *Ethnol. of Bengal*, pp. 114, 157, 161, 219, 251. (Among the Nagas of Upper Assam the men tattoo. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 39 sq.) Old pioneers in California are of opinion that the reason why the women alone tattoo is that in case they are taken

captive they may be recognised by their own people when opportunity serves. This idea, Mr. Powers says, is borne out by the fact that "the California Indians are rent into such infinitesimal divisions, any one of which may be arrayed in deadly feud against another at any moment, that the slight differences in their dialects would not suffice to distinguish the captive squaws" (Powers, *Tr. of Calif.*, p. 109). There may therefore be a grain of truth in the explanation of tattooing given by the Khyen women in Bengal; they say that it was meant to conceal their beauty, for which they were apt to be carried off by neighbouring tribes (*Asiatick Researches*, xvi. p. 268; Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 114).

<sup>4</sup> *First Rep.*, pp. 62, 64.

<sup>5</sup> Bourke, *Snake Dance*, p. 229.

<sup>6</sup> Catlin, *N. Amer. Ind.*, ii. plate 140.

<sup>7</sup> Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 247.

<sup>8</sup> Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. pp. xlii, 284.

Totems  
painted or  
carved on  
weapons,  
huts,  
canoes, etc.

Hearne on his journey from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific painted their totems (sun, moon, and diverse birds and beasts of prey) on their shields before going into battle.<sup>1</sup> Some Indian tribes going to war carry standards, consisting of representations of their totems drawn on pieces of bark, which are elevated on poles.<sup>2</sup> Among the Thlinkets shields, helmets, canoes, blankets, household furniture, and houses are all marked with the totem, painted or carved. In single combats between chosen champions of different Thlinket clans, each wears a helmet representing his totem.<sup>3</sup> In front of the houses of the chiefs and leading men of the Haidas are erected posts carved with the totems of the inmates. As the houses sometimes contain several families of different totems, the post often exhibits a number of totems, carved one above the other.<sup>4</sup> Or these carvings one above the other represent the paternal totems in the female line, which, descent being in the female line, necessarily change from generation to generation.<sup>5</sup> The coast Indians of British Columbia carve their totems on the beams which support the roofs of their lodges, paint them over the entrance, and paint or carve them on their paddles and canoes.<sup>6</sup> The Pawnees mark their huts and even articles of apparel with their totems.<sup>7</sup> The Delawares (Lenape) painted their totems on their houses. The Turtle clan painted a whole turtle; but the Turkey clan painted only a foot of a turkey; and the Wolf clan only one foot of a wolf, though they sometimes added an outline of the whole animal.<sup>8</sup> In the Ottawa villages the different clans had separate wards, at the gates of which were posts bearing the figure of the clan totem or

<sup>1</sup> S. Hearne, *Journey to the Northern Ocean*, p. 148 sq. These, however, may have been individual totems. Some of the Indians had many such figures on their shields.

<sup>2</sup> Chateaubriand, *Voy. en. Amér.*, pp. 194, 199, 224; Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouv. Fr.*, v. p. 329.

<sup>3</sup> Holmberg, in *Acta Soc. Sc. Fennicae*, iv. 294, 323; Aurel Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 130 sq.; Petroff, *Report on Alaska*, pp. 166, 170.

<sup>4</sup> *Smithsonian Contrib. to Knowl.*, xxi. No. 267, p. 3 sq.; *Geol. Surv. of Canada, Rep. for 1878-79*, p. 148B;

*Ausland*, October 6, 1884, p. 794; *id.*, 7 September 1885, p. 701. Totem-posts, 50 to 100 feet high, in front of nearly every Thlinket house (Petroff, *Report on Alaska*, p. 165; Krause, *l.c.*; Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska*, p. 78).

<sup>5</sup> *American Antiquarian*, ii. p. 110; Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska*, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> Mayne, *Brit. Columb.*, p. 257 sq.

<sup>7</sup> *Magazine of American History*, iv. p. 260.

<sup>8</sup> Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 247; Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, pp. 39 sq., 68 sq.

of parts of it.<sup>1</sup> The Omaha clans paint their totems on their tents.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Iroquois the totem sign over each wigwam consisted, at least in some cases, of the skin of the totem animal, as of a beaver, a deer, a bear.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the skin is stuffed and stuck on a pole before the door.<sup>4</sup> Lastly, the totem is painted or carved on the clansman's tomb or grave-post, the figure being sometimes reversed to denote death. It is always the Indian's totem name, not his personal name, which is thus recorded.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes the stuffed skin of the totem is hung over the grave, or is placed at the dead man's side.<sup>6</sup>

The identification of a man with his totem appears further to have been the object of various ceremonies observed at birth, marriage, death, and other occasions.

*Birth Ceremonies.*—On the fifth day after birth a child of the Deer-Head clan of the Omahas is painted with red spots on its back, in imitation of a fawn, and red stripes are painted on the child's arms and chest. All the Deer-Head men present at the ceremony make red spots on their chests.<sup>7</sup> When a South Slavonian woman has given birth to a child, an old woman runs out of the house and calls out, "A she-wolf has littered a he-wolf," and the child is drawn through a wolfskin, as if to simulate actual birth from a wolf. Further, a piece of the eye and heart of a wolf are sewed into the child's shirt, or hung round its neck; and if several children of the family have died before, it is called Wolf. The reason assigned for some of these customs is, that the witches who devour children will not attack a wolf.<sup>8</sup> In other words, the human child is disguised as a wolf to cheat its supernatural foes. The same desire for protection against supernatural danger may be the motive of similar totemic customs, if not of totemism in general. The legend of the birth of Zamolxis

Totemic  
birth  
ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup> *Acad.*, Sept. 27, 1884, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> *Third Rep.*, 229, 240, 248.

<sup>3</sup> *Second Rep.*, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians* (Hartford, Conn., 1882), p. 225.

<sup>5</sup> Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tr.*, i. p. 356 sq., ii. 49, v. 73; A. Mackenzie, *Voyages*, etc., pp. xcix, 316; J. Dunn, *Hist. of the Oregon Territory*, p. 94; Mayne, *Br. Columb.*, pp. 258, 271; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 230; *American*

*Antiquarian*, ii. p. 112. It has been conjectured that the animal-shaped mounds in the Mississippi valley (chiefly in the State of Wisconsin) are representations of totems (*American Antiquarian*, iii. p. 7 sq.; vi. pp. 8, 326 sq.).

<sup>6</sup> Dodge, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 225.

<sup>7</sup> *Third Rep.*, p. 245 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 541 sq.

(it is said that he was so called because a bearskin was thrown over him at birth<sup>1</sup>) points to a custom of wrapping infants at birth in a bearskin, and this again perhaps to a bear totem. The belief of the Getae that their dead went to Zamolxis would thus be the totemic view that the dead clansman is changed into his totem. When a Hindu child's horoscope portends misfortune or crime, he is born again from a cow, thus: being dressed in scarlet and tied on a new sieve, he is passed between the hind legs of a cow forward through the fore legs to the mouth and again in the reverse direction, to simulate birth; the ordinary birth ceremonies (aspersion, etc.) are then gone through, and the father smells his son as a cow smells her calf.<sup>2</sup> In India grown persons also may be born again by passing through a golden cow in simulation of birth; this is done when, e.g., they have polluted themselves by contact with unbelievers.<sup>3</sup>

Totemic  
marriage  
ceremonies.

*Marriage Ceremonies.*—Among the Kalang of Java, whose totem is the red dog, bride and bridegroom before marriage are rubbed with the ashes of a red dog's bones.<sup>4</sup> Among the Transylvanian gypsies, bride and bridegroom are rubbed with a weasel skin.<sup>5</sup> The sacred goatskin (*aegis*) which the priestess of Athene took to newly married women may have been used for this purpose.<sup>6</sup> At Rome bride and bridegroom sat down on the skin of the sheep which had been sacrificed on the occasion.<sup>7</sup> An Italian bride smeared the doorposts of her new home with wolf's fat.<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to separate from totemism the custom observed by totem clans in Bengal of marrying the bride and bridegroom to trees before they are married to each other. The bride touches with red lead (a common

<sup>1</sup> Porphyry, *Vit. Pythag.*, 14. On the etymology of Zamolxis and the possible identity of —olxis with the Greek ἀρκτος, Latin *ursus*, "a bear," see V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*, p. 450.

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, liii. (1884) pt. i. p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Asiatick Researches*, vi. p. 535 sq.; Liebrecht, *Gervasius von Tilbury*, p. 171; *id.*, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 397. For an Ojibway birth ceremony cf. P. Jones, *Hist. of Ojibway Indians*, p.

160, cf. p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> Raffles, *Hist. of Java*, i. 328. On rubbing with ashes as a religious ceremony cf. Spencer, *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus*, vol. ii. Diss. iii. Lib. iii. cap. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Original-Mittheil. aus der ethnolog. Abtheil. der Königl. Museen zu Berlin*, i. p. 156.

<sup>6</sup> Suidas, s.v. αἰγίς.

<sup>7</sup> Servius on Virgil, *Aen.*, iv. 374; Festus, s.v. *In pelle*.

<sup>8</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxviii. 142.

marriage ceremony) a mahwá tree, clasps it in her arms, and is tied to it. The bridegroom goes through a like ceremony with a mango tree.<sup>1</sup>

Traces of marriage to trees are preserved in Servia. Marriage  
to trees. The bride is led to an apple-tree (apples often appear in South Slavonian marriage customs) under which stands a pitcher full of water. Money is thrown into the pitcher; the bride's veil is taken from her and fastened to the tree; she upsets the pitcher of water with her foot; and a dance three times round the tree concludes the ceremony.<sup>2</sup> Tree marriage appears very distinctly in the Greek festival of the Daedala, at which an oak-tree, selected by special divination, was cut down, dressed as a bride, and conveyed, like a bride, in solemn procession on a waggon with a bridesmaid beside it. The mythical origin of the festival was a mock marriage of Zeus to an oak.<sup>3</sup> The identification with a tree, implied in these marriage ceremonies, is illustrated by a Ricara custom. Ricara Indians used to make a hole in the skin of their neck, pass a string through it, and tie the other end to the trunk of an oak-tree; by remaining tied in this fashion for some time, they thought they became strong and brave like the tree.<sup>4</sup>

The idea of substitution or disguise, which seems to be at the root of these marriage (as of the birth) ceremonies, Marriage  
to birds,  
plants,  
earthen  
vessels, etc. appears in some Hindu marriages. Thus when a man has lost several wives in succession, he must marry a bird with all ceremony before another family will give him their

<sup>1</sup> Dalton, *Ethn. of Bengal*, p. 194 (Mundas), p. 319 (Kurmis). Among the Mundas both bride and bridegroom are sometimes married to mango trees. For Kurmi totems see *As. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Krauss, *Südsl.*, p. 450. With regard to upsetting the pitcher, it is to be noted that water is an important element in marriage ceremonies, e.g. among the same Mundas who are married to trees, a pitcher of water is poured over both bride and bridegroom (Dalton, *op. cit.*, 194). Two cabbages, one from the garden of the bride and another from that of the bridegroom, play a very important part in rural weddings in Lorraine (George Sand,

*La Mare au Diable*, Appendix v.; *Folk-Lore Rec.*, iii. p. 271 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, ix. 3; Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.*, iii. 1 and 2. The oak was especially associated with Zeus. See Bötticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen*, p. 408 sq. The oak of Zeus (like a totem) gave omens to its worshippers; and the ceremony of making rain by means of an oak branch (Paus., viii. 38) is remarkably like ceremonies observed for the purpose of making rain by the sacred Buffalo society among the Omahas (*Third Rep.*, p. 347) and by a set of worshippers in totem-ridden Samoa (Turner, *Samoa*, p. 45).

<sup>4</sup> Lewis and Clarke, i. p. 155, 8vo, 1815.

daughter to wife.<sup>1</sup> Or wishing to marry a third wife, whether his other wives are alive or not, he must first formally wed a plant of a particular kind.<sup>2</sup> When the planets threaten any one with misfortune in marriage, he or she is married to an earthen vessel.<sup>3</sup> Dancing girls of Goa are married to daggers before they may exercise their profession.<sup>4</sup> Courtesans born of courtesans are married to flowering plants, which are planted in the house for the purpose; they water and tend the plants, and observe mourning for them when they die.<sup>5</sup>

Some cases of marriage of human beings to inanimate objects seem to be unconnected with totemism.<sup>6</sup> A totemic marriage ceremony of a different kind is that observed by a Tiger clan of the Gonds, in which two men imitate tigers by tearing to pieces a living kid with their teeth.<sup>7</sup>

Totemic  
death  
ceremonies.

*Death Ceremonies.*—In death, too, the clansman seeks to become one with his totem. Amongst some totem clans it is an article of faith that as the clan sprang from the totem, so each clansman at death reassumes the totem form. Thus the Moquis, believing that the ancestors of the clans were

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, x. p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Antiq.*, iv. p. 5; *Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, liii. pt. i. p. 99 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. S. Beng.*, liii. i. p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Antiq.*, xiii. p. 168 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Antiq.*, ix. p. 77. We are reminded of the Gardens of Adonis. See W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 279 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Thus in Java the man who taps a palm for palm wine goes through a form of marriage with the tree before he begins to tap it (Wilken, in *De Indische Gids*, June 1884, p. 963, cf. 962). The Hurons annually married their fishing nets, with great ceremony, to two young girls (*Relations des Jésuites*, 1636, p. 109; *ib.*, 1639, p. 95; Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouv. Fr.*, v. p. 225; Chateaubriand, *Voy. en Amer.*, p. 140 sq.; Parkman, *Jesuites of North America*, p. lxix.). The old Egyptian custom, in time of drought, of dressing a woman as a bride and throwing her into the Nile is the subject of Ebers's novel *Nilbraut*, noticed in the *Athenæum*, July 2, 1887, p. 12.

The custom seems to be the foundation of legends like those of Andromeda and Hesione. For a Norse Andromeda see Asbjörnson og Moe, *Norske Folke-Eventyr* (First Series), No. 24 (Dasent's *Tales from the Norse*, p. 125 sq.). The custom shadowed forth in these legends may be only another form of the Egyptian customs referred to by Pindar (in Strabo, xvii. 1, 19—the full passage is omitted in some MSS. and editions; cf. Aelian, *Nat. An.*, vii. 19; Herodotus, ii. 46; Plutarch, *Brut. Rat. Uti*, 5; Clemens Alex., *Protr.*, 32; and of which a trace appears in Italy (Ovid, *Fast.*, ii. 441). This would bring us round to totemism. It is therefore notable that the Andromeda story occurs in Senegambia, where totemism exists. See Bérenger-Feraud, *Contes populaires de la Senegambia*, p. 185 sq. The Mandan custom (Catlin, *O-Kee-pa*, Fol. reserv. ii.) is hardly parallel, though Liebrecht (*Zur Volkskunde*, p. 395) seems to think so.

<sup>7</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

respectively rattlesnakes, deer, bears, sand, water, tobacco, etc., think that at death each man, according to his clan, is changed into a rattlesnake, a deer, etc.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Black Shoulder (Buffalo) clan of the Omahas a dying clansman was wrapped in a buffalo robe with the hair out, his face was painted with the clan mark, and his friends addressed him thus: "You are going to the animals (the buffaloes). You are going to rejoin your ancestors. You are going, or your four souls are going, to the four winds. Be strong."<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Hanga clan, another Buffalo clan of the Omahas, the ceremony was similar, and the dying man was thus addressed: "You came hither from the animals, and you are going back thither. Do not face this way again. When you go, continue walking."<sup>3</sup>

Members of the Elk clan among the Omahas, though in life they may not touch any part of a male elk nor taste of a male deer, are buried in moccasins of deer skin.<sup>4</sup> Egyptian queens were sometimes buried in cow-shaped sarcophaguses.<sup>5</sup> Among the Australian Wotjoballuk, men of the Hot-Wind totem are buried with the head in the direction from which the hot wind blows, and men of the Sun totem are buried with their heads towards the sunrise.<sup>6</sup> Among the Marias, a Gond clan whose name is thought to be derived from Mara, "a tree," the corpse of an adult male is fastened by cords to a mahwa tree in an erect position and then burned.<sup>7</sup> On the anniversary of the death of their kinsmen, the Nataranes in Paraguay carried dead ostriches in procession as representatives of the deceased, probably

Totemic  
burial  
ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup> Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tr.*, iv. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Third Rep.*, p. 229. As to the "four souls," many savages are much more liberally provided with souls than civilised men. See *Rel. des Jés.*, 1636, p. 133; Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, *Nord-Amerika*, ii. 206; Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouv. Fr.*, vi. p. 75; Laborde, "Rel. de l'origine, etc., des Caraïbes," p. 15, in *Recueil de divers Voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amérique* (Paris, 1684); Washington Matthews, *The Hidatsa Indians*, p. 50; Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, p. 91 sq.; Schoolcraft, *Am.*

*Ind.*, pp. 127, 204; *id.*, *Ind. Tr.*, iv. 70; *Arctic Papers for the Expedition of 1875*, p. 275; Williams, *Fiji*, i. p. 241; Wilken, "Het animisme bij de volken van den indischen archipel," in *Ind. Gids*, June 1884, p. 929 sq.; *id.*, *Ueber das Haaropfer*, p. 75 n.

<sup>3</sup> *Third Rep.*, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, 225.

<sup>5</sup> Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aegypter*, p. 309 n.; cf. Herodotus, ii. 129; Stephanus Byzant. s.v. *Bobœpsis*.

<sup>6</sup> *J. A. I.*, xvi. p. 31 n.

<sup>7</sup> Dalton, *Ethn. of Beng.*, pp. 278, 283.

because the ostrich was the clan totem.<sup>1</sup> Men of the Snow totem among the Pouteouätmi, contrary to the general custom of the tribe, were burned instead of buried, the belief being that, as snow comes from on high, so the bodies of men of the Snow totem should not be poked away underground, but suffered to rejoin their Snow kindred in the upper air. Once when a man of the Snow totem had been buried underground, the winter was so long and the snow fell so deep that nobody ever thought to see spring any more. Then they bethought them of digging up the corpse and burning it; and lo, the snow stopped falling and spring came with a burst.<sup>2</sup>

Ceremonies  
at puberty.

*Ceremonies at Puberty.*—The attainment of puberty is celebrated by savages with ceremonies, some of which seem to be directly connected with totemism. The Australian rites of initiation at puberty include the raising of those scars on the persons of the clansmen and clanswomen which serve as tribal badges or actually depict the totem. They also include those mutilations of the person by knocking out teeth, etc., which we have seen reason to suppose are meant to assimilate the man to his totem. When we remember that the fundamental rules of totem society are rules regulating marriage, or rather sexual intercourse, and that these rules are based on distinctions of totem, persons of the same totem being forbidden, under pain of death, to have connection with each other, the propriety of imprinting these marks on the persons of the clansmen and of inculcating these rules on their minds at the very moment when transgression of these all-important rules first becomes possible, is immediately apparent; and the necessity for such marks will further appear when we consider the minute subdivision of savage tribes into local groups, which, at once united and divided by an elaborate code of sexual permissions and prohibitions, are at the same time disjoined by a difference of dialect or even of language, such as, in the absence of some visible symbolism, must have rendered all these permissions and prohibitions inoperative. On this view, a chief object of these initiation ceremonies was to

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, *Hist. du Paraguay*, i. p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> *Rel. des Jés.*, 1667, p. 19; *Lett. Édif.*, vi. 169 sq.

teach the youths with whom they might or might not have connection, and to put them in possession of a visible language, consisting of personal marks and (as we shall see immediately) gestures, by means of which they might be able to communicate their totems to, and to ascertain the totems of, strangers whose language they did not understand. So far, the consideration of these ceremonies would fall naturally under the section dealing with the social side of totemism. But as the rules which it is an object of these ceremonies to inculcate are probably deductions from that fundamental and as yet unexplained connection between a man and his totem, which constitutes the religion of totemism, they may fairly be considered here.

That lessons in conduct, especially towards the other sex, form part of these initiatory rites is certain. The youth is charged "to restrict himself to the class (totem division) which his name confines him to. . . . The secrets of the tribe are imparted to him at this time. These instructions are repeated every evening while the *Bora* ceremony lasts, and form the principal part of it."<sup>1</sup> To supply the youth with a gesture language for the purpose already indicated may be the intention of the totem dances or pantomimes which form part of the initiatory rites.

*E.g.*, at one stage of these rites in Australia a number of men appear on the scene howling and running on all fours in imitation of the dingo or native Australian dog; at last the leader jumps up, clasps his hands, and shouts the totem name "wild dog."<sup>2</sup> The Coast Murring tribe in New South Wales had an initiatory ceremony at which the totem name "brown snake" was shouted, and a medicine-man produced a live brown snake out of his mouth.<sup>3</sup> The totem clans of the Bechuanas have each its special dance or pantomime, and when they wish to ascertain a stranger's

Lessons in  
conduct  
imparted at  
initiation.

Animal  
dances or  
panto-  
mimes at  
initiation.

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 296, *cf.* 450.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 450.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, xvi. p. 43. At the initiatory rites of the Phrygian god Sabazius, a snake (or a golden image of one) was drawn through the novice's robe. Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, v. 21; Firmicus

Maternus, *De errore profan. relig.*, 10; Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, § 16. *Cf.* Demosth., p. 313 (*De Corona*, § 260); Strab., x. 3, 18. See Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, p. 66 *sq.*

clan, they ask him "What do you dance?"<sup>1</sup> We find elsewhere that dancing has been used as a means of sexual selection. Thus among the Tshimsians, one of the totem tribes on the north-west coast of North America, one of the ceremonies observed by a girl at puberty is a formal dance before all the people.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Kasias in Bengal, amongst whom husband and wife are always of different clans, Kasia maidens dance at the new moon in March; the young men do not dance but only look on, and many matches are made at these times.<sup>3</sup> On the 15th day of the month Abh the damsels of Jerusalem, clad in white, used to go out and dance in the vineyards, saying, "Look this way, young man, and choose a wife. Look not to the face but rather to the family."<sup>4</sup> Attic maidens between the ages of five and ten had to pretend to be bears; they were called bears, and they imitated the action of bears. No man would marry a girl who had not thus "been a bear."<sup>5</sup>

Animal dances intended to give the novice power over the animals.

The totem dances at initiation are to be distinguished from those animal dances, also practised at initiation, the object of which appears to be to give the novice power over the animals represented. Thus an initiatory ceremony in New South Wales is to present to the novices the effigy of a kangaroo made of grass. "By thus presenting to them the dead kangaroo, it was indicated that the power was about to be imparted to them of killing that animal." The men then tied tails of grass to their girdles and hopped about in imitation of kangaroos, while two others followed

<sup>1</sup> Livingstone, *South Africa*, p. 13; J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, p. 391, cf. p. 135 n.; *A. I.*, xvi. p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Geol. Surv. of Canada, Report for 1878-79*, p. 131B; for the Tshimsian totems, *ib.*, 134B.

<sup>3</sup> *Tr. Eth. Soc.*, New Series, vii. 309; for Kasia exogamy, Dalton, *Ethn. of Beng.*, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Mishna, *Ta'anith*, iv. 8 (Surenhus., ii. p. 385).

<sup>5</sup> Schol. on Aristophanes, *Lysist.* 645; Harpocration, *s.v.* ἀρκτεῦσαι; Suidas, *s.v.* ἀρκτεῦσαι and ἀρκτος ἢ βραυρωλοῖς; Bekker's *Anecd. Gr.*, p.

206, 4; *ib.* 444, 30. This sacred dance or pantomime was a dedication of the damsels to either the Brauronian or Munychian Artemis; and legend said that a tame bear had been kept in her sanctuary. The Arcadian Artemis, as K. O. Müller says (*Dorier*,<sup>2</sup> i. p. 376), appears to be identical with Callisto; and Callisto was the ancestress of the Arcadians (= Bear people, from ἀρκος, another form of ἀρκτος), was herself turned into a bear, and was represented seated on a bearskin (Paus., x. 31, 10). For an African example see Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique* (Amsterdam, 1686), p. 249.

them with spears and pretended to wound them.<sup>1</sup> An imitation of a wallaby hunt forms another Australian initiatory ceremony.<sup>2</sup> These hunting dances, or rather pantomimes, at initiation are therefore closely similar to those pantomimes which savage hunters perform before going to the chase, believing that through a sort of sympathetic magic the game will be caught like the actors in the mimic hunt. Thus, before the Koossa Caffres go out hunting one of them takes a handful of grass in his mouth and crawls about on all fours to represent the game, while the rest raise the hunting cry and rush at him with their spears till he falls apparently dead.<sup>3</sup> Negroes of Western Equatorial Africa, before setting out to hunt the gorilla, act a gorilla hunt, in which the man who plays the gorilla pretends to be killed.<sup>4</sup>

Before hunting the bear the Dacotas act a bear pantomime, in which a medicine-man dresses entirely in the skin of a bear, and others wear masques consisting of the skin of the bear's head, and all of them imitate bears.<sup>5</sup> When buffaloes are scarce, the Mandans dance wearing the skins of buffaloes' heads with the horns on their heads.<sup>6</sup> "Each hunt," says Chateaubriand, "has its dance, which consists in the imitation of the movements, habits, and cries of the animal to be hunted; they climb like a bear, build like a beaver, gallop about like a buffalo, leap like a roe, and yelp like a fox."<sup>7</sup> The Indians of San Juan Capistrano acted similar hunting pantomimes before the stuffed skin of a coyote or of a mountain cat before they set out for the chase.<sup>8</sup> The ancient Greeks had similar dances for the purpose of catching beasts and birds. Thus a man wearing a headdress or necklace in imitation of a species of owl

Animal  
dances  
or panto-  
mimes  
before  
hunting.

<sup>1</sup> Collins, *Account of the English Colony of New South Wales*, London, 1798, pp. 569, 571; Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, ii, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii, p. 449.

<sup>3</sup> Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Afr.*, i, p. 269.

<sup>4</sup> W. W. Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 194 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Catlin, *Amer. Indians*, i, p. 245. Cf. Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tr.*, iv, 60; the

Dacotas "pretend to charm some kinds of animals by mimicking them, and sometimes succeed in killing game in this way."

<sup>6</sup> Catlin, *op. cit.*, i, 127. Cf. Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, *Nord-Amerika*, ii, p. 263 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Chateaubriand, *Voy. en Amér.*, p. 142 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Bancroft, *Nat. Races of the Pac. St.*, iii, p. 167.

mimicked the bird and was supposed thus to catch it.<sup>1</sup> Such pantomimes, acted in presence of the animal, may be entirely rational, as in the common cases where the savage disguises himself in the animal's skin and is thus enabled either to act as a decoy to the herd<sup>2</sup> or to approach and kill the animal.<sup>3</sup> But these pantomimes, when they are acted before the hunt takes place, are of course purely magical.<sup>4</sup>

Magical ceremonies at initiation.

But in these rites of initiation the religious aspect of totemism is also prominent. In some of the dances this is certainly the case. Thus at their initiatory rites the Yuin tribe in New South Wales mould figures of the totems in earth and dance before them, and a medicine-man brings up out of his inside the "magic" appropriate to the totem before which he stands: before the figure of the porcupine he brings up a stuff like chalk, before the kangaroo a stuff like glass, etc.<sup>5</sup> Again, it is at initiation that the youth is solemnly forbidden to eat of certain foods; but as the list of foods prohibited to youths at puberty both in Australia and America extends far beyond the simple totem, it would seem that we are here in contact with those unknown general ideas of the savage, whereof totemism is only a special product. Thus the Narrinyeri youth at initiation are forbidden to eat twenty different kinds of game, besides any food belonging to women. If they eat of these forbidden foods it is thought they will grow ugly.<sup>6</sup> In the

Food taboos imposed at initiation.

<sup>1</sup> Julius Pollux, iv. 103; Aelian, *N. A.*, xv. 28; Athenaeus, 391ab, 629f.

<sup>2</sup> Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tr.*, iv. 93.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *American Naturalist*, iv. 136 sq.; *American Antiquarian*, viii. 328. Iroquois hunters wore skeleton frameworks of wood over which they threw the skin of whatever animal they wished to imitate. *J. A. I.*, xiv. p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> For other examples of animal dances or pantomimes (some of them apparently merely recreations) see Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tr.*, v. p. 277; Catlin, *Amer. Ind.*, ii. 126, 248; Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, *Nord-Amerika*, ii. p. 246; S. Powers, *Tr. of Calif.*, p. 199 sq.; Bancroft, *Nat.*

*Races of the Pac. St.*, i. p. 706; *Rep. of Internat. Polar Exped. to Point Barrow, Alaska*, p. 41 sq.; E. James, *Exped. to the Rocky Mountains*, ii. 58; *American Antiquarian*, vii. p. 211; A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 296 sq.; *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vi. (1887) p. 54; Dalton, *Ethn. of Beng.*, p. 155 sq.; Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Theile des russischen Reichs*, iii. p. 64 sq.; Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 230; *Original-Mittheil. aus der ethnolog. Abth. der Königl. Museen zu Berlin*, i. pp. 179 sq., 184; Eyre, *Journals*, ii. p. 233.

<sup>5</sup> *Journ. and Proc. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1882, p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> *Nat. Tribes of S. Austral.*, p. 17.

Mycoolon tribe, near the Gulf of Carpentaria, the youth at initiation is forbidden to eat of eaglehawk and its young, native companion and its young, some snakes, turtles, ant-eaters, and emu eggs.<sup>1</sup> In New South Wales the young men at initiation are forbidden to kill and eat (1) "any animal that burrows in the ground, for it recalls to mind the foot-holes<sup>2</sup> where the tooth was knocked out, *e.g.* the wombat; (2) such creatures as have very prominent teeth, for these recall the tooth itself; (3) any animal that climbs to the tree tops, for they are then near to Daramülün,<sup>3</sup> *e.g.* the native bear; (4) any bird that swims, for it recalls the final washing; (5) nor, above all, the emu, for this is Ngälalbal, the wife of Daramülün, and at the same time 'the woman'; for the novice during his probation is not permitted even so much as to look at a woman or to speak to one; and even, for some time after, he must cover his mouth with his rug when one is present." These rules are relaxed by degrees by an old man giving the youth a portion of the forbidden animal or rubbing him with its fat.<sup>4</sup> The Kurnai youth is not allowed to eat the female of any animal, nor the emu, nor the porcupine. He becomes free by having the fat of the animal smeared on his face.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, it is said that "initiation confers many privileges on the youths, as they are now allowed to eat many articles of food which were previously forbidden to them."<sup>6</sup> Thus in New South Wales before initiation a boy may eat only the females of the animals which he catches; but after initiation (which, however, may not be complete for several years) he may eat whatever he finds.<sup>7</sup> About the lower Murray boys before initiation are forbidden to eat emu, wild turkey, swan, geese, black duck, and the eggs of these birds; if they infringed this rule, "their hair would become prematurely grey, and the

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst these tribes the novice is placed with his feet in a pair of holes preparatory to the knocking out of the tooth (*J. A. I.*, xiii, p. 446 *sq.*; *ib.*, xiv, p. 359; *Journ. and Proc. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1883, p. 26).

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* the mythical being who is supposed to have instituted these

ceremonies (*J. A. I.*, xiii, 442, 446).

<sup>4</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii, p. 455 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, xiv, p. 316.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, 360. So with the Uaupés on the Amazon (A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 496).

<sup>7</sup> *Journ. and Proc. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1882, p. 208.

muscles of their limbs would waste away and shrink up."<sup>1</sup> The Dieri think that if a native grows grey or has much hair on his breast in youth, it has been caused by his eating iguana in childhood.<sup>2</sup> In North America the Creek youths at puberty were forbidden for twelve months to eat of young bucks, turkey-cocks, fowls, peas, and salt.<sup>3</sup> The Andamanese abstain from various kinds of food, including turtle, honey, and pork, for a year or several years before puberty; and amongst the ceremonies by which they are made free of these foods is the smearing of their bodies by the chief with honey and the melted fat of turtle and pork.<sup>4</sup>

Initiatory ceremonies intended to admit the novices to the life of the clan.

These ceremonies seem also to be meant to admit the youth into the life of the clan, and hence of the totem. The latter appears to be the meaning of a Carib ceremony, in which the father of the youth took a live bird of prey, of a particular species, and beat his son with it till the bird was dead and its head crushed, thus transferring the life and spirit of the martial bird to the future warrior. Further, he scarified his son all over, rubbed the juices of the bird into the wounds, and gave him the bird's heart to eat.<sup>5</sup> Amongst some Australian tribes the youth at initiation is smeared with blood drawn from the arms either of aged men or of all the men present, and he even receives the blood to drink. Amongst some tribes on the Darling this tribal blood is his only food for two days.<sup>6</sup> The meaning

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. and Proc. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1883, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes of S. Australia*, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. p. 185. For superstitious abstinence from salt cf. Adair, *Hist. Amer. Indians*, pp. 59, 115, 125, 166; Acosta, *Hist. of the Indies*, v. 17; Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tr.*, v. p. 268; Du Tertre, *Histoire generale des Antilles*, vol. ii. (Paris, 1667) p. 371; Bancroft, *Nat. Races of the Pac. St.*, i. p. 520 n.; Sievers, *Reise in der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta*, p. 94; C. Bock, *Headhunters of Borneo*, pp. 218, 223; Plutarch, *Qu. Conviv.*, viii. 8, 2; *id.*, *Is. et Osir.*, 5; A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 502; *Asiatick Researches*, vii. p. 307; Duff Macdonald, *Africana*, i.

pp. 110, 170; Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 405. For an African example of the prohibition of different foods at successive periods of life see Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 336.

<sup>4</sup> E. H. Man, *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, p. 62 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Rochefort, *Hist. nat. et mor. des Iles Antilles* (Rotterdam, 1666), p. 556; Du Tertre, *Histoire generale des Antilles*, vol. ii. p. 377.

<sup>6</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 128, 295; G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Austr. and New Zeal.*, i. 115; *Nat. Tribes of S. Austr.*, 162 sq., 227, 232, 234, 270; Brough Smyth, i. 67 sq.; Fison and Howitt, 286. The Australians also draw blood from themselves and give it to their sick relations to drink (*J. A. I.*, xiii. 132 sq.). So

of this smearing with blood seems put beyond a doubt by the following custom. Among the Gonds, a non-Aryan race of Central India, the rajas, by intermarriage with Hindus, have lost much of their pure Gond blood, and are half Hindus; hence one of the ceremonies at their installation is "the touching of their foreheads with a drop of blood drawn from the body of a pure aborigine of the tribe they belong to."<sup>1</sup> Further, the Australians seek to convey to the novices the powers and dignity of manhood by means of certain magic passes, while the youths receive the spiritual gift with corresponding gestures.<sup>2</sup> Among some tribes the youths at initiation sleep on the graves of their ancestors, in order to absorb their virtues.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, a very notable fact that the initiation of an Australian youth is said to be conducted, not by men of the same totem, but by men of that portion of the tribe into which he may marry.<sup>4</sup> In some of the Victorian tribes no person related to the youth by blood can interfere or assist in his initiation.<sup>5</sup> Whether this is true of all tribes and of all the rites at initiation does not appear.<sup>6</sup>

Connected with totemism is also the Australian ceremony at initiation of pretending to recall a dead man to life by the utterance of his totem name. An old man lies down in a grave and is covered up lightly with earth; but

Initiatory ceremonies of resurrection and new birth.

do the Hare Indians in America (Petitot, *Monographie des Dènè-Dindjé*, p. 60; *id.*, *Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-ouest*, p. 269). Amongst the Guamos on the Orinoco the chief was bound to draw blood from his body wherewith to anoint the stomach of a sick clansman. If sickness was at all prevalent he was thus reduced to great emaciation (Gumilla, *Hist. de l'Orenoque*, i. p. 261). The Chinese sometimes cut pieces out of their flesh and give them to their sick parents to eat (Dennys, *Folk-Lore of China*, p. 68 sq.). Amongst some of the Caribs a new-born child was smeared with its father's blood (Rochefort, *op. cit.*, p. 552). In all these cases the idea is that the life of the clan or family is in the blood, and may be transferred with the blood from one member of it to

another. For another way of communicating the common life of the clan to a sick member of it, see *Jour. and Proc. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1883, p. 32.

<sup>1</sup> J. Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 451.

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. and Proc. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1882, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> Howitt, in *J. A. I.*, xiii. 458.

<sup>5</sup> Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> We should certainly expect it not to be true of the blood-smearing. And this ceremony appears not to be practised by the tribes referred to by Howitt and Dawson, *ll. cc.* The plucking out of the hair of the pubis (see below) is performed by men of a different tribe (Eyre, *Journals*, ii. p. 337).

at the mention of his totem name he starts up to life.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes it is believed that the youth himself is killed by a being called Thuremlui, who cuts him up, restores him to life, and knocks out a tooth.<sup>2</sup> Here the idea seems to be that of a second birth, or the beginning of a new life for the novice; hence he receives a new name at the time when he is circumcised, or the tooth knocked out, or the blood of the kin poured on him.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Indians of Virginia and the Quojas in Africa, the youths after initiation pretended to forget the whole of their former lives (parents, language, customs, etc.) and had to learn everything over again like new-born babes.<sup>4</sup> A Wolf clan in Texas used to dress up in wolf skins and run about on all fours, howling and mimicking wolves; at last they scratched up a living clansman, who had been buried on purpose, and, putting a bow and arrows in his hands, bade him do as the wolves do—rob, kill, and murder.<sup>5</sup> This may have been an initiatory ceremony, revealing to the novice in pantomime the double origin of the clan—from wolves and from the ground. For it is a common belief with totem clans that they issued originally from the ground.<sup>6</sup>

Ceremonial  
killing of  
sacred  
animals.

Connected with this mimic death and revival of a clansman appears to be the real death and supposed revival of the totem itself. We have seen that some Californian Indians killed the buzzard, and then buried and mourned over it like a clansman. But it was believed that, as often as the bird was killed, it was made alive again. Much the same idea appears in a Zuni ceremony described by an eyewitness, Mr. Cushing. He tells how a procession of fifty

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 453 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, xiv. 358.

<sup>3</sup> Angas, i. 115; Brough Smyth, i. 75 n.; *J. A. I.*, xiv. 357, 359; *Nat. Tr. of S. Austr.*, pp. 232, 269. Hence, too, the plucking of the hair from the pubis or incipient beard of the youth at initiation. See Eyre, *Journals*, ii. pp. 337 sq., 340; *Native Tribes of S. Australia*, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> R. Beverley, *History of Virginia* (London, 1722), p. 177 sq.; Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 268. On initiation regarded as a new birth see

Kulischer, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xv. p. 194 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tr.*, v. 683.

<sup>6</sup> Lewis and Clarke, i. 190, ed. 1815; Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, iv. p. 185; *Third Rep.*, p. 237; Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, *Nord-Amerika*, ii. 160; C. C. Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 4 sq. The Californian Indians think that their coyote ancestors were moulded directly from the soil (S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, pp. 5, 147).

men set off for the spirit-land, or (as the Zunis call it) "the home of our others," and returned after four days, each man bearing a basket full of living, squirming turtles, One turtle was brought to the house where Mr. Cushing was staying, and it was welcomed with divine honours. It was addressed as, "Ah! my poor dear lost child or parent, my sister or brother to have been! Who knows which? May be my own great great grandfather or mother?" Nevertheless, next day it was killed and its flesh and bones deposited in the river, that it might "return once more to eternal life among its comrades in the dark waters of the lake of the dead." The idea that the turtle was dead was repudiated with passionate sorrow; it had only, they said, "changed houses and gone to live for ever in the home of 'our lost others.'"<sup>1</sup> The meaning of such ceremonies is not clear. Perhaps, as has been suggested,<sup>2</sup> they are piacular sacrifices, in which the god dies for his people. This is borne out by the curses with which the Egyptians loaded the head of the slain bull.<sup>3</sup> Such solemn sacrifices of the totem are not to be confused with the mere killing of the animal for food, even when the killing is accompanied by apologies and tokens of sorrow. Whatever their meaning, they appear not to be found among the rudest totem tribes, but only amongst peoples like the Zuni and Egyptians, who, retaining totemism, have yet reached a certain level of culture. The idea of the immortality of the individual totem, which is brought out in these ceremonies, appears to be an extension of the idea of the immortality of the species, which is, perhaps, of the essence of totemism, and is prominent, *e.g.*, in Samoa. Hence it is not necessary to suppose that the similar festivals, which, with mingled lamentation and joy, celebrate the annual death and revival of vegetation,<sup>4</sup> are directly borrowed from totemism; both may spring independently from the observation of the mortality of the individual and the immortality of the species.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cushing, in *Century Magazine*, May 1883.

<sup>3</sup> Herod., ii. 39.

<sup>2</sup> See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, article "Sacrifice," vol. xxi. p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ency. Brit.*, ninth ed., article "Thesmophoria."

Sacred  
dancing  
associa-  
tions in  
North  
America.

Closely connected with totemism, though crossing the regular lines of totem kinship, are the sacred dancing bands or associations, which figure largely in the social life of many North American tribes. These bands for the most part bear animal names, and possess characteristic dances, also badges which the members wear in dancing, and which often, though not always, consist of some parts (skin, claws, etc.) of the animals from which the bands take their name. As distinguished from totem clans, these bands consist not of kinsmen, but of members who have purchased the privilege of admission, and who in each society are generally all about the same age, boys belonging to one band, youths to another, and so on through the different stages of life. In some tribes both sexes belong to all the bands; in others there are separate bands for the sexes. Some of the bands are entrusted with certain police functions, such as maintaining order in the camp, on the march, in hunting, etc.<sup>1</sup> Such associations probably originate in a feeling that the protection of the totem is not by itself sufficient; feeling this, men seek an additional protection. Hence some of these bands have "medicines" with which they rub their bodies before going into battle, believing that this makes them invulnerable.<sup>2</sup> However, in the Snake Band of the Moquis we have an instance of a kinship group expanding by natural growth into a religious association,<sup>3</sup> and this is probably not an isolated case. The "clans" which Mr. Philander Prescott described as existing among the Dacotas in 1847<sup>4</sup> appear to have been religious associations rather than totem clans. These Dakota "clans" were constituted by the use of the same roots for "medicine"; each "clan" had its special "medicine," and there were constant feuds between them owing to the belief that each "clan" employed its magic "medicine" to injure men of other "clans." Each "clan" had some sacred animal (bear, wolf, buffalo, etc.), or part of an animal (head, tail, liver, wing, etc.), which they venerated through life, and might not eat nor (if it was a

<sup>1</sup> See Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, *Nord-Amerika*, i. 401, 440 sq., 576-579, ii. 138-146, 217-219, 240 sq.; *Third Rep.*, pp. 342-355, cf. *Second Rep.*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Third Report*, 349, 351.

<sup>3</sup> Bourke, *Snake Dance*, p. 180 sq.

<sup>4</sup> In Schoolcraft's *Ind. Tr.*, ii. 171, 175.

whole animal) kill; nor might they step on or over it.<sup>1</sup> Violation of these rules was thought to bring trouble on the offender. All this is totemic; but the mode of admission to the "clans" (namely, through the great medicine dance) seems appropriate rather to associations.

At this point a few words may be added on two subordinate kinds of totems which have been already referred to.

*Sex Totems.*—In Australia (but, so far as is known at present, nowhere else) each of the sexes has, at least in some tribes, its special sacred animal, whose name each individual of the sex bears, regarding the animal as his or her brother or sister respectively, not killing it nor suffering the opposite sex to kill it. These sacred animals therefore answer strictly to the definition of totems. Thus amongst the Kurnai all the men were called Yeerung (Emu-Wren) and all the women Djeetgun (Superb Warbler). The birds called Yeerung were the "brothers" of the men, and the birds called Djeetgun were the women's "sisters." If the men killed an emu-wren they were attacked by the women, if the women killed a superb warbler they were assailed by the men. Yeerung and Djeetgun were the mythical ancestors of the Kurnai.<sup>2</sup> The Kulin tribe in Victoria, in addition to sixteen clan totems, has two pairs of sex totems; one pair (the emu-wren and superb warbler) is identical with the Kurnai pair; the other pair is the bat (male totem) and the small night-jar (female totem). The latter pair extends to the extreme north-western confines of Victoria as the "man's brother" and the "woman's sister."<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Coast Murring tribe, as among the Kurnai and Kulin, the emu-wren is the "man's brother," but the "woman's sister" is the tree creeper.<sup>4</sup> Among the Mükjarawaint in Western Victoria, who have regular clan totems (white cockatoo, black cockatoo, iguana, crow, eaglehawk, etc.), all the men have, besides, the bat for their totem, and all the women have the small night-jar

<sup>1</sup> Stepping over a person or thing is not, to the primitive mind, merely disrespectful; it is supposed to exercise an injurious influence on the person or thing stepped over.

<sup>2</sup> Fison and Howitt, 194, 201 sq., 215, 235.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. I.*, xv. p. 416, cf. xii. p. 507.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, xv. 416.

Sex  
totems in  
Australia.

for theirs.<sup>1</sup> The Ta-ta-thi group of tribes in New South Wales, in addition to regular clan totems, has a pair of sex totems, the bat for men and a small owl for women; men and women address each other as Owls and Bats; and there is a fight if a woman kills a bat or a man kills a small owl.<sup>2</sup> Of some Victorian tribes it is said that "the common bat belongs to the men, who protect it against injury, even to the half killing of their wives for its sake. The fern owl, or large goatsucker, belongs to the women, and although a bird of evil omen, creating terror at night by its cry, it is jealously protected by them. If a man kills one, they are as much enraged as if it was one of their children, and will strike him with their long poles."<sup>3</sup> At Gunbower Creek on the lower Murray the natives called the bat "brother belonging to blackfellow," and would never kill one; they said that if a bat were killed, one of their women would be sure to die.<sup>4</sup> Among the Port Lincoln tribe, South Australia, the male and female of a small lizard seem to be the male and female totems respectively; at least either sex is said to have a mortal hatred of the opposite sex of these little animals, the men always destroying the female and the women the male. They have a myth that the lizard divided the sexes in the human species.<sup>5</sup>

Sex totems  
quite  
distinct  
from clan  
totems.

Clearly these sex totems are not to be confounded with clan totems. To see in them, as Messrs. Fison and Howitt do or did, merely clan totems in a state of transition from female to male kinship is to confound sex with kinship. Even if such a view could have been held so long as sex totems were only known to exist among the Kurnai, who have no clan totems left, it must have fallen to the ground when sex totems were found coexisting with clan totems, and that either with female or male (uterine or agnatic) descent. The sex totem seems to be still more sacred than the clan totem; for men who do not object to other people killing their clan totem will fiercely defend their sex totem against any attempt of the opposite sex to injure it.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. I.*, xii. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, xiv. 350.

<sup>3</sup> Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Trans. Philosoph. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1862-1865, p. 359 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Angas, *op. cit.*, i. 109; *Nat. Tr. of S. Austr.*, p. 241.

<sup>6</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiv. p. 350.

*Individual Totems.*—It is not only the clans and the sexes that have totems; individuals also have their own special totems, *i.e.* classes of objects (generally species of animals), which they regard as related to themselves by those ties of mutual respect and protection which are characteristic of totemism. This relationship, however, in the case of the individual totem, begins and ends with the individual man, and is not, like the clan totem, transmitted by inheritance. The evidence for the existence of individual totems in Australia, though conclusive, is very scanty. In North America it is abundant.

In Australia we hear of a medicine-man whose clan totem through his mother was kangaroo, but whose "secret" (*i.e.* individual) totem was the tiger-snake. Snakes of that species, therefore, would not hurt him.<sup>1</sup> An Australian seems usually to get his individual totem by dreaming that he has been transformed into an animal of the species. Thus a man who had dreamed several times that he had become a lace-lizard was supposed to have acquired power over lace-lizards, and he kept a tame one, which was thought to give him supernatural knowledge and to act as his emissary for mischief. Hence he was known as Bunjil Bataluk (Old Lizard).<sup>2</sup> Another man dreamed three times he was a kangaroo; hence he became one of the kangaroo kindred, and might not eat any part of a kangaroo on which there was blood; he might not even carry home one on which there was blood. He might eat cooked kangaroo; but if he were to eat the meat with the blood on it, the spirits would no longer take him up aloft.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. I.*, xvi. p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 45. The aversion, in certain cases, of savages to blood seems to be an important factor in their customs. The North American Indians, "through a strong principle of religion, abstain in the strictest manner from eating the blood of any animal" (Adair, *Hist. Amer. Ind.*, p. 134). They "commonly pull their new-killed venison (before they dress it) several times through the smoke and flame of the fire, both by the way of a sacrifice and to consume the blood, life, or animal

spirits of the beast, which it would be a most horrid abomination to eat" (*ib.*, p. 117). Many of the Slave, Hare, and Dogrib Indians will not taste the blood of game; hunters of the two former tribes collect the blood in the paunch of the animal and bury it in the snow at some distance from the flesh (Petitot, *Monographie des Dènè-Dindjé*, p. 76). Men have a special objection to see the blood of women, at least at certain times; they say that if they were to see it they would not be able to fight against their enemies and would be killed (Mrs. James Smith,

Individual  
totems in  
America.

In America the individual totem is usually the first animal of which a youth dreams during the long and generally solitary fasts which American Indians observe at puberty. He kills the animal or bird of which he dreams, and henceforward wears its skin or feathers, or some part of them, as an amulet, especially on the war-path and in hunting.<sup>1</sup> A man may even (though this seems exceptional) acquire several totems in this way; thus an Ottawa medicine-man had for his individual totems the tortoise, swan, woodpecker, and crow, because he had dreamed of them all in his fast at puberty.<sup>2</sup> The respect paid to the individual totem varies in different tribes. Among the Slave, Hare, and Dogrib Indians a man may not eat, skin, nor if possible kill his individual totem, which in these tribes is said to be always a carnivorous animal. Each man carries with him a picture of his totem (bought of a trader); when he is unsuccessful in the chase, he pulls out the picture, smokes to it, and makes it a speech.<sup>3</sup>

Sacrifices to  
individual  
totems.

The sacrifices made to the individual totem are sometimes very heavy; a Mandan has been known to turn loose the whole of his horses and abandon them for ever as a sacrifice to his "medicine" or individual totem.<sup>4</sup> The sacrifices at the fasts at puberty sometimes consist of finger joints.<sup>5</sup> The Mosquito Indians in Central America, after dreaming of the beast or bird, sealed their compact with it by drawing blood from various parts of their body.<sup>6</sup> The Innuits of Alaska (who are not Indians, but belong to the Eskimo family and

*The Booandik Tribe*, p. 5). Hence, although bleeding is a common Australian cure for men, women are not allowed to be bled (Angas, i. p. 111). This aversion is perhaps the explanation of that seclusion of women at puberty, child-birth, etc., which has assumed different forms in many parts of the world.

<sup>1</sup> Catlin, *N. Amer. Indians*, i. p. 36 sq.; Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tr.*, v. p. 196; *id.*, *Amer. Ind.*, p. 213; *Lettr. Édif.*, vi. 173; Washington Matthews, *Hidatsa Indians*, p. 50; Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 173 sq.; Bancroft, i. 283 sq.; *id.*, iii. 156; Mayne, *Brit. Columb.*, p. 302; P.

Jones, *Hist. Ojebway Indians*, p. 87 sq.; Loskiel, i. 40; *Tr. Ethnol. Soc.*, New Series, iv. 281, 295 sq.; Pétitot, *Monographie des Dènè-Dindjilè*, p. 36; *Collect. Minnes. Hist. Soc.*, v. p. 65; *American Antiquarian*, ii. p. 10; Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, p. lxx sq.

<sup>2</sup> Schoolcraft, *Am. Ind.*, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1866*, p. 307; cf. Pétitot, *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> Lewis and Clarke, i. p. 189 sq., 8vo ed., 1815.

<sup>5</sup> Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, *Nord-Amerika*, ii. p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> Bancroft, i. p. 740 sq.

have no clan totems) do not scruple to eat their guardian animals, and, if unsuccessful, they change their patron. Innuit women have no such guardian animals.<sup>1</sup> The Indians of Canada also changed their okki or manitoo (individual totem) if they had reason to be dissatisfied with it; amongst them, women had also their okkis or manitoos, but did not pay so much heed to them as did the men. They tattooed their individual totems on their persons.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Indians of San Juan Capistrano, a figure of the individual totem, which was acquired as usual by fasting, was moulded in a paste made of crushed herbs on the right arm of the novice. Fire was then set to it, and thus the figure of the totem was burned into the flesh.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the individual totem is not acquired by the individual himself at puberty, but is fixed for him independently of his will at birth. Thus among the tribes of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, when a woman was about to be confined, the relations assembled in the hut and drew on the floor figures of different animals, rubbing each one out as soon as it was finished. This went on till the child was born, and the figure that then remained sketched on the ground was the child's *tona* or totem. When he grew older the child procured his totem animal and took care of it, believing that his life was bound up with the animal's, and that when it died he too must die.<sup>4</sup> Similarly in Samoa, at child-birth the help of several "gods" was invoked in succession, and the one who happened to be addressed at the moment of the birth was the infant's totem. These "gods" were dogs, eels, sharks, lizards, etc. A Samoan had no objection to eat another man's "god"; but to eat his own would have been death or injury to him.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Quiches in Central America, the sorcerer gives the infant the name of an animal, which becomes the child's guardian spirit for life.<sup>6</sup> In all such cases there is the possibility of the totem being ancestral; it may be that of the mother or father.

Various modes of acquiring individual totems.

<sup>1</sup> Dall, *Alaska*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouv. Fr.*, vi. 67 sq. The word *okki* is Huron; *manitoo* is Algonkin (*ib.*; Sagard, *Le grand Voyage du pays des Hurons*, p. 231).

<sup>3</sup> Boscana, in A. Robinson's *Life in California*, pp. 270 sq., 273; Bancroft, i. 414, iii. 167 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Bancroft, i. 661.

<sup>5</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, 17.

<sup>6</sup> Bancroft, i. 703.

In one Central American tribe the son of a chief was free to choose whether he would accept the ancestral totem or adopt a new one ; but a son who did not adopt his father's totem was always hateful to his father during his life.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the okkis or manitoos acquired by dreams are not totems but fetiches, being not classes of objects but individual objects, such as a particular tree, rock, knife, pipe, etc.<sup>2</sup> When the okkis or manitoos are, as sometimes happens, not acquired by a special preparation like fasting, but picked up at hazard, they have no longer any resemblance to totems, but are fetiches pure and simple.<sup>3</sup> The Andamanese appear to have individual totems, for every man and woman is prohibited all through life from eating some one (or more) fish or animal ; generally the forbidden food is one which the mother thought disagreed with the child ; but if no food disagreed with him, the person is free to choose what animal he will avoid.<sup>4</sup> Some of the people of Mota, Banks Islands, have a kind of individual totem called *tamaniu*. It is some object, generally an animal, as a lizard or snake, but sometimes a stone, with which the person imagines that his life is bound up ; if it dies or is broken or lost, he will die. Fancy dictates the choice of a *tamaniu* ; or it may be found "by drinking an infusion of certain herbs and heaping together the dregs. Whatever living thing is first seen in or upon the heap is the *tamaniu*. It is watched but not fed or worshipped." It is thought to come at call.<sup>5</sup> But as the *tamaniu* seems to be an individual object, it is a fetich rather than a totem.

The *tamaniu*, a kind of individual totem in the Banks Islands.

Other kinds of totems.

Besides the clan totem, sex totem, and individual totem, there are (as has been indicated) some other kinds or varieties of totems ; but the consideration of them had better be deferred until the social organisation based on totemism has been described.

<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, i. 753.

<sup>2</sup> Laftau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, i. 370 sq. ; Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouv. Fr.*, vi. 68 ; Kohl, *Kitchi Gami*, i. 85 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Rel. des Jés.*, 1648, p. 74 sq.

<sup>4</sup> E. H. Man, *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> The Rev. R. H. Codrington, in *Trans. and Proc. Roy. Soc. of Victoria*, xvi. p. 136. The Banks Islanders are divided into two exogamous intermarrying divisions with descent in the female line (*ib.*, p. 119 sq.), but these divisions seem not to possess totems.

**Social Aspect of Totemism, or the relation of the men of a totem to each other and to men of other totems.**

Social aspect of Totemism.

(1) All the members of a totem clan regard each other as kinsmen or brothers and sisters, and are bound to help and protect each other.<sup>1</sup> The totem bond is stronger than the bond of blood or family in the modern sense. This is expressly stated of the clans of Western Australia and of North-western America,<sup>2</sup> and is probably true of all societies where totemism exists in full force. Hence in totem tribes every local group, being necessarily composed (owing to exogamy) of members of at least two totem clans, is liable to be dissolved at any moment into its totem elements by the outbreak of a blood feud, in which husband and wife must always (if the feud is between their clans) be arrayed on opposite sides, and in which the children will be arrayed against either their father or their mother, according as descent is traced through the mother, or through the father.<sup>3</sup> In blood feud the whole clan of the aggressor is responsible for his deed, and the whole clan of the aggrieved is entitled to satisfaction.<sup>4</sup> Nowhere perhaps is this solidarity carried further than among the Goajiros in Colombia, South America. The Goajiros are divided into some twenty to thirty totem clans, with descent in the female line; and amongst them, if a man happens to cut himself with his own knife, to fall off his horse, or to injure himself in any way, his family on the mother's side immediately demand payment as blood-money from him. "Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it." His father's family also demands compensation, but not so much.<sup>5</sup>

The totem clan is a body of kinsmen bound together by the obligation of the blood feud.

<sup>1</sup> James, in *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, p. 313; P. Jones, *Hist. Ojebway Indians*, p. 138; *Geol. Surv. of Canada, Rep. for 1878-79*, p. 134B; H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 52; A. Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, i. p. 246; Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 81 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Grey, *Journ.*, ii. 231; *Report of the Smithsonian Inst. for 1866*, p. 315; Petroff, *Rep. on Alaska*, p. 165. Other authorities speak of the superiority of the totem bond over the tribal bond (Morgan, *League of the*

*Iroquois*, p. 82; Mayne, *Brit. Columb.*, p. 257; *American Antiquarian*, ii. p. 109).

<sup>3</sup> Grey, *Journals*, ii. 230, 238 sq.; *Smithsonian Rep.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Fison and Howitt, 156 sq., 216 sq. Sometimes the two clans meet and settle it by single combat between picked champions (*Journ. and Proc. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1882, p. 226).

<sup>5</sup> Simons, in *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.*, Nov. 1885, p. 789 sq. Simons's information is repeated by W. Sievers, in his *Reise in der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta* (Leipsic, 1887), p. 255 sq.

To kill a fellow-clansman is a heinous offence. In Mangaia "such a blow was regarded as falling upon the god [totem] himself; the literal sense of 'ta atua' [to kill a member of the same totem clan] being god-striking or god-killing."<sup>1</sup>

Exogamy of the totem clan: persons of the same totem may not marry each other.

(2) *Exogamy*.—Persons of the same totem may not marry or have sexual intercourse with each other. The Navajos believe that if they married within the clan "their bones would dry up and they would die."<sup>2</sup> But the penalty for infringing this fundamental law is not merely natural; the clan steps in and punishes the offenders. In Australia the regular penalty for sexual intercourse with a person of a forbidden clan is death. It matters not whether the woman be of the same local group or has been captured in war from another tribe; a man of the wrong clan who uses her as his wife is hunted down and killed by his clansmen, and so is the woman; though in some cases, if they succeed in eluding capture for a certain time, the offence may be condoned. In the Ta-ta-thi tribe, New South Wales, in the rare cases which occur, the man is killed but the woman is only beaten or speared, or both, till she is nearly dead; the reason given for not actually killing her being that she was probably coerced. Even in casual amours the clan prohibitions are strictly observed; any violations of these prohibitions "are regarded with the utmost abhorrence and are punished by death."<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the punishment stops short at a severe beating or spearing. Amongst some of the Victorian tribes, "should any sign of affection and courtship be observed between those of 'one flesh,' the brothers or male relatives of the woman beat her severely; the man is brought before the chief, and accused of an intention to fall into the same flesh, and is severely reprimanded by the tribe. If he persists and runs away with the object of his affections, they beat and 'cut his head all over,' and if the woman was a consenting party she is half killed."<sup>4</sup> An important

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Bourke, *Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> Howitt, in *Rep. of the Smithsonian*

*Inst. for 1883*, p. 804; Fison and Howitt, pp. 64-67, 289, 344 sq.; *J. A. I.*, xiv. p. 351 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Dawson, *Austr. Abor.*, p. 28.

exception to these rules, if it is correctly reported, is that of the Port Lincoln tribe, which is divided into two clans Mattiri and Karraru, and it is said that though persons of the same clan never marry, yet "they do not seem to consider less virtuous connections between parties of the same class [clan] incestuous."<sup>1</sup> Another exception, which also rests on the testimony of a single witness, is found among the Kunandaburi tribe.<sup>2</sup> Again, of the tribes on the lower Murray, lower Darling, etc., it is said that though the slightest blood relationship is with them a bar to marriage, yet in their sexual intercourse they are perfectly free, and incest of every grade continually occurs.<sup>3</sup>

In America the Algonkins consider it highly criminal for a man to marry a woman of the same totem as himself, and they tell of cases where men, for breaking this rule, have been put to death by their nearest relations.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the Ojibways also death is said to have been formerly the penalty.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Loucheux and Tinneh the penalty is merely ridicule. "The man is said to have married his sister, even though she may be from another tribe and there be not the slightest connection by blood between the two."<sup>6</sup>

In some tribes the marriage prohibition only extends to a man's own totem clan; he may marry a woman of any totem but his own. This is the case with the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands,<sup>7</sup> and, so far as appears, the Narrinyeri in South Australia,<sup>8</sup> and the Western Australian tribes described by Sir George Grey.<sup>9</sup> Oftener, however, the prohibition includes several clans, in none of which is a man allowed to marry. For such an exogamous group of clans within the tribe it is convenient to have a name; we shall therefore call it a phratry (L. H. Morgan), defining it as an exogamous division intermediate between the tribe

Exogamy of the totem clan in America.

Oftener the marriage prohibition extends to several totem clans: such an exogamous group of clans may be called a phratry.

<sup>1</sup> *Nat. Tr. of S. Australia*, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Howitt, in *Ann. Rep. of the Smithsonian Inst. for 1883*, p. 804.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. and Proc. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1883, p. 24; *Transactions of the Royal Society of Victoria*, vi. p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> James, in *Tanner's Narr.*, p. 313.

<sup>5</sup> *Collect. Minnesota Histor. Soc.*, v. p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> *Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Inst. for 1866*, p. 315.

<sup>7</sup> *Geol. Surv. of Canada, Rep. for 1878-79*, p. 134B.

<sup>8</sup> *Nat. Tr. of S. Austr.*, p. 12; *J. A. I.*, xii. p. 46.

<sup>9</sup> *Grey, Journ.*, ii. p. 226.

and the clan. The evidence goes to show that in many cases it was originally a totem clan which has undergone subdivision.

Exogamous  
phratries  
in America.

*Examples.*—The Creek Indians are at present divided into about twenty clans (Bear, Deer, Panther, Wild-Cat, Skunk, Raccoon, Wolf, Fox, Beaver, Toad, Mole, Maize, Wind, etc.), and some clans have become extinct. These clans are (or were) exogamous; a Bear might not marry a Bear, etc. But further, a Panther was prohibited from marrying not only a Panther but also a Wild-Cat. Therefore the Panther and Wild-Cat clans together form a phratry. Similarly a Toad might not marry a member of the extinct clan Tchu-Kotalgi; therefore the Toad and Tchu-Kotalgi clans formed another phratry. Other of the Creek clans may have been included in these or other phratries; but the memory of such arrangements, if they existed, has perished.<sup>1</sup> The Moquis of Arizona are divided into at least twenty-three totem clans, which are grouped in ten phratries; two of the phratries include three clans, the rest comprise two, and one clan (Blue-Seed-Grass) stands by itself.<sup>2</sup> The Choctaws were divided into two phratries, each of which included four clans; marriage was prohibited between members of the same phratry, but members of either phratry could marry into any clan of the other.<sup>3</sup> The Chickasas are divided into two phratries—(1) the Panther phratry, which includes four clans, namely, the Wild-Cat, Bird, Fish, and Deer; and (2) the Spanish phratry, which includes eight clans, namely, Raccoon, Spanish, Royal, Hush-ko-ni, Squirrel, Alligator, Wolf, and Blackbird.<sup>4</sup> The Seneca tribe of the Iroquois was divided into two phratries, each including four clans, the Bear, Wolf, Beaver, and Turtle clans forming one phratry, and the Deer, Snipe, Heron, and Hawk clans forming the other. Originally, as among the Choctaws, marriage was prohibited within the phratry but was permitted with any of the clans of the other phratry; the prohibition, however, has now broken down, and a Seneca may marry a woman of any clan but his own. Hence phratries, in our sense, no longer exist

<sup>1</sup> Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, p. 154 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Bourke, *Snake Dance*, p. 336.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia Americana*, Trans.

and *Collect. Americ. Antiq. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 109; Morgan, *A. S.*, pp. 99, 162.

<sup>4</sup> Morgan, *A. S.*, pp. 99, 163.

among the Senecas, though the organisation survives for certain religious and social purposes.<sup>1</sup> The Cayuga tribe of Iroquois had also two phratries and eight clans, but one phratry included five clans (Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Snipe, Eel) and the other included three (Deer, Beaver, Hawk).<sup>2</sup> The Onondaga-Iroquois have also eight clans, unequally distributed into two phratries, the Wolf, Turtle, Snipe, Beaver, and Ball forming one phratry, and the Deer, Eel, and Bear clans forming the other.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Tuscarora-Iroquois the Bear, Beaver, Great Turtle, and Eel clans form one phratry; and the Grey Wolf, Yellow Wolf, Little Turtle, and Snipe form the other.<sup>4</sup> The Wyandots (Hurons) are divided into four phratries, the Bear, Deer, and Striped Turtle forming the first; the Highland Turtle, Black Turtle, and Smooth Large Turtle the second; Hawk, Beaver, and Wolf the third; and Sea Snake and Porcupine the fourth.<sup>5</sup>

The phratries of the Thlinkets and the Mohegans deserve especial attention, because each phratry bears a name which is also the name of one of the clans included in it. The Thlinkets are divided as follows:—Raven phratry, with clans Raven, Frog, Goose, Sea-Lion, Owl, Salmon; Wolf phratry, with clans Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Whale, Shark, Auk. Members of the Raven phratry must marry members of the Wolf phratry, and *vice versa*.<sup>6</sup> Considering the prominent parts played in Thlinket mythology by the ancestors of the two phratries, and considering that the names of the phratries are also names of clans, it seems probable that the Raven and Wolf were the two original clans of the Thlinkets, which afterwards by subdivision became phratries. This was the opinion of the Russian missionary Veniaminof, the best early authority on the tribe.<sup>7</sup> Still more clearly do the Mohegan phratries appear to have been formed by subdivision from clans. They are as follows:<sup>8</sup>—Wolf phratry, with clans Wolf, Bear, Dog, Opossum; Turtle phratry, with clans Little Turtle, Mud Turtle, Great Turtle, Yellow Eel; Turkey

Phratries sometimes apparently formed by the subdivision of totem clans.

<sup>1</sup> Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 94 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 91 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> *First Rep.*, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> A. Krause, *Die Thlinkit-Indianer*,

112, 220; Holmberg, *op. cit.*, 293, 313; Pinart, in *Bull. Soc. Anthropol.*

*Paris*, 7th Nov. 1872, p. 792 *sq.*;

Petroff, *Rep. on Alaska*, p. 165 *sq.*

<sup>7</sup> Petroff, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>8</sup> Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

Explanation of the origin of split totems.

phratry, with clans Turkey, Crane, Chicken. Here we are almost forced to conclude that the Turtle phratry was originally a Turtle clan which subdivided into a number of clans, each of which took the name of a particular kind of turtle, while the Yellow Eel clan may have been a later subdivision. Thus we get a probable explanation of the origin of split totems; they seem to have arisen by the segmentation of a single original clan, which had a whole animal for its totem, into a number of clans, each of which took the name either of a part of the original animal or of a subspecies of it. We may conjecture that this was the origin of the Grey Wolf and the Yellow Wolf, and the Great Turtle and the Little Turtle clans of the Tuscarora-Iroquois (see above, p. 57); the Black Eagle and the White Eagle, and the Deer and Deer-Tail clans of the Kaws;<sup>1</sup> and of the Highland Turtle (striped), Highland Turtle (black), Mud Turtle, and Smooth Large Turtle clans of the Wyandots (Hurons).<sup>2</sup> This conclusion, so far as concerns the Hurons, is strengthened by the part played in Huron (and Iroquois) mythology by the turtle, which is said to have received on its back the first woman as she fell from the sky, and to have formed and supported the earth by the accretion of soil on its back.<sup>3</sup>

Personal names derived from the totem of the clan.

This explanation of the origin of split totems is confirmed by the custom of calling each member of a clan by a name which has some reference to the common totem of the clan. Thus among the birth-names<sup>4</sup> of boys in the Elk clan of the Omahas the following used to be given to sons in order of

<sup>1</sup> Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *First Rep.*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Rel. des Jés.*, 1636, p. 101; Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, i. p. 94; Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouv. Fr.*, vi. p. 147; T. Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, iv. p. 180 sq. Precedence was given to the Turtle clan among the Iroquois (the kindred of the Hurons) (T. Dwight, *op. cit.*, iv. p. 185; Zeisberger, in H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 54 n.), the Delawares (Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, p. 39; De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 79), and the Algonkins

(Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 51 n.); and Heckewelder (*op. cit.*, p. 81) states generally that the Turtle clan always takes the lead in the government of an Indian tribe. In the Delaware mythology the turtle plays the same part as in the Huron mythology (see above, p. 6).

<sup>4</sup> "Two classes of names were in use, one adapted to childhood and the other to adult life, which were exchanged at the proper period in the same formal manner; one being taken away, to use their expression, and the other bestowed in its place" (Morgan, *A. S.*, p. 79).

their birth—Soft Horn, Yellow Horn, Branching Horn, etc. Amongst the men's names in the same clan are Elk, Standing Elk, White Elk, Big Elk, Dark Breast (of an elk), Stumpy Tail (of an elk), etc. Amongst the women's names in the same clan are Female Elk, Tail Female, etc.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the names of men in the Black Shoulder (Buffalo) clan of the Omahas are Black Tongue (of a buffalo), He that walks last in the herd, Thick Shoulder (of a buffalo), etc.<sup>2</sup> And so with the names of individual members of other clans.<sup>3</sup> The same custom of naming clansmen after some part or attribute of the clan totem prevails also among the Encounter Bay tribe in South Australia; a clan totem of that tribe is the pelican, and a clansman may be called, *e.g.*, Pouch of a Pelican.<sup>4</sup> Clearly split totems might readily arise from single families separating from the clan and expanding into new clans, while they retained as clan names the names of their individual founders, as White Elk, Pouch of a Pelican. Hence such split totems as Bear's Liver,<sup>5</sup> Head of a Tortoise, Stomach of a Pig (see above, p. 10); such taboos as those of the subclans of the Omaha Black Shoulder clan (see above, p. 11); and such subclans as the sections of the Omaha Turtle subclan, namely, Big Turtle, Turtle that does not flee, Red-Breasted Turtle, and Spotted Turtle with red eyes.<sup>6</sup> Finally, Warren actually states that the numerous Bear clan of the Ojibways was formerly subdivided into subclans, each of which took for its totem some part of the Bear's body (head, foot, ribs, etc.), but that these have now merged into two, the common Bear and the Grizzly Bear.<sup>7</sup> The subdivision of the Turtle (Tortoise) clan, which on this hypothesis has taken place among the Tuscarora-Iroquois, is nascent among the Onondaga-Iroquois, for among them "the name of this clan is Hahnowa, which is the general word for tortoise; but the clan is divided into two septs or subdivisions, the Hanyatengona, or Great Tortoise, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Third Rep.*, p. 227 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 232.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 250; Morgan, *A. S.*, p. 169 n.

<sup>4</sup> *Nat. Tr. of S. Austr.*, p. 187.

<sup>5</sup> P. Jones, *Hist. Ojebway Ind.*, p. 138.

<sup>6</sup> *Third Rep.*, p. 240 sq.

<sup>7</sup> *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. p. 49.

Nikahnowaksa, or Little Tortoise, which together are held to constitute but one clan."<sup>1</sup>

Fusion of  
totem  
clans.

On the other hand, fusion of clans is known to have taken place, as among the Haidas, where the Black Bear and Fin-Whale clans have united;<sup>2</sup> and the same thing has happened to some extent among the Omahas and Osages.<sup>3</sup> We may also suspect fusion of clans wherever apparently disconnected taboos are observed by the same clan, as, *e.g.*, the prohibition to touch verdigris, charcoal, and the skin of a cat (*supra*, p. 12). Fusion of clans would also explain those totem badges which are said to be composed of parts of different animals joined together.<sup>4</sup>

Phratries in  
Australia.

In Australia the phratries are still more important than in America. Messrs. Howitt and Fison, who have done so much to advance our knowledge of the social system of the Australian aborigines, have given to these exogamous divisions the name of classes; but the term is objectionable, because it fails to convey (1) that these divisions are kinship divisions, and (2) that they are intermediate divisions; whereas the Greek term phratry conveys both these meanings, and is therefore appropriate.

In Aus-  
tralia the  
phratries  
are often  
subdivided  
into sub-  
phratries.

We have seen examples of Australian tribes in which members of any clan are free to marry members of any clan but their own; but such tribes appear to be exceptional. Often an Australian tribe is divided into two (exogamous) phratries, each of which includes under it a number of totem clans; and oftener still there are subphratries interposed between the phratry and the clans, each phratry including two subphratries, and the subphratries including totem clans. We will take examples of the former and simpler organisation first.

Examples  
of Aus-  
tralian  
tribes  
divided  
into two  
phratries  
with totem  
clans.

The Turra tribe in Yorke Peninsula, South Australia, is divided into two phratries, Wiltū (Eaglehawk) and Mūlta (Seal). The Eaglehawk phratry includes ten totem clans (Wombat, Wallaby, Kangaroo, Iguana, Wombat-Snake, Bandicoot, Black Bandicoot, Crow, Rock-Wallaby, and

<sup>1</sup> H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 53 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Geol. Surv. of Canada, Rep. for 1878-79*, p. 134B.

<sup>3</sup> *Third Rep.*, p. 235; *American Naturalist*, xviii, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *Acad.*, 27th Sept. 1884, p. 203.

Emu); and the Seal phratry includes six (Wild Goose, Butterfish, Mullet, Schnapper, Shark, and Salmon). The phratries are of course exogamous, but (as with the Choctaws, Mohegan, and, so far as appears, all the American phratries) any clan of the one phratry may intermarry with any clan of the other phratry.<sup>1</sup> Again, the Wotjoballuk tribe in North-western Victoria is divided into two phratries (Krokitch and Gamutch), each of which includes three totem clans; the rule of intermarriage is the same as before.<sup>2</sup> The Ngarego and Theddora tribes in New South Wales are divided into two phratries, Merūng (Eaglehawk) and Yūkembrūk (Crow); and each phratry includes eight totem clans.<sup>3</sup>

In Australia, as in America, we have an instance of a tribe with its clans arranged in phratries, but with an odd clan unattached to a phratry. This occurs in Western Victoria, where there are five totem clans thus arranged:

First phratry	.	.	{ (1) Long-Billed Cockatoo clan.
			{ (2) Pelican clan.
Second phratry	.		{ (3) Banksian Cockatoo clan.
			{ (4) Boa Snake clan.
			(5) Quail clan.

Here clans 1 and 2 may marry 3, 4, 5; 3 and 4 may marry 1, 2, 5; 5 may marry 1, 2, 3, 4.<sup>4</sup>

But the typical Australian tribe is divided into two exogamous phratries; each of these phratries is subdivided into two subphratries; and these subphratries are subdivided into an indefinite number of totem clans. The phratries being exogamous, it follows that their subdivisions (the subphratries and clans) are so also. The well-known Kamilaroi tribe in New South Wales will serve as an example. Its subdivisions are as follows:<sup>5</sup>—

The typical Australian clan is divided into two phratries, four subphratries, and an indefinite number of totem clans.

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Howitt, in *Rep. of the Smithsonian Inst. for 1883*, p. 818.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. p. 437 n.

<sup>4</sup> Dawson, *Austr. Abor.*, p. 26 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *J. A. I.*, xii. 500.

Phratries.	Subphratries.	Totem Clans.
Ditbi.	{ Muri. <sup>1</sup> Kubi.	{ Kangaroo, Opossum, Bandicoot, Padimelon, Iguana, Black Duck, Eaglehawk, Scrub Turkey, Yellow- Fish, Honey-Fish, Bream. Emu, Carpet-Snake, Black Snake, Red Kangaroo, Honey, Walleroo, Frog, Cod-Fish.
Kupathin.	{ Ipai. Kumbo.	

The freedom of marriage much restricted in a typical Australian tribe.

In such tribes the freedom of marriage is still more curtailed. A subphratry is not free to marry into either subphratry of the other phratry; each subphratry is restricted in its choice of partners to one subphratry of the other phratry; Muri can only marry Kumbo, and *vice versa*; Kubi can only marry Ipai, and *vice versa*. Hence (supposing the tribe to be equally distributed between the phratries and subphratries), whereas under the two phratry and clan system a man is free to choose a wife from half the women of the tribe, under the phratry, subphratry, and clan system he is restricted in his choice to one quarter of the women.

The Kiabara tribe, south of Maryborough in Queensland, will furnish another example: <sup>2</sup>—

Phratries.	Subphratries.	Totem Clans.
Dilebi (Flood-Water).	{ Baring (Turtle). Turowine (Bat). Bulcoin (Carpet-Snake). Bundah (Native Cat).	{ ? ?
Cubatine (Lightning).		

Here Baring marries Bundah, and Turowine marries Bulcoin, and *vice versa*.

<sup>1</sup> The names of the subphratries here given are the names of the male members of each. There is a corresponding female form for each, formed by the addition of *tha* to the masculine. Thus Muri—Matha (contracted for Muritha), Kubi—Kubitha, Ipai—Ipatha, Kumbo—Butha (contracted for Kumbatha) (Fison and Howitt, p. 37 *n.*). In a tribe of Western Victoria the feminine termination is *heear* (Dawson, *Austr. Abor.*, p. 26); in a Queensland tribe it is *an* (Fison and

Howitt, p. 33); in some tribes it is *un* or *gun* (Ridley, in Brough Smyth, ii. p. 288). The tribe at Wide Bay, Queensland, appears to have five subphratries, with male and female names (Ridley, *loc. cit.*). In some tribes the male and female names of the subphratries are distinct words (see *J. A. I.*, xiii. pp. 300, 343, 345). In describing the rules of marriage and descent these feminine forms or names are for simplicity's sake omitted.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 336, 341.

A remarkable feature of the Australian social organisation is that divisions of one tribe have their recognised equivalents in other tribes, whose languages, including the names for the tribal divisions, are quite different. A native who travelled far and wide through Australia stated that "he was furnished with temporary wives by the various tribes with whom he sojourned in his travels; that his right to these women was recognised as a matter of course; and that he could always ascertain whether they belonged to the division into which he could legally marry, 'though the places were 1000 miles apart, and the languages quite different.'"<sup>1</sup> Again, it is said that "in cases of distant tribes it can be shown that the class divisions correspond with each other, as for instance in the classes of the Flinders river and Mitchell river tribes; and these tribes are separated by 400 miles of country, and by many intervening tribes. But for all that, class corresponds to class in fact and in meaning and in privileges, although the name may be quite different and the totems of each dissimilar."<sup>2</sup> Particular information, however, as to the equivalent divisions is very scanty.<sup>3</sup> Hence it often happens that husband and wife speak different languages and continue to do so after marriage, neither of them ever thinking of changing his or her dialect for that of the other.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, in some tribes of Western Victoria a man is actually forbidden to marry a wife who speaks the same dialect as himself; and during the preliminary visit which each pays to the tribe of the other neither is permitted to speak the language of the tribe whom he or she is visiting.<sup>5</sup> This systematic correspondence

The divisions of Australian tribes have their recognised equivalents in other tribes.

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, p. 53 sq.; cf. Brough Smyth, i. p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> For a few particulars see Fison and Howitt, 38, 40; Brough Smyth, ii. 288; *J. A. I.*, xiii. 304, 306, 346, xiv. 348 sq., 351.

<sup>4</sup> *Nat. Tr. of S. Austr.*, p. 249.

<sup>5</sup> Dawson, *Austr. Abor.*, 27, 30 sq.; cf. Fison and Howitt, p. 276. The custom observed in some places of imposing silence on women for a long time after marriage may possibly be a relic of the custom of marrying women of a different tongue (cf. Haxthausen,

*Transkaukasien*, i. 200 sq.; *ib.*, ii. 23; Krauss, *Südsl.*, p. 450; Hahn, *Albanes. Stud.*, i. 147). Hence too perhaps the folk-lore incident of the silent bride (cf. Grimm, *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, No. 3; Crane, *Popular Italian Tales*, p. 54 sq.). In a modern Greek folk-tale which presents some points of resemblance to the legend of Peleus and Thetis the silent bride is a Nereid; hence Schmidt conjectures with great probability that the expression of Sophocles, quoted by the scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 60 (*ἀφθόγγου γάμου*), means that Thetis

This systematic correspondence of intermarrying divisions in different Australian tribes points to sexual communism on a great scale.

between the intermarrying divisions of distinct and distant tribes, with the rights which it conveys to the members of these divisions, points to sexual communism on a scale to which there is perhaps no parallel elsewhere, certainly not in North America, where marriage is always within the tribe, though outside the clan.<sup>1</sup> But even in Australia a man is always bound to marry within a certain kinship group; that group may extend across the whole of Australia, but nevertheless it is exactly limited and defined. If endogamy is used in the sense of prohibition to marry outside of a certain kinship group, whether that group be exclusive of, inclusive of, or identical with the man's own group, then marriage among the totem societies of Australia, America, and India is both exogamous and endogamous; a man is forbidden to marry either within his own clan or outside of a certain kinship group.<sup>2</sup>

Australian traditions as to the origin of these tribal divisions.

Native Australian traditions as to the origin of these various tribal divisions, though small credit can be given to them, deserve to be mentioned. The Dieri tribe has a legend that mankind married promiscuously till Muramura (Good Spirit) ordered that the tribe should be divided into branches which were to be called after objects animate and inanimate (dogs, mice, emus, iguanas, rain, etc.), the members of each division being forbidden to intermarry.<sup>3</sup> The tribes of Western Victoria, whose totems are long-billed cockatoo, pelican, banksian cockatoo, boa snake, and quail, say that their progenitor was a long-billed cockatoo who had a

was silent during her married life (B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 116). Amongst the Caribs the language of the men differed to some extent from that of the women (see Rochefort, *Hist. des Iles Antilles*, p. 350; La Borde, "Relation de l'origine, etc., des Caraïbes," in *Rec. de divers voyages faits en Afr. et en l'Amér.*, Paris, 1684, pp. 4, 39; Humboldt, *Reise in die Aequinoctial-Gegenden des Neuen Continents*, iv. 204 sq. (Hauff's German trans.); Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, 186; Lucien de Rosny, *Les Iles Antilles*, 23, 261). So amongst the Mbayas in Paraguay (Azara, *Voyages*

*dans l'Amérique Méridionale*, ii. p. 106). In the Booandik tribe, South Australia, persons connected by marriage talk to each other in a low whining voice and use words different from those in common use (Mrs. James Smith, *The Booandik Tribe*, p. 5).

<sup>1</sup> *First Rep.*, p. 63. Between North-American tribes "there were no intermarriages, no social intercourse, no intermingling of any kind, except that of mortal strife" (Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, p. 45).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *First Rep.*, *loc. cit.*; *As. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p. 89 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Nat. Tr. of S. Austr.*, p. 260 sq.

banksian cockatoo to wife; their children, taking their clan from their mother, were Banksian Cockatoos; but, being forbidden by the laws of consanguinity to marry with each other, they had to introduce "fresh flesh," which could only be done by marriage with strangers; so they got wives from a distance, and hence the introduction of the pelican, snake, and quail totems.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Rules of Descent*.—In a large majority of the totem tribes at present known to us in Australia and North America descent is in the female line, *i.e.* the children belong to the totem clan of their mother, not to that of their father. In Australia the proportion of tribes with female to those with male descent is as four to one; in America it is between three and two to one. The table which follows is a very rough one. For instance, the Western Australians, given as one tribe, no doubt include many; and it is possible that the Western Victorian tribes given on Dawson's authority may include some tribes mentioned separately by other authorities.

In a large majority of totem tribes the descent of the totem is in the female line.

*Table of Male and Female Descent.*

AUSTRALIA.—*Female Descent*.—1, West Australians (Grey, *Journ.*, ii. 226; Brough Smyth, ii. 267); 2 and 3, Ngarego and Theddora (*J. A. I.*, xiii. 437); 4, Wakelbura (*J. A. I.*, xii. 43); 5, Kunandaburi (*ib.*); 6, Mukjarawaint (*ib.*); 7, Yerrunthully (*J. A. I.*, xiii. 339, 342); 8, Koogo-Bathy (*ib.*, 339, 343); 9, Kombinegherry (*ib.*, 340, 343); 10, Wonghibon (*id.*, xiv. 348, 350); 11, Barknji (*ib.*, 349, 350); 12, Ta-ta-thi (*ib.*); 13, Keramin (*ib.*); 14, Wiraijuri (*id.*, xiii. 436); 15, Wolgal (*ib.*, 437); 16, Wotjoballuk (*Smithson. Rep. for 1883*, p. 818); 16-26, Western Victorian tribes, ten in number (Dawson, *Aust. Ab.*, I sq., 26); 27, Wa-imbio (Fison and Howitt, 291; Brough Smyth, i. 86); 28, Port Lincoln tribe (*Nat. Tr. of S. Aust.*, 222); 29, Kamilaroi (Fison and Howitt, 43, 68); 30, Mount Gambier tribe (*ib.*, 34); 31, Darling River tribe (*ib.*); 32, Mackay tribe, Queensland (*ib.*).

Female descent of the totem in Australia.

<sup>1</sup> Dawson, *Austr. Abor.*, p. 27.

Male  
descent of  
the totem in  
Australia.

*Male Descent.*—1, Turra (Fison and Howitt, 285; *J. A. I.*, xii. 44); 2, Narrinyeri (*J. A. I.*, xii. 44, 508; *Nat. Tr. of S. Aust.*, p. 12); 3, Kulin (*J. A. I.*, xii. 44, 507); 4, Aldolonga (*J. A. I.*, xii. 506); 5, Wolgal (*ib.*); 6, Ikula—partly male (*J. A. I.*, xii. 509); 7, Kiabara (*J. A. I.*, xiii. 336, 341); 8, Mycoolon (*J. A. I.*, xiii. 339, 343); a large tribe or group of tribes (no names given) to the south of the Gulf of Carpentaria (*J. A. I.*, xii. 504). The Gournditch-Mara have male descent, but among them the rule of exogamy has disappeared (Fison and Howitt, p. 275 *sq.*).

With regard to the Kurnai in Victoria, after all the explanations of Messrs. Fison and Howitt, it remains uncertain whether descent in that tribe is female or male. The existence of sex totems among them (which Messrs. Fison and Howitt took as evidence that descent was "male as to boys, female as to girls") proves nothing. The tribe is organised in local districts, and apparently a man may take a wife neither from his father's nor his mother's district (Fison and Howitt, p. 226 *sq.*). How deceitful inferences from local prohibitions may be appears from Dawson's account of the Western Victorian tribes. Among these tribes a man may not marry into his father's tribe (which seems to be a local division). From this one might infer that descent was male. But in addition to these local exogamous divisions, there are among these tribes totem clans, and children belong to their mother's clan and may not marry into it. Therefore in these tribes descent is after all female (Dawson *Aust. Abor.*, p. 26).

Female  
descent of  
the totem  
in America.

AMERICA.—*Female Descent.*—1, Thlinkets (A. Krause, *Die Tlinket-Ind.*, p. 231 *sq.*); 2, British Columbians (Mayne, *Br. Columb.*, 258); 3, Haidas (*Geol. Surv. of Canada, Rep. for 1878-79*, p. 134B); 4, Loucheux (*Smithson. Rep. for 1866*, p. 315); 5, Kutchin (Dall, *Alaska*, p. 197); 6, Iroquois (Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, 83; *id.*, *A. S.*, 64); 7, Wyandots or Hurons (*First Report*, 60; Morgan, *A. S.*, 153); 8, Bella Coola Indians, British Columbia (*Original-Mittheil.*, etc., i. p. 186); 9-17, Creeks, Seminoles, Hitchetes, Yoochees, Alabamas, Coosatees, Natchez (Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, p. 153; Morgan, *A. S.*, 160 *sq.*; *Archæologia Americana*, ii. p. 109); 18, 19,

Choctaws, Cherokees (*Archæol. Amer., loc. cit.*; Morgan, *op. cit.*, 162, 164); 20, Lenape or Delawares (Morgan, *op. cit.*, 166, 172); 21, 22, Otoes and Missouris (Morgan, *op. cit.*, 156); 23, Mandans (Morgan, *op. cit.*, 158); 24, Minnitarees (*ib.*, 159); 25, Upsarokas or Crows (*ib.*, 159); 26, Chickasas (*ib.*, 163); 27, Menominees (*ib.*, 170); 28, Munsees (*ib.*, 173); 29, Mohegans (*ib.*, 174); 30, Pequots (*ib.*); 31, Narragansetts (*ib.*); 32, Moquis (Bourke, *Snake Dance*, p. 230); 33, Goajiros (*Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, December 1885, p. 790); 34, Arawaks (Brett, *Ind. Tr. of Guiana*, 98; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 185).

*Male Descent.*—1, Omahas (*Third Rep.*, 225; Morgan, *op. cit.*, 155); 2, Punkas (Morgan, *loc. cit.*); 3, Iowas (Morgan, 156); 4, Kaws (*ib.*); 5, Winnebagoes (*id.*, 157); 6, Ojibways (*id.*, 166; *Collect. Minnesota Histor. Soc.*, v. p. 42); 7, Pottawatamies (Morgan, *op. cit.*, 167); 8, Miamis (*id.*, 168); 9, Shawnees (*id.*, 169); 10, Sauks and Foxes (*id.*, 170); 11, Blood Blackfeet (*id.*, 171); 12, Piegan Blackfeet (*ib.*); 13, Abenakis (*id.*, 175).

As to the totem tribes of Africa, descent among the Damaras is in the female line,<sup>1</sup> and there are traces of female kin among the Bechuanas.<sup>2</sup> Among the Bakalai property descends in the male line, but this is not a conclusive proof that descent is so reckoned;<sup>3</sup> all the clans in the neighbourhood of the Bakalai have female descent both for blood and property.<sup>4</sup> In Bengal, where there is a considerable body of totem tribes, Mr. Risley says that after careful search he and his coadjutors have found no tribe with female descent, and only a single trace of it in one.<sup>5</sup> Colonel Dalton, however, states that the Kasias in Bengal are divided into exogamous tribes with descent in the female line; and with regard to this people he mentions, on the

<sup>1</sup> Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 179 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Because property may descend in the male, while kinship is traced in the female line, as with the natives of Western Australia (Grey, *Journals*, ii. 230, 232 sq.) and some Victorian tribes (Dawson, *Austral. Aborigines*, 7, 26). In Mota, Banks Islands, where kinship is traced in the female line, landed property descends in the female line

(*i.e.* to sister's children), but personal property in the male line (*i.e.* to sons); but the practice is for the sons to redeem the land with the personal property. See the Rev. R. H. Codrington, in *Trans. and Proc. Roy. Soc. of Victoria*, xvi. p. 119 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Du Chaillu, *Journey to Ashango Land*, 429; *id.*, *Equat. Afr.*, 308 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *As. Quart. Rev.*, July 1886, p.

authority of Colonel Yule, that "some individuals have a superstitious objection to particular kinds of food, and will not allow such to be brought into their houses. Is not this superstition," asks Colonel Dalton very properly, "connected with their tribal divisions as amongst the Oraons of Chota Nagpur and the Bechuanas of Africa, who cannot eat the animal after which their tribe is named?" At least if this is not totemism, it is uncommonly like it.<sup>1</sup> In the exogamous clans or "motherhoods" of the Garos in Bengal descent is also in the female line, and some of the Garo legends point to totemism.<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable either that these examples should have been overlooked by Mr. Risley and his coadjutors or that both these tribes should have exchanged female for male kinship within the fourteen<sup>3</sup> years which elapsed between the publication of Colonel Dalton's work and Mr. Risley's paper. With regard to the other undoubtedly totem tribes of Bengal (Oraons, etc.), we may take it on Mr. Risley's authority that descent is in the male line.

Indirect  
male and  
female  
descent in  
typical  
Australian  
tribes.

In the Australian tribal organisation of two phratries, four subphratries, and totem clans, there occurs a peculiar form of descent of which no plausible explanation has yet been offered. It seems that in all tribes thus organised the children are born into the subphratry neither of their father nor of their mother, and that descent in such cases is either female or male, according as the subphratry into which the children are born is the companion subphratry of their mother's or of their father's subphratry. In the former case we have what may be called indirect female descent; in the latter, indirect male descent. But it is only in the subphratry that descent is thus indirect. In the totem clan it is always direct; the child belongs to the clan either of its mother or of its father. Thus in the typical Australian organisation, descent, whether female or male, is direct in the phratry, indirect in the subphratry, and direct in the clan. To take examples, the following is the scheme of descent, so far as the phratries and subphratries are concerned, in the Kamilaroi.

<sup>1</sup> Dalton, *Ethnol. of Beng.*, p. 56 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.*, 60, 63.

<sup>3</sup> Or seven years, if we accept the

statements in the *Indian Antiquary*, viii. (1879) p. 205; but these may be borrowed from Colonel Dalton.

Phratries.	Male.	Marries	Children are	Indirect female descent.
Dilbi . . . { Kupathin . . . }	Muri. Kubi. Ipai. Kumbo.	Kumbo. Ipai. Kubi. Muri.	Ipai. Kumbo. Muri. Kubi.	

This is an example of indirect female descent, because the children belong to the companion subphratry of their mother, not to the companion subphratry of their father. But in the totems the female descent is direct; e.g. if the father is Muri-Kangaroo and the mother is Kumbo-Emu, the children will be Ipai-Emu; if the mother is Kumbo-Bandicoot the children will be Ipai-Bandicoot.<sup>1</sup>

The following is the scheme of descent in the Kiabara tribe<sup>2</sup>:—

Phratries.	Male.	Marries	Children are	Indirect male descent.
Dilebi . . . { Cubatine . . . }	Baring Turowine. Bulcoin. Bundah.	Bundah. Bulcoin. Turowine. Baring.	Turowine. Baring. Bundah. Bulcoin.	

This is an example of indirect male descent, because the children belong to the companion subphratry of their father, not to the companion subphratry of their mother. We have no information as to the totems, but on the analogy of indirect female descent we should expect them to be taken from the father. This at any rate is true of a large tribe or group of tribes to the south of the Gulf of Carpentaria; their rules of marriage and descent, so far as concerns the subphratries, are like those of the Kiabara, and the totems (which at the lower Leichhardt river are the names of fish) are inherited from father to son.<sup>3</sup>

In some Australian tribes sons take their totem from their father and daughters from their mother. Thus the Dieri in South Australia are divided into two phratries, each of which includes under it sixteen totem clans

Father's totem transmitted to sons, mother's totem to daughters.

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, p. 37 *sq.*;

*J. A. I.*, xiii. 335, 341, 344.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 336, 341.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. I.*, xii. 504. Mr. Howitt,

to whom we are indebted for this information, omits to give the names of the tribe and its subdivisions.

Descent of father's totem to sons, and of mother's totem to daughters.

(Caterpillar, Mullet, Dog, Rat, Kangaroo, Frog, Crow, etc.);<sup>1</sup> and if a Dog man marries a Rat woman, the sons of this marriage are Dogs and the daughters are Rats.<sup>2</sup> The Ikula (Morning Star) tribe, at the head of the Great Australian Bight, has, with certain exceptions, the same rule of descent.<sup>3</sup> The tribe includes four totem clans, namely, Būdera (Root), Kura (Native Dog), Būdū (Digger), and Wenūng (Wombat). The rules of marriage and descent are as follows:—

Male.	Marries	Children are
(m.) <sup>4</sup> Budera .	{ (f.) Kura . . . or (f.) Wenūng . . .	(m.) Budera ; (f.) Kura. (m.) and (f.) Budera.
(m.) Kura .	{ (f.) Budera . . . or (f.) Būdū . . .	(m.) Kura ; (f.) Būdera. (m.) and (f.) Kura.
(m.) Būdū .	(f.) Wenūng .	(m.) Būdū ; (f.) Wenūng.
(m.) Wenūng .	(f.) Būdū . . .	(m.) Wenūng ; (f.) Būdū.

Here, in all cases except two, the son takes his totem from his father, the daughter from her mother. The exceptions are where Budera (m.) marries Wenung (f.), and where Kura (m.) marries Budu (f.); in both which cases the children, whether sons or daughters, take their father's totem. This, combined with the fact that no male of Budu or Wenung is allowed to marry a female of Budera or Kura, points, as Mr. Howitt says, to a superiority of Budera and Kura over Budu and Wenung.

It is obvious that the totems of the Dieri and Ikula are not sex totems. A sex totem is confined to members of one sex; whereas all the totems of the Dieri and Ikula are common to both men and women. It is of these totems (and not of sex totems) that it may be said in the words of Messrs. Fison and Howitt, that descent is "male as to boys, female as to girls."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. I.*, xii. 500.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Mr. S. Gason to the present writer. <sup>3</sup> *J. A. I.*, xii. 509.

<sup>4</sup> m. = male; f. = female.

<sup>5</sup> *J. A. I.*, xii. 45. The opposite

rule of descent (sons belong to the mother's, daughters to the father's family) is observed in the islands of Leti, Moa, and Lakor (Riedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 384, 392).

Besides the tribes whose line of descent is definitely fixed in the female or male line, or, as with the Dieri and Ikula, half-way between the two, there are a number of tribes which are wavering between female and male descent; amongst whom, in other words, a child may be entered in either his mother's or his father's clan. After the researches of Bachofen, M'Lennan, and Morgan, we may be sure that such a wavering marks a transition from female to male descent, and not conversely. Among the Haidas, children regularly belong to the totem clan of their mother; but in very exceptional cases, when the clan of the father is reduced in numbers, the newly born child may be given to the father's sister to suckle. It is then spoken of as belonging to the paternal aunt, and is counted to its father's clan.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Delawares descent is regularly in the female line; but it is possible to transfer a child to its father's clan by giving it one of the names which are appropriated to the father's clan.<sup>2</sup> A similar practice prevails with the Shawnees, except that with them male descent is the rule and transference to the mother's clan (or any other clan) by naming is the exception.<sup>3</sup> In the Hervey Islands, South Pacific, the parents settled beforehand whether the child should belong to the father's or mother's clan. The father usually had the preference, but sometimes, when the father's clan was one which was bound to furnish human victims from its ranks, the mother had it adopted into her clan by having the name of her totem pronounced over it.<sup>4</sup> In Samoa at the birth of a child the father's totem was usually prayed to first; but if the birth was tedious, the mother's totem was invoked; and whichever happened to be invoked at the moment of birth was the child's totem for life.<sup>5</sup>

These modes of effecting the change of kin touched only the children; others affected the children through the mother; they were transferred to their father's clan by the previous transference of the mother. This, as M'Lennan

Tribes  
wavering  
between  
female and  
male  
descent.

Transfer-  
ence of  
children  
from  
mother's  
to father's  
clan.

<sup>1</sup> *Geol. Surv. of Canada, Rep. for 1878-79*, p. 134B.

<sup>2</sup> Morgan, *A. S.*, p. 172 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 169.

<sup>4</sup> Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, p. 78 sq. The child might thus be transferred to a clan which was that neither of his father nor of his mother (see above, p. 51).

Transfer-  
ence of  
children  
from  
mother's  
to father's  
clan.

has observed, was perhaps the intention and doubtless must have been the effect of the custom in Guinea of dedicating one wife to the husband's Bossum or god.<sup>1</sup> The transfer-ence of the wife to the husband's clan seems to have been the intention of smearing bride and bridegroom with each other's blood.<sup>2</sup> Amongst some of the totem clans of Bengal the bride is transferred to the husband's clan by ceremoni-ously eating or drinking with him.<sup>3</sup> Another mode is to purchase the woman and her offspring. Amongst the Banyai on the Zambesi, if the husband gives nothing, the children of the marriage belong to the wife's family; but if he gives so many cattle to his wife's parents the children are his.<sup>4</sup> In the Watubela Islands between New Guinea and Celebes a man may either pay for his wife before marriage, or he may, without paying, live as her husband in her parents' house, working for her and her parents. In the former case the children belong to him; in the latter they belong to his wife's family, but he may acquire them subsequently by paying the price.<sup>5</sup> So in Sumatra.<sup>6</sup> Similarly in some Californian tribes, the husband must live with his wife's family and work for them till he has paid the full price for her and her children; the children of a wife who has not been paid for are regarded as bastards, and treated with contempt.<sup>7</sup>

The couvade or custom in accordance with which the

<sup>1</sup> M'Lennan, *Patriarchal Theory*, 235 sq.; Bosman's "Guinea," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Dalton, *Eth. of Beng.*, p. 220. In some parts of New Guinea bride and bridegroom draw blood from each other's foreheads (S. Müller, *Reisen en Onderzoekingen in den Indischen Archipel*, i. p. 105). In Bengal the ceremony appears to have usually de-generated into smearing each other with red lead (Dalton, *op. cit.*, 160, 194, 216, 253, 319). The blood of animals, when used for this purpose, as by the Dyaks, may be a substitute for that of the bride and bridegroom; possibly it may be the blood of the totem (Perelaer, *Ethnogr. Beschrijv. der Dajaks*, p. 52; *Tijdschrift v. Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*,

xv. (1879) p. 116; *Ausland*, 16th June 1884, p. 469; *Journals of James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak*, i. p. 204; Carl Bock, *Head-Hunters of Borneo*, p. 222).

<sup>3</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.*, 193, 216; cf. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, 177 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Livingstone, *Travels in S. Afr.*, 622 sq.; cf. M'Lennan, *Patriarchal Theory*, 324 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Riedel, *De sluit- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Papua en Celebes*, 205 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Marsden, *Hist. of Sumatra*, 257 sq.; Schreiber, *Die Battas in ihrem Verhältniss zu den Malaien von Sumatra*, p. 34; Jungbuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra*, ii. 131 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 350.

husband takes to his bed and is treated as an invalid when his wife has given birth to a child, is perhaps a fiction intended to transfer to the father those rights over the children which, under the previous system of mother-kin, had been enjoyed by the mother alone.<sup>1</sup> The same may possibly be the intention of the apparently widespread custom of men dressing as women and women as men at marriage. Thus in the Greek island of Cos the bridegroom was attired as a woman when he received his bride.<sup>2</sup> In Central Africa a Masai man dresses as a girl for a month after marriage.<sup>3</sup> Argive brides wore false beards when they slept with their husbands.<sup>4</sup> The Alsatian custom of men dressing as women and women as men at the vintage festival is clearly part of an old marriage ceremony.<sup>5</sup> But perhaps all these mummeries are to be otherwise explained.

The couvade and certain marriage customs may have been intended to transfer the children to their father's clan.

Lastly, the transference of the child to the father's clan may be the object of a ceremony observed by the Todas in Southern India. When the wife has gone seven months with her first child she retires with her husband to the forest, where, at the foot of a tree, she receives from her husband a bow and arrows. She asks him, "What is the name of your bow?" each clan apparently having a different name for its bow. The question and answer are repeated three times. She then deposits the bow and arrows at the foot of the tree. The pair remain on the spot all night, eating a meal in the evening and another in the morning before they return home.<sup>6</sup>

Custom observed by the Todas in the seventh month of pregnancy.

As a rule, perhaps, members of the same totem clan do not eat each other. To this, however, there are large exceptions. The Kurnai and Maneroo observe the rule, eating their slain enemies but not their slain friends.<sup>7</sup> But tribes

Rules of cannibalism among totem clans.

<sup>1</sup> This is the view of Bachofen, *Mutterrecht*, 255 sq.; Giraud-Teulon, *Les origines du mariage et de la famille*, 138 sq.; Post, *Die Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, 18; and (with some limitations) Zmigrodzki, *Die Mutter bei den Völkern des arischen Stammes*, 270.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.*, 58.

<sup>3</sup> J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, 442.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *De mul. virt.*, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, 314. For forms of marriage as means of communicating fertility to the fields cf. *ib.*, 480 sq.; *id.*, *Mythol. Forsch.*, 340; Wilken, in *De Indische Gids*, June 1884, pp. 958, 962.

<sup>6</sup> Marshall, *Travels among the Todas*, 214 sq. The Todas have male descent for themselves, but retain female descent for their sacred cattle (*ib.*, 132).

<sup>7</sup> Fison and Howitt, 214, 218, 223 sq.

Rules of  
cannibal-  
ism among  
totem  
clans.

about the Gulf of Carpentaria after a battle eat their slain friends but not their enemies; and amongst them children, when they die, are eaten.<sup>1</sup> Some Victorian tribes kill their new-born children, eat them, and give them to their elder children to eat, believing that the latter will thus possess the strength of the babes in addition to their own.<sup>2</sup> In some parts of New South Wales it was the custom for the first-born child of every woman to be eaten by the tribe as part of a religious ceremony.<sup>3</sup> The eating of aged relations<sup>4</sup> is intelligible on the principle that "the life is not allowed to go out of the family." Some of the Victorian tribes, who ate their relations but not their enemies nor members of a different tribe, asserted that they did so, not to gratify their appetites, but only as a symbol of respect and regret for the dead. They only ate the bodies of relations who had died by violence.<sup>5</sup> The Dieri have exact rules according to which they partake of the flesh of dead relations; the mother eats of her children and the children eat of their mother; but the father does not eat of his offspring, nor the offspring of their father.<sup>6</sup> This custom points to the time when the Dieri had female kinship, when therefore the father, as a member of a different tribe, had no right to partake of his child. The eating of dead relations is parallel to the custom of smearing the person with the juices which exude from their decaying corpses.<sup>7</sup> The object of these and similar ceremonies (see above, p. 42 *sq.*) is to keep the life, regarded as incarnate in the body and blood of the kinsmen, within the circle of the kin. Hence in some tribes at circumcision boys are laid on a platform, formed by the living bodies of the tribesmen,<sup>8</sup> and when the tooth is knocked out they are seated on the shoulders of men on whose breast the blood flows and is not wiped away.<sup>9</sup> The blood of the

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 283.

<sup>2</sup> *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, New Series, i. 289.

<sup>3</sup> Brough Smyth, ii. 311.

<sup>4</sup> For examples see *Journals of James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak*, i. p. 209; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, i. i. 12; Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 267; Herodotus, iv. 26; Mela, ii. i. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Dawson, *Austr. Abor.*, 67.

<sup>6</sup> *Nat. Tr. of S. Australia*, p. 274.

<sup>7</sup> Fison and Howitt, 243 *sq.*; Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

<sup>8</sup> *Nat. Tr. of S. Austr.*, 230; Brough Smyth, i. 75 *n.*; Eyre, *Journals*, ii. p. 335.

<sup>9</sup> Collins, *Account of the English Colony of N.S.W.*, London, 1798, p. 580.

tribe is not allowed to be spilt on the ground, but is received on the bodies of tribesmen. Bleeding is a native Australian cure for headache, etc.; but in performing the operation they are very careful not to spill any of the blood on the ground, but sprinkle it on each other.<sup>1</sup> Similarly when bleeding is done as a means of producing rain, the blood is made to flow on men, not on the ground.<sup>2</sup> Another form of transferring the blood, *i.e.* the life of the kin, is seen in an Australian funeral ceremony; the relations gash themselves over the corpse till it and the grave are covered with their blood; this is said to strengthen the dead man and enable him to rise in another country.<sup>3</sup> Among some South American tribes the bones of deceased relations are ground into powder, mixed with a liquid, and so swallowed.<sup>4</sup>

When a North American tribe is on the march, the members of each totem clan camp together, and the clans are arranged in a fixed order in camp, the whole tribe being arranged in a great circle or in several concentric circles.<sup>5</sup> When the tribe lives in settled villages or towns, each clan has its separate ward.<sup>6</sup> The clans of the Osages are divided into war clans and peace clans; when they are out on the buffalo hunt, they camp on opposite sides of the tribal circle; and the peace clans are not allowed to take animal life of any kind; they must therefore live on vegetables unless they can obtain meat in exchange for vegetables from the war clans.<sup>7</sup> Members of the same clan are buried together and apart from those of other clans; hence the remains of husband and wife, belonging as they do to separate clans, do not rest together.<sup>8</sup> It is remarkable that

Totem  
clans  
grouped  
together  
in camp,  
village, and  
graveyard.

<sup>1</sup> Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, i. 110 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Nat. Tr. of S. Aust.*, 277.

<sup>3</sup> Brough Smyth, ii. 274; Grey, *Journ.*, ii. 332; *J. A. I.*, xiii. 134 sq.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. Müller, *Gesch. der Amerik. Urreligionen*, 289 sq.; A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 498. Artemisia drank the ashes of Mausolus (Aulus Gellius, x. 18; Valerius Maximus, iv. 6, 5). On the question of American cannibalism cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 144 sq.; R. I. Dodge, *Hunting Grounds of the Great West*, p. 420.

<sup>5</sup> *First Rep.*, 64; *Third Rep.*, 219

sq.; *American Naturalist*, xviii. p. 113 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, 154; Bourke, *Snake Dance*, 229; *Acad.*, 27th Sept. 1884, p. 203.

<sup>7</sup> The Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, in *American Naturalist*, xviii. p. 113.

<sup>8</sup> Adair, *Hist. Amer. Ind.* 183 sq.; Morgan, *A. S.*, 83 sq.; Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, 54; *id.*, *Myths of the New World*, 87 n.; A. Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, i. p. 259; Dalton, *Eth. of Beng.*, 56; cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 315 sq.

among the Thlinkets the body must always be carried to the funeral pyre and burned by men of another totem,<sup>1</sup> and the presents distributed on these occasions by the representatives of the deceased must always be made to men of a different clan.<sup>2</sup>

Evidence  
for the  
existence  
of phratric  
totems.

Here we must revert to the religious side of totemism, in order to consider some facts which have emerged from the study of its social aspect. We have seen that some phratries, both in America and Australia, bear the names of animals;<sup>3</sup> and in the case of the Thlinkets and Mohegans we have seen reason to believe that the animals which give their names to the phratries were once clan totems. The same seems to hold of the names of the Australian phratries, Eaglehawk, Crow, and Seal, or at least of the two former. For Eaglehawk and Crow are clan totems in other tribes, and are, besides, important figures in Australian mythology. Eaglehawk and Crow, as names of phratries, "extended over a large part of Victoria and over the greater part of the extreme west of New South Wales."<sup>4</sup> They are clan totems of the Dieri in South Australia,<sup>5</sup> the Mukjarawaint in Western Victoria,<sup>6</sup> and the Ta-ta-thi and the Keramin tribes in New South Wales.<sup>7</sup> The eaglehawk is besides a clan totem of the Kamilaroi in New South Wales,<sup>8</sup> the Mycoolon in Queensland,<sup>9</sup> the Barinji in New South Wales,<sup>10</sup> and the Kūinmūrbūra in Queensland.<sup>11</sup> The crow is further a clan totem of the Turra tribe,<sup>12</sup> and the Mount Gambier tribe in South Australia,<sup>13</sup> the Kunandabūri in Queensland,<sup>14</sup> and of the Wonghibon in New South Wales.<sup>15</sup> Among the Dieri the eaglehawk was supposed to inflict a penalty for violating a rule in connection with the knocking

<sup>1</sup> Holmberg, *op. cit.*, 324.

<sup>2</sup> Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, 223.

<sup>3</sup> As among the Chickasas, Thlinkets, and Mohegans in America; and the Turra, Ngarego, and Theddora tribes in Australia (see above, pp. 56-58, 60 *sq.*). The subphratries of the Kiabara also bear animal names. See above, p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii, 437, n. 1; Fison and Howitt, 322.

<sup>5</sup> *J. A. I.*, xii, 500; *id.*, xiii, 338.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, xii, 45.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, xiv, 349.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, xii, 500, xiii, 335.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*, xiii, 303, 339.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*, xiv, 348.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*, xiii, 336, 344.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*, xii, 45.

<sup>13</sup> Fison and Howitt, 168.

<sup>14</sup> *J. A. I.*, xii, 45, xiii, 338.

<sup>15</sup> *Id.*, xiv, 348.

out the teeth at initiation.<sup>1</sup> Among the Kurnai the eaglehawk is greatly revered; his plumes and talons were used in necromancy; and he figures in their stories in company with the little owl.<sup>2</sup> The Kurnai also reverence the crow as one of their ancestors,<sup>3</sup> and consult it as a bird of omen.<sup>4</sup> According to a Victorian myth, the crow and the eaglehawk were the progenitors, or among the progenitors, of the human race, and now shine as stars in the sky.<sup>5</sup> According to another Victorian myth the eagle and the crow were the creators of the world, and divided the Murray blacks into two classes (clans or phratries), the Eaglehawk and Crow.<sup>6</sup>

Further, there are traces in Australia of the splitting of totems. Thus in the Ta-ta-thi tribe in New South Wales there are two Eaglehawk clans, namely, the Light Brown Eaglehawk and the Brown Coloured Eaglehawk, one in each of the two phratries.<sup>7</sup> Amongst the Kamilaroi there is a Kangaroo clan and a Red Kangaroo clan, one in each of the two phratries.<sup>8</sup> In the Kūnandabūri tribe in Queensland there are totem clans—Brown Snake, Speckled Brown Snake, Carpet-Snake, also Rat, Kangaroo Rat, and Bush Rat.<sup>9</sup> In the Mūkjarawaint in Western Victoria there are White Cockatoo and Black Cockatoo, also Buff-coloured Snake and Black Snake;<sup>10</sup> in other Victorian tribes there are the Long-Billed Cockatoo and the Banksian Cockatoo;<sup>11</sup> in the Wakelbūra in Queensland there are Large Bee and Small Bee in different phratries;<sup>12</sup> in the Mycoolon there are Whistling Duck and Black Duck.<sup>13</sup>

From all this we should infer that the objects from which the Australian phratries take their names were once totems. But there seems to be direct evidence that both the phratries and subphratries actually retain, at least in some tribes, their totems. Thus the Port Mackay tribe in Queensland is divided into two phratries, Yungaru and Wutaru, with subphratries Gurgela, Burbia, Wungo, and

<sup>1</sup> *Nat. Tr. of S. Austr.*, 267.

<sup>2</sup> Fison and Howitt, 323.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. I.*, xv. 415.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, xvi. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Brough Smyth, i. 431.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, i. 423 sq.

<sup>7</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiv. 349.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, xii. 500.

<sup>9</sup> *J. A. I.*, xii. 45.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>11</sup> Dawson, *Austr. Abcr.*, p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 337.

<sup>13</sup> *Ib.*, 339.

Phratric  
and sub-  
phratric  
totems in  
Australia.

Kubera ; and the Yungaru phratry has for its totem the alligator, and Wutaru the kangaroo;<sup>1</sup> while the subphratries have for their totems the emu (or the carpet snake), iguana, opossum, and kangaroo (or scrub turkey).<sup>2</sup> As the subphratries of this tribe are said to be equivalent to the subphratries of the Kamilaroi, it seems to follow that the subphratries<sup>3</sup> of the Kamilaroi (Muri, Kubi, Ipai, and Kumbo) have or once had totems also. Hence it appears that in tribes organised in phratries, subphratries, and clans, each man has three totems—his phratry totem, his subphratry totem, and his clan totem. If we add a sex totem and an individual totem, each man in the typical Australian tribe has five distinct kinds of totems. What degree of allegiance he owes to his subphratry totem and phratry totem respectively we are not told ; indeed, the very existence of such totems, as distinct from clan totems, appears to have been generally overlooked. But we may suppose that the totem bond diminishes in strength in proportion to its extension ; that therefore the clan totem is the primary tie, of which the subphratry and phratry totems are successively weakened repetitions.

Subtotems,  
i.e. natural  
objects  
classed  
under the  
totem and  
sharing the  
respect due  
to it.

In these totems superposed on totems may perhaps be discerned a rudimentary classification of natural objects under heads which bear a certain resemblance to genera, species, etc. This classification is by some Australian tribes extended so as to include the whole of nature. Thus the Port Mackay tribe in Queensland (see above, p. 77 *sq.*) divides all nature between the phratries ; the wind belongs to one phratry and the rain to another ; the sun is Wutaru and the moon is Yungaru ; the stars, trees, and plants are also divided between the phratries.<sup>4</sup> As the totem of Wutaru

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, 38 *sq.*, 40. The Rockhampton tribe (Queensland) has the same phratries, but its subphratries are different (*J. A. I.*, xiii. 336).

<sup>2</sup> Fison and Howitt, p. 41. The totems of the phratries and subphratries are given by different authorities, who write the native names of the subphratries differently. But they seem to be speaking of the same

tribe ; at least Mr. Fison understands them so.

<sup>3</sup> The names of the Kamilaroi phratries, Dilbi and Kupathin, are clearly identical with Dilebi and Cubatine, the names of the Kiabara phratries (see above, p. 62), and the latter mean Flood-water and Lightning. Are these phratric totems both of the Kamilaroi and Kiabara ?

<sup>4</sup> Brough Smyth, i. 91 ; Fison and Howitt, 168 ; *cf. J. A. I.*, xiii. 300.

is kangaroo and of Yungaru alligator, this is equivalent to making the sun a kangaroo and the moon an alligator.

The Mount Gambier tribe in South Australia is divided into two phratries (Kumi and Kroki), which again are subdivided into totem clans. Everything in nature belongs to a totem clan, thus<sup>1</sup> :—

Subtotems in the Mount Gambier tribe.

Phratries.	Totem Clans.	Includes
Kumi.	1. Mūla = Fish-Hawk.	Smoke, honeysuckle, trees, etc.
	2. Parangal = Pelican.	{ Dogs, blackwood trees, fire, frost (fem.)
	3. Wā = Crow.	{ Rain, thunder, lightning, winter, hail, clouds, etc.
	4. Wīla = Black Cockatoo.	Stars, moon, etc.
	5. Karato = A harmless Snake.	{ Fish, stringybark trees, seals, eels, etc.
Kroki.	1. Wērio = Tea-Tree.	{ Ducks, wallabies, owls, crayfish, etc.
	2. Mūrna = An edible Root.	{ Bustards, quails, dolvich (a small kangaroo).
	3. Karāal = Black crestless Cockatoo.	{ Kangaroo, sheoak trees, summer, sun, autumn (fem.), wind (fem.)

With reference to this classification Mr. D. S. Stewart, the authority for it, says, "I have tried in vain to find some reason for the arrangement. I asked, 'To what division does a bullock belong?' After a pause came the answer, 'It eats grass: it is Boortwerio.' I then said, 'A cray-fish does not eat grass; why is it Boortwerio?' Then came the standing reason for all puzzling questions: 'That is what our fathers said it was.'"<sup>2</sup> Mr. Stewart's description of the respect paid by a tribesman to the animals of the same "subdivision" as himself has been already quoted (see above, p. 8 *sq.*); it seems to imply that a man is debarred from killing not only his clan totem (when that is an animal) but also all the animals which are classed under his clan. The natural objects thus classed under and sharing the respect due to the totem may be conveniently called, as Mr. Howitt proposes,<sup>3</sup> subtotems. Again, the Wakelbura tribe (Elgin Downs, Queensland) is divided into two phratries (Mallera and Wuthera), four subphratries (Kurgila, Banbe, Wungo, and Obu), and totem clans. Everything in nature is classed

Subtotems of the Wakelbura tribe.

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Fison and Howitt, 169.

<sup>3</sup> In *Smithson. Rep. for 1883*, p. 818.

Subtotems  
of the  
Wakelbura  
tribe.

under its phratry and subphratry. Thus the broad-leaved box-tree is of the Mallera phratry and the Banbe subphratry, and so is the dingo or native dog. When a man of this tribe dies his corpse must be covered with the boughs of a tree which belongs to the same phratry and subphratry as himself; thus if he is Mallera-Banbe he is covered with boughs of the broad-leaved box-tree, for it also is Mallera-Banbe.<sup>1</sup> So in summoning an assembly the message stick carried by the messenger must be of the same tribal division as the sender and the bearer of the message.<sup>2</sup> Of a group of tribes in N.S. Wales it is said that everything in nature is divided among the tribesmen, some claiming the trees, others the plains, others the sky, stars, wind, rain, and so forth.<sup>3</sup> Again, the Wotjoballuk tribe in North-western Victoria has a system of subtotems, thus<sup>4</sup> :—

Subtotems  
of the  
Wotjobal-  
luk tribe.

Phratries.	Totem Clans.	Subtotems.
Krokitch.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Hot Wind.</li> <li>2. White crestless Cockatoo.</li> <li>3. Belonging to the Sun.</li> </ol>	Each totem has subordinate to it a number of objects, animal or vegetable, <i>e.g.</i> kangaroo, red gum-tree, etc.
Gamutch.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Deaf Adder.</li> <li>5. Black Cockatoo.</li> <li>6. Pelican.</li> </ol>	
		Do.

Of the subtotems in this tribe Mr. Howitt says, "They appear to me to be totems in a state of development. Hot wind has at least five of them, white cockatoo has seventeen, and so on for the others. That these subtotems are now in process of gaining a sort of independence may be shown by the following instance: a man who is Krokitch-Wartwut (hot wind) claimed to own all the five subtotems of hot wind (three snakes and two birds), yet of these there was one which he specially claimed as 'belonging' to him, namely, Moiwuk (carpet-snake). Thus his totem, hot wind, seems to have been in process of subdivision into minor totems, and this man's division might have become hot wind carpet-snake had not civilisation rudely stopped the process by almost extinguishing the tribe."

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 191, 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 438 *n.*

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiv. 350.

<sup>4</sup> *Smithson. Rep.*, *loc. cit.*

Combining this important evidence as to the growth of totems with the evidence already noticed of the process by which clans tend to become phratries, we get a view of the growth, maturity, and decay of totems. As subtotems they are growing; as clan totems they are grown; as subphratric and phratric totems they are in successive stages of decay. As fast as one totem attains its full development, and then, beaten out thinner and thinner, melts into the vast reservoir of nature from which it sprang, it is followed at equal intervals by another and another; till all things in nature are seen to be, as it were, in motion, and after a period of mustering and marshalling to fall into their places in the grand totem march.<sup>1</sup>

When, through the change of female to male kinship, and the settlement of a tribe in fixed abodes, society has ceased to present the appearance of a constantly shifting kaleidoscope of clans, and has shaken down into a certain stability and permanence of form, it might be expected that with the longer memory which accompanies an advance in culture the totems which have been generalised into the divinities of larger groups should no longer pass into oblivion, but should retain an elevated rank in the religious hierarchy, with the totems of the subordinate tribal divisions grouped under them either as subordinate divinities or as different manifestations of the general tribal gods. This appears to have been the state of totemism in Polynesia, where geographical conditions favoured an isolation and hence a permanence of the local groups such as was scarcely attainable by savages on the open plains of Australia or the prairies and savannahs of America.<sup>2</sup> Hence in Polynesia we find a considerable approximation to a totem Olympus. In Samoa there were general village gods as well as gods of particular families; and the same deity is incarnate in the form of different animals. One god, for example, is

Growth,  
maturity,  
and decay  
of totems.

Under the  
influence  
of social  
changes  
the totems  
tend to  
pass into  
human  
gods with  
animal  
symbols.

<sup>1</sup> In America, as in Australia, the totems seem always to have been in a state of flux. Mr. Beauchamp has shown this for the Iroquois (*American Antiquarian*, viii. 82 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Horatio Hale says that the American totem clans "were not permanent, but were constantly under-

going changes, forming, dividing, coalescing, vanishing" (H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 51). On the rapid disintegration of North American tribes whenever external pressure is removed see Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, p. 45 sq.

Transformation of  
totems into  
human  
gods with  
animal  
symbols.

incarnate in the lizard, the owl, and the centipede ;<sup>1</sup> another in the bat, domestic fowl, pigeon, and prickly sea urchin ;<sup>2</sup> another in the bat, the sea-eel, the cuttle-fish, the mullet, and the turtle ;<sup>3</sup> another in the owl and the mullet ;<sup>4</sup> another in the bird *Porphyrus Samoensis*, the pigeon, the rail-bird, and the eel ;<sup>5</sup> another in the turtle, sea-eel, octopus, and garden lizard.<sup>6</sup> It seems a fair conjecture that such multi-form deities are tribal or phratric totems, with the totems of the tribal or phratric subdivisions tacked on as incarnations. As the attribution of human qualities to the totem is of the essence of totemism, it is plain that a deity generalised from or including under him a number of distinct animals and plants must, as his animal and vegetable attributes contradict and cancel each other, tend more and more to throw them off and to retain only those human qualities which to the savage apprehension are the common element of all the totems whereof he is the composite product. In short, the tribal totem tends to pass into an anthropomorphic god. And as he rises more and more into human form, so the subordinate totems sink from the dignity of incarnations into the humbler character of favourites and clients ; until, at a later age, the links which bound them to the god having wholly faded from memory, a generation of mythologists arises who seek to patch up the broken chain by the cheap method of symbolism. But symbolism is only the decorous though transparent veil which a refined age loves to throw over its own ignorance of the past.

Tendency  
to create a  
deity pre-  
siding over  
the totem  
species.

Apart from the social changes which have favoured the passage of totemism into a higher form of faith, we can detect in the totemic philosophy itself some advances towards the formation of a deity distinct from and superior to all the individuals of the totem species. Thus some North American Indians think that each species of animal has an elder brother, who is the origin of all the animals of the species, and is besides marvellously great and powerful. The elder brothers of birds are in the sky ; the elder brothers of animals are in the waters.<sup>7</sup> The Patagonians,

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, 46 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 56 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, 60 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, 72.

<sup>7</sup> *Rel. des Jés.*, 1634, 13 ; cf. *Lettr. Édif.*, vi. 334 ; Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouv. Fr.*, v. 443, vi. 78.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, 64 sq.

who are divided into clans of the Tiger, Lion, Guanoco, Ostrich, and so on, think that these clans have each its appropriate deity living in vast caverns underground, with whom the souls of dead clansmen go to dwell.<sup>1</sup> The Peruvians thought that "of all the beasts of the earth, there is one alone in heaven like unto them, that which hath care of their procreation and increase."<sup>2</sup> In all such views the strict totemic standpoint is abandoned. Pure totemism is democratic; it is a religion of equality and fraternity; one individual of the totem species is as good as another. When, therefore, one individual of the totem species is, as elder brother, guardian spirit, or what not, raised to a position of superiority over all the rest, totemism is practically given up, and religion, like society, is advancing to the monarchical stage.

While totemism as a religion tends to pass into the worship first of animal gods and next of anthropomorphic gods with animal attributes, totem clans tend, under the same social conditions, to pass into local clans. Amongst the Kurnai, shut in between the mountains and the sea, phratries and clans have been replaced by exogamous local groups, which generally take their names from the districts, but in some cases from men of note.<sup>3</sup> The Coast Murring tribe in New South Wales has also substituted exogamous local groups for kinship divisions; but, though their totems are decadent and anomalous, they still keep a dying grip on the people, for a man cannot marry a woman of the permitted locality if she is of the same totem as himself.<sup>4</sup>

The totem clans of the Bechuanas have made some progress towards becoming local groups; for the clans as a rule keep together in their own districts, which are known accordingly as "the dwelling of the men of the chamois," "the abode of the men of the monkey," etc.<sup>5</sup> In America, if we cannot detect the substitution of local for kindred groups, we can at least see a step towards it in that relaxation of the rule of exogamy which has been observed in widely separated tribes. For example, among the Omahas,

<sup>1</sup> T. Falkner, *Description of Patagonia* (Hereford, 1774), p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Acosta, *History of the Indies*, ii. p. 305 (Hakluyt Society).

<sup>3</sup> Fison and Howitt, 224 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *J. A. I.*, xiii. 437.

<sup>5</sup> Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 212.

Totem  
clans tend  
to pass into  
local clans.

Relaxation  
of the rule  
of exo-  
gamy.

who have male descent, a man may marry a woman of the same totem as himself provided she be of another tribe.<sup>1</sup>

Distribu-  
tion of  
totemism  
in Australia  
and  
America.

*Geographical Diffusion of Totemism.*—In Australia totemism is almost universal.<sup>2</sup> In North America it may be roughly said to prevail, or have prevailed, among all the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains,<sup>3</sup> and among all the Indian (but not the Eskimo) tribes on the north-west coast as far south as the United States frontier. On the other hand, highly competent authorities have failed to find it among the tribes of Western Washington, North-western Oregon, and California.<sup>4</sup> In Panama it exists apparently among the Guaymies: each tribe, family, and individual has a guardian animal, the most prevalent being a kind of parrot.<sup>5</sup> In South America totemism is found among the Goajiros on the borders of Colombia and Venezuela,<sup>6</sup> the Arawaks in Guiana,<sup>7</sup> the Bosch negroes also in Guiana,<sup>8</sup> and the Patagonians.<sup>9</sup> Finding it at such distant points of the continent, we should expect it to be widely prevalent; but with our meagre knowledge of the South American Indians this is merely conjecture. The aborigines of Peru

<sup>1</sup> *Third Rep.*, 257. For general statements of the relaxation of exogamy see Baer and Helmersen, *Beitr. z. Kenntn. des russischen Reiches*, i. 104; P. Jones, *Hist. Ojebway Indians*, 138; *Collect. Minnesota Hist. Soc.*, v. p. 42; *Smithson Rep. for 1866*, 315; Dall, *Alaska*, 196 sq.; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, 175. The Dacotas (Sioux) seem to have lost the totem system since 1767 (see Morgan, *A. S.*, 154; J. Carver, *Travels*, 255 sq., London, 1781; Keating, *Expedition to the Source of the Missouri River*, ii. 157; James, in Tanner's *Narrative*, 313 sq.; *Collect. Minnes. Hist. Soc.*, v. p. 43). In Australia, though the exogamy of the clan seems to remain intact, the exogamy of the subphratry is relaxed in the case (apparently exceptional) of the Kamilaroi permission to marry a half-sister on the father's side (see Fison and Howitt, p. 42 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the only known exceptions are the Kurnai in eastern, and the Gourditch-mora in Western Victoria.

For the latter see Fison and Howitt, p. 275. Of the aborigines on the lower Murray it is said that "they are not divided into clans, castes, or grades, but live on a footing of perfect equality" (Beveridge, in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, vi. p. 21). But probably this does not exclude the existence of totem clans.

<sup>3</sup> Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, 153; H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> George Gibbs, in *Contrib. to N. American Ethnol.*, i. 184; S. Powers, *Tr. of Calif.*, 5.

<sup>5</sup> A. Pinart, in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vi. p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Simons, in *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, Dec. 1885, pp. 786, 796.

<sup>7</sup> Brett, *Ind. Tribes of Guiana*, 98; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, 175 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Crevaux, *Voyages dans l'Amérique du Sud*, p. 59. One clan has the red ape for its totem, others the turtle, crocodile, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Falkner, *Descr. of Patagonia*, 114.

and the Salivas on the Orinoco believed in the descent of their tribes from animals, plants, and natural objects, such as the sun and earth;<sup>1</sup> but this, though a presumption, is not a proof of totemism.

In Africa we have seen that totemism prevails in Senegambia, among the Bakalai on the equator, and among the Damaras and Bechuanas in Southern Africa.<sup>2</sup> There are traces of totemism elsewhere in Africa. In Ashantee different animals are worshipped in different districts, which points to totemism.<sup>3</sup> In Eastern Africa the Gallas are divided into two exogamous sections and have certain forbidden foods.<sup>4</sup> In Abyssinia certain districts or families will not eat of certain animals or parts of animals.<sup>5</sup> The territory of the Hovas in Madagascar is divided and subdivided into districts, the names of the subdivisions referring "rather to clans and divisions of people than to place." One of these names is "the powerful bird," *i.e.* either the eagle or the vulture. The same clan is found occupying separate districts.<sup>6</sup> One Madagascar tribe regard a species of lemur as "an embodiment of the spirit of their ancestors, and therefore they look with horror upon killing them."<sup>7</sup> Other Malagasy tribes and families refrain from eating pigs and goats;<sup>8</sup> others will not eat certain vegetables nor even allow them to be carried into their houses.<sup>9</sup> The only occasion when the Sakalava tribe in Madagascar kill a bull is at the circumcision of a child, who is placed on the bull's back during the customary invocation.<sup>10</sup>

In Bengal, as we have seen, there are numerous totem tribes among the non-Aryan races. In Siberia the Yakuts are divided into totem clans; the clansmen will not kill

Distribution of totemism in Africa.

Distribution of totemism in Asia.

<sup>1</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, pt. i. bk. i. chs. 9, 10, 11, 18; Gumilla, *Hist. de l'Orenoque*, i. 175 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iii. 396 sq., v. 81; Du Chaillu, *Équat. Afr.*, 308 sq.; *id.*, *Journey to Ashango Land*, 427, 429; C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, 221 sq.; Livingstone, *Trav. in S. Africa*, 13; Casalis, *The Basutos*, 211; J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, 393; *J. A. I.*, xvi. 83 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Bowdich, *Mission to Ashantee*, ed. 1873, p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa*, 272, 274.

<sup>5</sup> Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, 293; *Tr. Ethnol. Soc.*, New Series, vi. 292.

<sup>6</sup> Ellis, *Hist. of Madagascar*, i. 87.

<sup>7</sup> *Folk-Lore Record*, ii. 22.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, 30.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*, iv. 45.

their totems (the swan, goose, raven, etc.);<sup>1</sup> and the clans are exogamous.<sup>2</sup> The Altaians, also in Siberia, are divided into twenty-four clans, which, though interfused with each other, retain strongly the clan feeling; the clans are exogamous; each has its own patron divinity and religious ceremonies; and the only two names of clans of these and kindred tribes of which the meanings are given are names of animals.<sup>3</sup> There are traces of totemism in China.<sup>4</sup> In Polynesia it existed, as we have seen, in Samoa. In Melanesia it appears in Fiji,<sup>5</sup> the New Hebrides,<sup>6</sup> and the Solomon Islands.<sup>7</sup> Amongst the Dyaks there are traces of totemism in the prohibition of the flesh of certain animals to certain tribes, respect for certain plants, etc.<sup>8</sup> It exists in the islands of Ambon, Uliase, Leti, Moa, Lakor, Keisar (Makisar), Wetar, and the Aaru and Babar archipelagoes.<sup>9</sup> In the Philippine Islands there are traces of it in the reverence for certain animals, the belief that the souls of ancestors dwell in trees, etc.<sup>10</sup>

Totemism in Polynesia, Melanesia, the East Indies, etc.

Totemism among the civilised races of antiquity.

With regard to ancient nations, totemism may be regarded as certain for the Egyptians, and highly probable for the Semites,<sup>11</sup> Greeks, and Latins. If proved for one Aryan people, it might be regarded as proved for all; since totemism could scarcely have been developed by any one Aryan branch after the dispersion, and there is no evidence or probability that it ever was borrowed. Professor Sayce

<sup>1</sup> Strahlenberg, *Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia, but more particularly of Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary*, London, 1738, p. 383.

<sup>2</sup> Middendorf, *Siber. Reise*, p. 72, quoted by Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, p. 135. The present writer has been unable to find the passage of Middendorf referred to.

<sup>3</sup> W. Radloff, *Aus Siberien*, i. 216, 258. The Ostiaks, also in Siberia, are divided into exogamous clans, and they reverence the bear (Castren, *Vorlesungen ueber die Altaischen Völker*, 107, 115, 117). This, however, by no means amounts to a proof of totemism.

<sup>4</sup> Morgan, *A. S.*, p. 364 sq. One of the aboriginal tribes of China worships the image of a dog (Gray, *China*, ii. 306).

<sup>5</sup> Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, ed. 1860, i. 219 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, 334.

<sup>7</sup> Fison and Howitt, p. 37 n.

<sup>8</sup> Low, *Sarawak*, 265 sq., 272-274, 306; *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, iii. p. 590; St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i. 186 sq., 203; cf. Wilken, in *Ind. Gids*, June 1884, p. 988 sq.; *Ausland*, 16th June 1884, p. 470.

<sup>9</sup> Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Papua en Selebes*, pp. 32, 61, 253, 334, 341, 376 sq., 414, 432.

<sup>10</sup> Blumentritt, *Der Ahnencultus und die religiösen Anschauungen der Malaien des Philippinen Archipel*, 159 sq.

<sup>11</sup> See W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*.

finds totemism among the ancient Babylonians, but his evidence is not conclusive.<sup>1</sup>

*Origin of Totemism.*—No satisfactory explanation of the origin of totemism has yet been given. Mr. Herbert Spencer finds the origin of totemism in a "misinterpretation of nicknames": savages first named themselves after natural objects; and then, confusing these objects with their ancestors of the same names, revered them as they already revered their ancestors.<sup>2</sup> The objection to this view is that it attributes to verbal misunderstandings far more influence than, in spite of the so-called comparative mythology, they ever seem to have exercised. Sir John Lubbock also thinks that totemism arose from the habit of naming persons and families after animals; but in dropping the intermediate links of ancestor-worship and verbal misunderstanding, he has stripped the theory of all that lent it even an air of plausibility.<sup>3</sup>

Lastly, it may be observed that, considering the far-reaching effects produced on the fauna and flora of a district by the preservation or extinction of a single species of animals or plants, it appears probable that the tendency of totemism to preserve certain species of plants and animals must have largely influenced the organic life of the countries where it has prevailed. But this question, with the kindred question of the bearing of totemism on the original domestication of animals and plants, is beyond the scope of the present article.

*Literature.*—Apart from the original authorities which have been referred to, the literature on totemism is very scanty. The importance of totemism for the early history of society was first recognised by Mr. J. F. M'Lennan, in papers published in the *Fortnightly Review* (October and November 1869, February 1870). The subject has since been treated of by E. B. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, p. 284 sq.; Sir John Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 260 sq.; A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 260, etc.; E. Clodd, *Myths and Dreams*, p. 99 sq.; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. See also *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., article "Sacrifice," vol. xxi. p. 135.

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Sayce, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (Hibbert Lectures, 1887), p. 279 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, i. 367.

<sup>3</sup> Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, p. 260.



# THE ORIGIN OF TOTEMISM

*Reprinted from the Fortnightly Review,  
April and May 1899*



# THE ORIGIN OF TOTEMISM

## I

NEARLY thirty years have passed since, in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*, the late J. F. M'Lennan drew the attention of students to Totemism as a system which, in his opinion, had deeply influenced the religious and social history of mankind.<sup>1</sup> His brilliant disciple, my lamented friend the late W. Robertson Smith, took up the subject, and, carrying out the investigation on the lines laid down by his predecessor, essayed to show that Totemism lay at the root of Semitic religion, and hence of the faith which is now embraced by the most civilised nations of the earth. Of late years the theory has been pushed still further by Mr. F. B. Jevons, who finds in this rude scheme of society and superstition the germs out of which not only all religion but all material progress have been evolved in the course of ages.

It is fortunate that while theories on this subject have accumulated, facts have also accumulated, though perhaps not in an equal proportion. The two regions of the world in which the Totemic system is known to have prevailed most extensively are North America and Australia, and both of them, within the last three decades, have yielded a harvest, not inconsiderable in amount, to the anthropological reaper. In North America the enlightened efforts of the United States Government, setting an example which, alas, no other Government has had the wisdom to follow, have

<sup>1</sup> J. F. M'Lennan, "The Worship of Animals and Plants," *Fortnightly Review*, Oct. and Nov. 1869, Feb. 1870.

been directed towards gleaning all that still remains to be learned of the ancient manners and customs of the aboriginal race, who are now rapidly disappearing or being absorbed by their conquerors. On the north-west coast of the same continent, where the disintegrating influence of European civilisation has penetrated more slowly, and where, consequently, the fabric of native society has held longer together, inquiries instituted by the British Association have also borne good fruit. In Australia the harvest is still abundant, but the labourers are few. Yet the study of the aborigines of this continent is of incalculable importance for the history of man, since in their archaic forms of society and modes of thought we seem to touch the farthest past, the most rudimentary stage of human life now open to observation on the globe. It is the honourable distinction of two men, Mr. A. W. Howitt and Mr. Lorimer Fison, to have perceived the immense value of the Australian facts, and to have laboured untiringly to collect and explain them. To their influence and example it is due in large measure that we now possess a considerable body of information on the remarkable social organisation of the Australian tribes, and not the least of their claims to be gratefully remembered by posterity will be the stimulus they gave to the inquiries of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, whose great work on the natives of Central Australia has lately been published.<sup>1</sup> In this work we possess for the first time a full and authentic account of thoroughly primitive savages living in the totem stage, and practically unaffected by European influence. Its importance as a document of human history can, therefore, hardly be over-estimated. A little consideration will enable the reader to realise this more clearly.

The work of Spencer and Gillen on the natives of Central Australia.

The backwardness of the Australian savages an effect of their isolation.

Among the great land masses or continents of the world Australia is at once the smallest and the most isolated, and hence its plants and animals are in general of a less developed and more archaic type than those of the other continents. For the same reason aboriginal man has

<sup>1</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia.* By Baldwin Spencer, M.A., some time Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, Professor of Biology in the University of Melbourne; and

F. J. Gillen, Special Magistrate and Sub-Protector of the Aborigines, Alice Springs, South Australia. London: Macmillan & Co. 1899.

remained on the whole, down to the present day, in a more primitive state in Australia than elsewhere. In the struggle for existence progress depends mainly on competition: the more numerous the competitors the fiercer is the struggle, and the more rapid, consequently, is evolution. The comparatively small area of Australia, combined with its physical features—notably the arid and desert nature of a large part of the country—has always restricted population, and by restricting population has retarded progress. This holds true above all of the central region, which is not only cut off from the outer world by its position, but is also isolated by natural barriers from the rest of the continent. Here, then, in the secluded heart of the most secluded continent the scientific inquirer might reasonably expect to find the savage in his very lowest depths, to detect humanity in the chrysalis stage, to mark the first blind gropings of our race after freedom and light.

The reader who turns to *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* with such hopes and expectations will not, I venture to predict, be disappointed. Here he will find a full description of what is perhaps the most extraordinary set of customs and beliefs ever put on record. To illustrate the gulf which divides these savages from ourselves it must here suffice to mention two facts. In the first place, although they suffer much from cold at night under the frosty stars of the clear Australian heaven, the idea of using as garments the warm furs of the wild animals which they kill and eat has never entered into their minds. They huddle, naked and shivering, about little fires, into which, when they drop off to sleep, they are apt to roll and scorch themselves. In the second place, they have no notion that mankind is propagated by the union of the sexes; indeed, when the idea is suggested to them they steadfastly reject it. Their own theory to account for the continuation of the species is sufficiently remarkable. They suppose that in certain far-off times, to which they give the name of "Alcheringa," their ancestors roamed about in bands, each band consisting of members of the same totem group. Where they died their spirits went into the ground and formed, as it were, spiritual store-houses, the external mark of which is some

The primitive-ness of the Central Australians illustrated by two facts, their lack of all clothing and their belief that mankind is not propagated by the union of the sexes.

natural feature, generally a stone or tree. Such spots are scattered all over the country, and the ancestral spirits who haunt them are ever waiting for a favourable opportunity to be born again into the world. When one of them sees his chance he pounces out on a passing girl or woman and enters into her. Then she conceives, and in due time gives birth to a child, who is firmly believed to be a reincarnation of the spirit that darted into the mother from the rock or tree. It matters not whether a woman be young or old, a matron or a maid, all are alike liable to be thus impregnated by the spirits, although it has been shrewdly observed by the natives that the spirits on the whole exhibit a preference for such women as are young and fat. Accordingly, when a plump damsel, who shrinks from the burden of maternity, is obliged to pass one of the spots where the disembodied spirits are supposed to lurk, she disguises herself as a withered old hag and hobbles past, bent up double, leaning on a stick, wrinkling her smooth young face, and mumbling in a cracked and wheezy voice, "Don't come to me, I am an old woman." Thus, in the opinion of these savages, every conception is what we are wont to call an immaculate conception, being brought about by the entrance into the mother of a spirit apart from any contact with the other sex. Students of folk-lore have long been familiar with notions of this sort occurring in the stories of the birth of miraculous personages,<sup>1</sup> but this is the first case on record of a tribe who believe in immaculate conception as the sole cause of the birth of every human being who comes into the world. A people so ignorant of the most elementary of natural processes may well rank at the very bottom of the savage scale.

Great importance of the record of these tribes for the early history of mankind.

Thus it will be obvious that a complete and accurate record of the thoughts and habits of a people so low down in the scale of humanity must possess the highest scientific interest; for it is now generally admitted that all the civilised races of mankind have at some time passed through the stage of savagery, and that on a close scrutiny the seeds of most of the institutions on which we pride ourselves may

<sup>1</sup> Many examples are collected by Mr. E. S. Hartland, in his learned work, *The Legend of Perseus*.

be discovered, still partially or wholly undeveloped, in the customs of the rudest tribes. A record of this sort has been given to the world by the devoted labours of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, who have thereby earned the gratitude, not of this generation only, but of all future generations who shall henceforth interest themselves in tracing the slow evolution of civilisation out of savagery. It is no exaggeration to say that, among the documents which students of the early history of man will in future be bound to consult, there can, from the nature of the case, be few or none of more capital importance than *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*. For in a few years the simple savages who, at the end of the nineteenth century still think the thoughts and retain the habits of primeval man, will have perished, or be so changed that all their old-world ways will be gone irretrievably. Everywhere the savages are dying out, and as they go they take with them page after page of the most ancient history of our race. The study of savage man may be compared to the Sibyl, who, as she threw away leaf after leaf, still demanded the same price for the ever diminishing number that remained. Our chances of preserving for future generations a record of these tribes—the beaten and dying runners in life's race—are lessening year by year, enhancing rather than diminishing, as they drop away, the value of the few trustworthy records we have secured. For there is this difference between the Sibyl of Cumæ and the Sibyl of anthropology: the revelation promised by the former was not lost for ever with the fluttering leaves—the future will in time reveal itself to the future; but who shall read in ages to come the vanished record of the past?

I will illustrate by a single example the way in which the customs and beliefs of these Central Australian savages may throw light on the growth of a great institution. The institution which I shall select is great enough, for it is the Roman Empire. We have all read in our schooldays of the device to which Romulus is said to have resorted for the purpose of peopling the city that was destined to become the mistress of the ancient world. On the slope of the Capitoline Hill, then buried deep in the shady horror of a dark and tangled wood, he established a sanctuary of

Illustration of the light thrown by the customs of the Central Australians on the growth of institutions.

Origin of  
Rome in  
an asylum  
for out-  
laws.

some god or spirit unknown, and proclaimed that all who resorted thither, whether bond or free, should be safe, and should receive lands and citizenship. Lured by these promises, a multitude of broken men—slaves escaping from their masters, debtors who had outrun the bailiffs, murderers with the avengers of blood hot on their tracks—flocked from all the country round to the new town on the Tiber, and a motley population of wretches, ruffians, and desperadoes soon gathered within the massive walls and became the terror of their neighbours.<sup>1</sup> This tradition has not received from historians the attention it deserves. There are good grounds for believing that many cities have sprung up in nearly the same way as Rome is said to have done, not so much through the arbitrary decree of a founder as through the existence of an immemorial sanctuary, within which outlawed and desperate men have found safety and taken up their abode. I propose to show that the germ of such an institution exists, or has existed, in many savage communities, and that the full-grown institution still flourishes in various parts of the world.

Asylums in  
Central  
Australia,  
New  
Guinea,  
and  
America.

To begin with the lowest savages, the natives of Central Australia have certain sacred spots—generally caves in the heart of their wild and lonely hills—which may be regarded as the first rudiment of a city or house of refuge. Here are kept the mysterious sticks and stones (*churinga*) with which the spirits not only of all their dead ancestors but also of all the living members of the tribe are intimately associated. Everything in such spots and their immediate neighbourhood is sacred; nothing must be done to disturb the spirits. No plant may be pulled there, no branch broken. The very animals that run thither are safe from the hunter; no native would dare to spear a kangaroo or wallaby on the holy ground. Within its limits men, too, are safe from their pursuers; so long as they do not pass the bounds they may not be touched.<sup>2</sup> In some parts of New Guinea the *dubu* or temple serves as an asylum. A man who is pursued by

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.*, i. 15; Livy, i. 8; Strabo, v. 230, ed. Casaubon; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 134 sq.

his enemy and takes refuge in it is perfectly safe. If any one tried to smite him in the temple it is believed that his arms and legs would shrivel up, and that he could do nothing but wish for death.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, among the rude Indians of California, described by the Spanish missionary, Father Boscana, every temple enjoyed the right of asylum. Criminals who had once reached a temple (*vanquech*) were secure, not only within but also outside the precinct; they might thenceforth go abroad without fear of molestation; the mere entrance into the sacred place had purged their guilt.<sup>2</sup> The Ojibways are said to have had sanctuaries in which every murderer might seek refuge, it being universally believed that no vengeance might be taken on him there. The German traveller, J. G. Kohl, heard that the murderer of a Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company was actually living at the time securely in one of these asylums.<sup>3</sup>

Among more advanced peoples it seems that the tombs, or other places believed to be haunted by the spirits of dead chiefs or kings, are especially apt to develop into asylums. Thus in the monarchical States of the Gallas, in Eastern Africa, homicides enjoy a legal right of asylum if they have succeeded in taking refuge in a hut near the burial-place of the King, which is not far from the King's house.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, among the Barotse of Southern Africa, the tombs of the Kings, in number about seventy-five, are sanctuaries or places of refuge; and so, too, are the residences of the Queen and the Prime Minister.<sup>5</sup> Among the Ovambo of South-western Africa the village of a great chief is abandoned at his death; only the members of a certain family remain to prevent it from falling into utter decay. Condemned criminals who contrive to escape to one of these deserted villages are safe, at least for a time; for even the chief himself may not pursue a fugitive into the sacred place.<sup>6</sup> In Upolu, one of the Samoan islands, a certain

Asylums in  
Africa and  
Samoa.

<sup>1</sup> J. Chalmers and W. Wyatt Gill, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Boscana, in [A. Robinson's] *Life in California*, p. 262. New York, 1846.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami*, ii. p. 67. Bremen, 1859.

<sup>4</sup> Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas: Die Geistige Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Somäl*, p. 157. Berlin, 1896.

<sup>5</sup> L. Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 75. London, 1898.

<sup>6</sup> H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, p. 312.

god, Vave, had his abode in an old tree, which served as an asylum for murderers and other offenders who had incurred the penalty of death. "If that tree was reached by the criminal, he was safe, and the avenger of blood could pursue no farther, but wait investigation and trial. It is said that the King of a division of Upolu, called Atua, once lived at that spot. After he died the house fell into decay, but the tree was fixed on as representing the departed King, and out of respect for his memory it was made the substitute of a living and Royal protector. It was called *o le asi pulu tangata*, 'the asi tree, the refuge of men.' This reminds me of what I once heard from a native of another island. He said that at one time they had been ten years without a King, and so anxious were they to have some protecting substitute that they fixed upon a large O'a tree (*Bischoffia Javanica*), and made it the representative of a King, and an asylum for the thief or the homicide when pursued by the injured in hot haste for vengeance."<sup>1</sup>

Asylum in Borneo.

In Koetei, a district of Borneo, criminals guilty of capital offences who can take refuge in the Sultan's *dalam* may not be slain there, but they lose their freedom for ever, and their children also become slaves. Such refugees, male and female, generally intermarry, and serve the Sultan as domestics, retainers, soldiers, police-agents, and so on. They are a curse to the country. Being drawn, for the most part, from the scum of the population, and always going about armed, they terrify peaceable folk by their brutal and insolent behaviour.<sup>2</sup>

How asylums may grow into cities.

This last example is instructive. It shows how outlaws or refugees may grow into an important and dangerous element of the population. All that is needed to produce this effect is, besides immunity, a rule that the descendants of outcasts shall themselves be outcasts. Where this rule prevails, and the outlaws are segregated in towns or villages of their own, it is obvious that we have a state of matters very like that which is said to have obtained at Rome in its earliest days. Now such a condition of things actually

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 64 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> S. W. Tromp, "Uit de Salasila van Koetei," *Bijdragen tot de taal-*

*land-en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxvii. p. 84 *sq.* 1888.

exists at present among the secluded and barbarous tribes of the Siah Posh Kafirs, who inhabit the savage glens and highlands of the Hindu Kush. Amongst them every manslayer is obliged to quit his home and take up his abode in one or other of certain villages or "cities of refuge," as Sir George Robertson calls them. And it is not merely the slayer himself who is thus banished: his sons, if they are not grown up at the time of the homicide, generally become outcasts too, and so do his daughters' husbands and their descendants. The result is that there are whole villages peopled mainly by manslayers or their offspring.<sup>1</sup> It is well known that the Hebrews had cities of refuge, within which a manslayer might not be touched by the avenger of blood.<sup>2</sup> A similar institution existed among the more advanced aboriginal tribes of North America, and has been described by a writer of last century, who laboured under the impression that in the Redskins he had discovered the long lost Ten Tribes of Israel. This luminous idea does not, however, impair the value of his testimony, of which we have independent confirmation. He says: "Each of these Indian nations have either a house or a town of refuge, which is a sure asylum to protect a manslayer or the unfortunate captive if they can once enter into it. The Cheerake, though now exceedingly corrupt, still observe the law so inviolably as to allow their beloved town the privilege of protecting a wilful murderer; but they seldom allow him to return home afterwards in safety—they will revenge blood for blood, unless in some very particular case." "Formerly," says the same writer, "when one of the Cheerake murdered an English trader, he immediately ran off for the town of refuge; but as soon as he got in view of it the inhabitants discovered him by the close pursuit of the shrill war whoo-whoop, and, for fear of irritating the English, they instantly answered the war-cry, ran to arms, intercepted, and drove him off into Tennase River (where he escaped, though mortally wounded), lest he should have entered the reputed holy ground and thus it had been stained with the blood of their friend, or he had obtained sanctuary

<sup>1</sup> Sir G. S. Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush*, p. 440 sq., London, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> *Numbers*, xxxv. 6-34.

to the danger of the community."<sup>1</sup> Among the Creek Indians the cities of refuge were called the White Towns, while the towns which afforded no asylum were known as the Red or War Towns.<sup>2</sup>

Sanctuaries  
developing  
into cities  
of refuge  
in West  
Africa.

A link is wanting to connect these cities of refuge in America, Palestine, and the Hindu Kush, with the less developed forms of asylum which we have met with among various tribes of savages. For none of these cities is reported to have grown up gradually through the drifting of the waifs and strays of society towards a rock of refuge, such as a tomb or other holy place offers in the troubled sea of barbarism. This missing link appears to be supplied in Western Africa. Here, in the regions of the French Congo and Calabar, are sanctuaries in which evildoers of all kinds—for example, thieves, sorcerers, and women who have been guilty of the inexpiable offence of giving birth to twins—seek, and find, safety. These sanctuaries cover considerable tracts of ground, being large enough to contain a whole village with its lands. Whoever can make good his escape to one of them is absolutely secure. But the society, as might be expected, is rather numerous than select; its great charm lies more in a general easiness and freedom of manners than in any natural delicacy or studied refinement. A man of Miss Kingsley's acquaintance, who had been obliged to betake himself for a time to one of these communities, found the society so intolerable that he preferred to quit it at all hazards.<sup>3</sup>

Many cities  
may have  
originated  
in this way.

With these facts before us, we may fairly conjecture that not a few towns in ancient and modern times may have arisen through the gradual accretion of the dregs and outcasts of society about some spot of peculiar holiness. The view that Rome originated in this manner is supported by tradition, and is, perhaps, not belied by anything in the ancient or modern history of the city; certainly it accords well with the belief of the ancients themselves that the Romans were a mixed race. Thus, to go back to the point

<sup>1</sup> J. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 158. London, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> H. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels*

*in West Africa*, p. 466. London, 1897. In the text I have embodied some additional details, which Miss Kingsley was kind enough to give me in conversation.

from which we started, the sacred caves of the rude savages in the wilds of Australia may not unreasonably be regarded as representing in germ an institution out of which a great city, perhaps even a great empire, might, under more favourable circumstances, have been developed.

But it is time to turn to my more immediate subject. In this paper I desire to call attention to some of the novel features of Central Australian Totemism, as they are disclosed to us by the researches of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, and further to consider how far the new facts may require us to modify or recast our old views of Totemism in general. It may be well to begin by reminding the reader that a totem is a class of natural phenomena or material objects—most commonly a species of animals or plants—between which and himself the savage believes that a certain intimate relation exists. The exact nature of the relation is not easy to ascertain; various explanations of it have been suggested, but none has as yet won general acceptance. Whatever it may be, it generally leads the savage to abstain from killing or eating his totem, if his totem happens to be a species of animals or plants. Further, the group of persons who are knit to any particular totem by this mysterious tie commonly bear the name of the totem, believe themselves to be of one blood, and strictly refuse to sanction the marriage or cohabitation of members of the group with each other. This prohibition to marry within the group is now generally called by the name of Exogamy. Thus, Totemism has commonly been treated as a primitive system both of religion and of society. As a system of religion it embraces the mystic union of the savage with his totem; as a system of society it comprises the relations in which men and women of the same totem stand to each other and to the members of other totemic groups. And corresponding to these two sides of the system are two rough-and-ready tests or canons of Totemism: first, the rule that a man may not kill or eat his totem animal or plant; and second, the rule that he may not marry or cohabit with a woman of the same totem. Whether the two sides—the religious and the social—have always co-existed or are essentially independent, is a

Novel features of Central Australian Totemism.

Old canons of Totemism, the prohibitions to kill or eat the totem animal or plant and to marry a woman of the same totem.

question which has been variously answered. Some writers—for example, Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Herbert Spencer—have held that Totemism began as a system of society only, and that the superstitious regard for the totem developed later, through a simple process of misunderstanding. Others, including J. F. M'Lennan and Robertson Smith, were of opinion that the religious reverence for the totem is original, and must, at least, have preceded the introduction of Exogamy.

Discrepancy between the traditions and the practice of the Central Australians in regard to Totemism.

Now, when we consider the totemic system of the Central Australian tribes, as it is described by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, one of the things that strikes us most is the extraordinary discrepancy between their traditions and their practice. If their traditions may be trusted, their ancestors certainly did not observe the totemic rules which are now practised by their descendants. Let us take what I have called the canons of Totemism and see how they apply to the present practice of these natives, and to what is represented as having been the practice of their forefathers in days gone by.

First, though the natives at present do not generally kill or eat their totems, it seems that their ancestors did so regularly.

First, the rule that a man may not kill or eat his totem animal or plant. Roughly speaking, this rule is fairly well observed, with certain remarkable exceptions, by the Central Australians at present. "A man will only eat very sparingly of his totem, and even if he does eat a little of it, which is allowable to him, he is careful, in the case, for example, of an Emu man, not to eat the best part, such as the fat."<sup>1</sup> In a note on this passage the authors add: "The people of the Emu totem very rarely eat the eggs, unless very hungry and short of food, in which case they would eat, but not too abundantly. If an Emu man found a nest of eggs, and was very hungry, he might cook one, but he would take the remainder into camp and distribute them. If he were not very hungry all the eggs would be distributed. The flesh of the bird may be eaten sparingly, but only a very little of the fat; the eggs and fat are more *ekirinja*, or taboo, than the meat. The same principle holds good through all the totems; a Carpet-snake man will eat sparingly of a poor snake, but he will scarcely touch the

<sup>1</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 202.

reptile if it be fat." Elsewhere, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe that "at the present day the totemic animal or plant, as the case may be, is almost, but not quite, taboo, or, as the Arunta people call it, *ekirinja*, to the members of the totem."<sup>1</sup> Yet the traditions of these same natives represent their ancestors as possessing and freely exercising the right to kill and eat their totem animals and plants, "as if this were, indeed, a functional necessity."<sup>2</sup>

Second, the rule that a man may not marry or cohabit with a woman of the same totem. At the present day this rule is strictly observed by a group of Central Australian tribes, of which the Urabunna may be taken as typical. It is not observed at all by another group of tribes, of which the Arunta may be regarded as representative. Among these latter tribes the totemic system has no effect on marriage and descent; a man may marry a woman of the same totem or he may not, and his children may belong either to his or to his wife's totem, or to neither, or some to one and some to the other. Very different was the state of things in the past, if we may trust tradition, the evidence of which "seems to point back to a time when a man always married a woman of his own totem. The reference to men and women of one totem always living together in groups would appear to be too frequent and explicit to admit of any other satisfactory explanation. We never meet [in tradition] with an instance of a man living with a woman who was not of his own totem."<sup>3</sup>

Thus the Central Australian tribes have clear and positive traditions of a time when they regularly killed and ate their totem, and always married women of the same totem as themselves. Such traditions, it is plain, fly straight in the face of all our old notions of Totemism. Are we, therefore, at liberty to reject them as baseless? Certainly not. Their very discordance with the practice of the natives at the present day is the best guarantee that they contain a substantial element of truth. They could not have been invented to explain customs which they contradict. Every theory of Central Australian Totemism must reckon with

<sup>1</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 419.

Though some of the Central Australians now strictly observe the rule of exogamy, it appears that their ancestors on the contrary always married women of the same totem as themselves.

The very fact that these traditions contradict the present practice of the people is the best proof of their genuineness.

them ; none can be satisfactory which does not show how the gulf between the present and past totemic system of the natives can be bridged.

Each totem group performs ceremonies called *Intichiuma* for the multiplication of the totem animal or plant.

Bearing this in mind, let us look at the existing system more closely. First, we must note that while the totems of these tribes are generally animals or plants, they are not exclusively so : we hear of totems of the wind, the sun, the evening star, fire, water, cloud, and so on ; “ in fact there is scarcely an object, animate or inanimate, to be found in the country occupied by the natives which does not give its name to some totemic group of individuals.”<sup>1</sup> Next, let us observe that each totem group performs certain sacred ceremonies called *Intichiuma*, the object of which, whenever the totem happens to be an animal or plant, is to ensure the multiplication of the animals or plants of that species. These ceremonies, to which the natives seem to attach more importance than to any others,<sup>2</sup> are generally held at what may be called the approach of the Australian spring. “ The *Intichiuma* are closely associated with the breeding of the animals and the flowering of the plants with which each totem is respectively identified, and as the object of the ceremony is to increase the number of the totemic animal or plant, it is most naturally held at a certain season. In Central Australia the seasons are limited, so far as the breeding of animals and the flowering of plants is concerned, to two—a dry one of uncertain and often great length, and a rainy one of short duration and often of irregular occurrence. The latter is followed by an increase in animal life and an exuberance of plant growth which, almost suddenly, transforms what may have been a sterile waste into a land rich in various forms of animals, none of which have been seen for, it may be, many months before, and gay with the blossoms of endless flowering plants. In the case of many of the totems it is just when there is promise of the approach of a good season that it is customary to hold the ceremony.”<sup>3</sup>

The analogy of these ceremonies to the spring and mid-summer festivals of our European peasantry, as the latter have been interpreted by W. Mannhardt, is obvious. To

<sup>1</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 169 sq.

dwell on the analogy would be out of place here. I shall have an opportunity elsewhere of pointing the moral which is to be drawn from it. Here I will only ask the reader to observe that, like their European analogues these Australian ceremonies are in their essence magical rather than religious. The distinction between religion and magic may be said to be that while the former is an attempt to propitiate or conciliate the higher powers, the latter is an attempt to compel or coerce them. Thus, while religion assumes that the great controlling powers of the world are so far akin to man as to be liable, like him, to be moved by human prayers and entreaties, magic makes no such assumption. To the magician it is a matter of indifference whether the cosmic powers are conscious or unconscious, spiritual or material, for in either case he imagines that he can force them by his enchantments and spells to do his bidding. Now as the *Intichiuma* ceremonies are supposed to produce their effect directly and necessarily, and "their performance is not associated in the native mind with the idea of appealing to the assistance of any supernatural being,"<sup>1</sup> it is plain that they are magical in their nature, rather than religious. A brief notice of some of them will set this in a clear light.

The *Intichiuma* ceremonies are magical rather than religious.

In order to ensure a plentiful supply of a certain grub known as the witchetty grub, which is a favourite article of diet with the natives, and only appears for a short time after rain, the men of the Witchetty Grub totem repair to a shallow cave in a ravine, where lies a large block of quartzite, surrounded by some small rounded stones. The large block represents the full-grown grubs; the small stones stand for the eggs. On reaching the cave the head man of the totem group begins to sing, while he taps the large block with a wooden trough, such as is used for scooping the earth out of burrows. All the other men at the same time tap it with twigs of a particular gum-tree, chanting the while. The burden of their song is an invitation to the insect to go and lay eggs. Next the leader takes up one of the smaller stones, representing an egg, and strikes each man in the stomach with it, saying, "You have eaten much food," after

Ceremonies performed by Witchetty Grub men for the multiplication of witchetty grubs.

<sup>1</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 170.

which he butts at the man's stomach with his forehead. When this ceremony is over, they all descend from the cave into the bed of the ravine, and stop under a rock, at which a great leader of the Witchetty Grub totem in the far past is said to have cooked, pulverised, and eaten the grub. The head man of the party strikes this rock with his trough, while the older men again chant invitations to the animal to come from all directions and lay eggs. Ceremonies of the same sort are performed at ten different places. When the round has been completed the party returns home. Here, at some distance from the main camp, a long narrow structure of boughs has meanwhile been got ready; it is designed to represent the chrysalis from which the full-grown insect emerges. Into this structure the men, every one with the sacred design of the totem painted in red ochre and pipeclay on his body, enter and sing of the grub in the various stages of its development. After chanting thus for a while, they shuffle out of the mock chrysalis one by one with a gliding motion, singing all the time about the emergence of the real insect out of the real chrysalis, of which their own performance is clearly an imitation. The whole of these ceremonies, from beginning to end, must be performed by the men fasting; not until the whole is over are the performers allowed to eat and drink.

Ceremonies performed by Emu men for the multiplication of emus.

When men of the Emu totem desire to multiply emus they set about it as follows. Several of the men open veins in their arms and allow the blood to stream on the ground, till a patch about three yards square is saturated with it. When the blood is dry it forms a hard surface, on which the men of the totem paint in white, red, yellow and black a design intended to represent various parts of the emu, such as the fat, of which the natives are very fond, the eggs in various stages of development, the intestines, and the feathers. Further, several men of the totem, acting the part of ancestors of the Emu clan, dress themselves up to resemble emus and imitate the movements and aimless gazing about of the bird; on their heads are fastened sacred sticks (*churinga*), about four feet long, and tipped with emu feathers, to represent the long neck and small head of the emu.

Again, when men of the Hakea Flower totem wish to produce a plentiful supply of the flower they go to a certain stone which stands in a shallow pit beside an ancient hakea tree. The stone is supposed to represent a mass of hakea flowers, and the tree to mark the spot where an ancestress of the clan passed into the ground long ago. The men sit down in the pit round about the stone and chant songs, inviting the tree to flower much, and the blossoms to be full of honey. Then one of them opens a vein in his arm, and lets the blood spurt all over the stone; this is meant to imitate the preparation of a favourite beverage made by steeping the flower in water.

Ceremonies performed by Hakea Flower men for the multiplication of hakea flowers.

Again, there is a sort of manna which the natives use as food, and which forms the totem of one of their clans. It is produced by the mulga tree (*Acacia aneura*). When the members of the totem clan desire to ensure an abundant crop of this manna they resort to a certain great boulder of grey rock, which is oddly marked with black and white seams. This boulder is thought to represent a mass of the manna, and the same significance is attributed to some smaller stones which lie on the top of it. The ceremony begins by the digging up of a sacred bull-roarer (*churinga*), which is buried in the ground at the foot of the great boulder. It, too, stands for a mass of manna. Then the head man climbs to the top of the boulder and rubs it with the bull-roarer, after which he takes the smaller stones and rubs them, too, on the great boulder. Meanwhile, the other men, sitting around, chant an invitation to the dust produced by the rubbing of the stones to go out and generate a plentiful supply of manna on the mulga trees. Finally, with twigs of the mulga, the leader sweeps away the dust which has gathered on the surface of the stone; his intention, thereby, is to cause the dust to settle on the trees, and so produce manna.

Ceremonies performed by Manna men for the multiplication of manna.

The last of the *Intichiuma* ceremonies which I shall cite is the one performed by men of the Kangaroo totem, to ensure the multiplication of kangaroos. For this purpose they proceed to the foot of a hill on the slope of which, some twenty feet above the plain, two blocks of stone project, one above the other. One of these stones is supposed

Ceremonies performed by Kangaroo men for the multiplication of kangaroos.

to represent a male kangaroo, and the other a female kangaroo. The head man of the totem clan and another man, who stands to the former in the relation of mother's uncle, whether blood or tribal, climb up the hill and rub these two blocks with a stone, one of them rubbing the one block and the other the other. Lower down the hill is a rocky ledge, supposed to be haunted by the spirits of multitudes of kangaroos which died here long ago. This ledge is next painted with alternate vertical stripes of red and white to indicate the red fur and white bones of a kangaroo. When the painting is done, some young men go up, seat themselves on the ledge, and opening veins in their arms, allow the blood to spurtle over the edge of the rock on which they are seated. The object of this ceremony, according to the natives, is to drive the spirits of the kangaroos out of the rock in all directions, and so to ensure the multiplication of the animals. While the young men are thus bleeding themselves on the top of the ledge the others sit down below, watching them and singing songs in reference to the increase in the number of kangaroos which is expected to follow from this performance.

These ceremonies for the multiplication of animals and plants are intended to increase the supply of food for the tribe.

Without entering into more details, I may say that ceremonies of the same general character as the preceding appear to be practised by members of all the other clans or groups who have animals or plants for their totems. The object of all such ceremonies, avowedly, is to increase the number of the totem animal or plant, and this object the natives sincerely believe that they attain by these means. Thus we see that each totem clan imagines itself possessed of a direct control over the animal or plant whose name it bears, and this control it exercises for the purpose of multiplying the number of its totem plant or animal. But the question at once suggests itself, Why should they trouble themselves to multiply animals or plants which, by their rules, they are almost wholly debarred from eating? For it is to be remembered that the totem animal or plant is almost, though not quite, tabooed to men and women of the totem. The answer to this question can only be that, though the members of each totem group do not benefit, or hardly benefit at all, by multiplying their totem animal or

plant, the members of all the other totem groups do benefit by it, since their food supply is believed to be increased thereby. In other words, the *Intichiuma* ceremonies are performed by each totem group, not on its own behoof, but on behoof of all the others, the general effect of all the ceremonies being supposed to be an increase of the total supply of food available for the whole tribe, which, it is needful to bear in mind, includes a large number of totem clans. The system is, in fact, one of co-operative magic—each group works its spells for the good of all the rest and benefits in its turn through the enchantments practised by the others.

The conclusion that ceremonies for the multiplication of certain plants and animals, all of which are used as food by some members of the tribe, can have no other aim than that of increasing the food supply of the tribe as a whole may seem so obvious as to need no argument in its support. Yet the view of Totemism which it implies is so novel and so totally opposed to all our previous notions on the subject that it is desirable to put it beyond the reach of doubt. For the view is neither more nor less than this: that one at least of the functions of a totem clan is to provide a plentiful supply of its own totem animal or plant to be used as food by the other members of the tribe. That this is, indeed, the intention of the *Intichiuma* ceremonies among the Central Australian tribes is clearly brought out by the following facts.

When the ceremony for the multiplication of the witchetty grubs has been performed, and the grub becomes plentiful and fully grown, the Witchetty Grub men, women, and children go out daily and collect large supplies of the grub, which they bring into camp and cook, so that it becomes dry and brittle; and in this state they store it away in wooden troughs and pieces of bark. At the same time, the others, who do not belong to the Witchetty Grub totem, are also out gathering the grub, but they must bring all that they find into the camp; for this food must on no account be eaten like other food out in the bush, or the men of the totem would be angry and the grub would disappear. The supply of grubs lasts only a very short time, and when

Hence it appears that one function of a totem clan is to provide a supply of its totem animal or plant for the consumption of the rest of the tribe.

The Witchetty Grub people collect and cook large quantities of witchetty grubs for people who do not belong to the Witchetty Grub totem.

they grow less plentiful the store of cooked grubs is taken to the men's camp, where, acting under the instructions of the head man of the Witchetty Grub totem, all the men assemble. Those who do not belong to the totem then place their stores before those who do, and the head man thereupon takes one of the troughs and, with the help of other men of the totem, grinds up the dried grubs between stones. Next he and the same men all help themselves to a little of the food and eat it, after which he hands back what remains to the other people. Then he takes a trough from his own store, and after he has ground up the contents he and the men of the totem once more eat a little; lastly, they pass the bulk of what remains to those who do not belong to the Witchetty Grub totem. After this ceremony, the Witchetty Grub men and women may eat very sparingly of the grub. They are not absolutely forbidden to eat it, but they must do so only to a small extent, for if they were to eat too much the power of successfully performing the *Intichiuma* ceremony would depart from them, and there would be very few grubs. On the other hand, it is just as important for them, and especially for the head man, to eat a little of the totemic animal, since to eat none would have the same disastrous effect as to eat too much.

Ceremony performed by Kangaroo men before the rest of the people may eat kangaroos.

Similarly, when the ceremony for increasing the number of kangaroos has been performed, the younger men go out hunting kangaroos and bring back the animals which they have killed to the older men, who have stayed in the camp. Here the old men of the Kangaroo totem eat a little of the kangaroo and anoint the bodies of those who took part in the ceremony with its fat, after which the meat is distributed to all the men assembled. When this has been done, the Kangaroo men may eat sparingly of kangaroos; but there are certain choice parts of the animal, such as the tail, which no Kangaroo man or woman must on any account touch.

Ceremony performed by men of the Irriakura totem before the *irriakura* bulb may be eaten.

Again, there is a certain bulb of a Cyperaceous plant which the natives call *irriakura*. When the men of the Irriakura totem have performed their ceremony for multiplying the bulb, they do not eat of it for some time afterwards. Then persons who do not belong to the totem bring in a quantity of the bulb to the camp and hand it over to the

head man and other men of the Irriakura totem. These latter rub some of the tubers between their hands, thus getting rid of the husks, and then, putting the tubers in their mouths, blow them out again in all directions. After this the Irriakura people may eat sparingly of the bulbs.

After the magic rite for multiplying bandicoots has been performed by men of the Bandicoot totem the animal is not eaten until it becomes plentiful. When this is so, men who do not belong to the Bandicoot totem go out in search of a bandicoot, and when they have caught it they bring it into the camp and there put some of the animal's fat into the mouths of the Bandicoot men; moreover, they rub the fat over their own bodies. After this the Bandicoot men may eat a little of the animal.

Ceremony performed by Bandicoot men before bandicoots may be eaten.

Once more, when the *Intichiuma* ceremony for increasing the supply of the *idnimita* grub has been performed, and the grub (which is that of a large longicorn beetle) has become plentiful, the men who do not belong to the Idnimita totem collect the insects and bring them into the camp. There they lay their store before the men of the totem, who eat some of the smaller grubs and hand back the rest to the men who do not belong to the totem. When this has been done the men of the Idnimita totem may eat sparingly of the grub.

Ceremony performed by men of the Idnimita totem before the *idnimita* grub may be eaten.

Thus we see that, after the ceremonies for the multiplication of the various totemic animals and plants have been observed, these animals and plants are killed or gathered and eaten, sparingly by the men who have the particular animal or plant for their totem, but freely by the rest. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the intention of the *Intichiuma* ceremonies, so far as the totems are edible animals or plants, is to ensure a plentiful supply of food for the tribe. In other words, the performance of one of these solemn rites by men who have an animal for their totem is merely a means to enable the other members of the tribe to kill and eat that animal. Indeed, the men of the totem will even, as we saw in the case of the Witchetty Grub men, kill and cook their totem in large quantities for the benefit of the rest of the community. The same readiness on the part of a man to aid others in catching and killing

Thus the intention of the *Intichiuma* ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of food for the tribe.

his own totem came out in the case of a Euro man who made and charmed a magic implement (*churinga*) for the express purpose of thereby enabling a Plum-tree man to catch and kill euros (a kind of kangaroo).<sup>1</sup>

The ceremonies seem to show that the men of a totem are supposed not only to control the numbers of their totem animal or plant, but also to have the first right to eat it.

This explanation of the *Intichiuma* rites is the one given by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, whose arguments and conclusion I have merely stated in a slightly different form. No other explanation of the ceremonies seems to me to be possible. But further, as the authors acutely point out, the facts which we have passed in review appear to indicate that the men of any particular totem are supposed not only to control the numbers of their totem animal or plant, but also to have a first right to eat it. This appears from the custom of bringing in the first supply of the animal or plant into camp, and laying it before the men of the totem, who are permitted, and indeed required, to eat of it before any one else is allowed to do so. The same idea comes out very clearly in some of the native traditions. Thus they say that once on a time a Hakea Flower woman was changed into a Bandicoot woman by another woman of the latter totem, and that after the transformation she ate bandicoots, that is, her totem animal. Again, it is said that a Euro man once started out in pursuit of a kangaroo which he was anxious to kill and eat, but that to enable himself to do so he first of all changed himself into a Kangaroo man. These traditions point to a time when, if you wished to eat bandicoot you had to belong to the Bandicoot totem; and if you wished to kill and eat kangaroos, you had to belong to the Kangaroo totem; in short, they seem to carry us back to a time when among these tribes a man's special function in life was to kill and eat his totem animal. At the present day this old system, if it was indeed such, has been greatly modified. As a rule, a man no longer kills and eats his totem animal, and the aid which he gives his fellow-tribesmen in filling their stomachs with it, though it is regarded as very important, is still only indirect.

Hitherto we have considered only the *Intichiuma* ceremonies which deal with animal and vegetable totems. But, as we have seen, the totems of the Central Australian

<sup>1</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 203.

tribes comprise almost every natural object known to the native, and each totem clan or group has its own *Intichiuma* ceremony. The ceremony performed by the men of the Water totem has for its end the making of rain; it is held especially at the season when rain may be expected to fall, but may also be held whenever there has been a long drought and water is scarce. Like the other *Intichiuma* rites, those of the Water totem are purely magical in their nature. A man decorated with white down struts slowly up and down a trench, causing his body and legs to quiver in an extraordinary way, and when he is done some young fellows, who have been lying down in a shelter of branches, jump up and rush out screaming in imitation of the spur-winged plover. As to the *Intichiuma* ceremonies of the other inanimate totems, such as wind, fire, sun, cloud, and so on, we have unfortunately no information; but, arguing by analogy, we may surmise that just as it is the business of Kangaroo men to make kangaroos, of Hakea Flower men to make Hakea flowers, and of Water men to make rain, so it is the business of Wind men to make wind, of Fire men to make fire, of Sun men to make sunshine, and similarly with the rest. In short, Totemism among the Central Australian tribes appears, if we may judge from the *Intichiuma* ceremonies, to be an organised system of magic intended to procure for savage man a plentiful supply of all the natural objects whereof he stands in need.

Ceremonies performed by Water men for the purpose of making rain.

Thus in Central Australia Totemism seems to be an organised system of magic intended to procure a supply of necessaries.

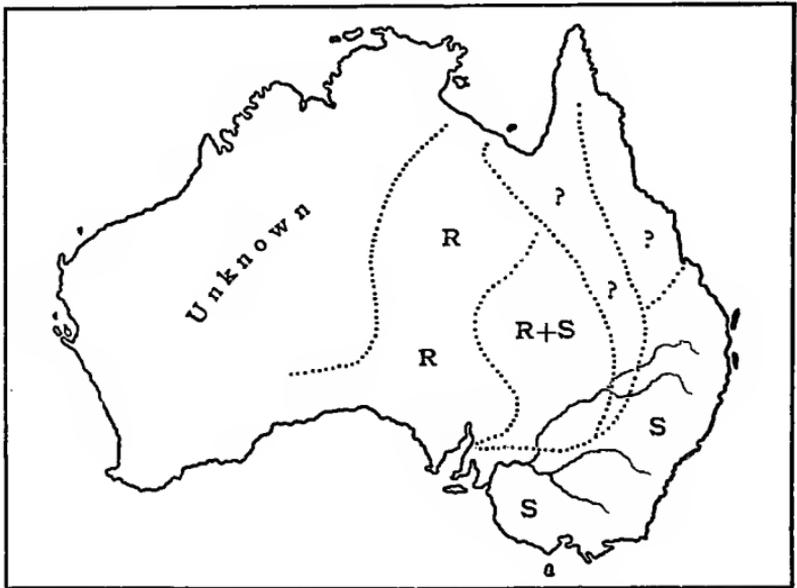
The thought naturally presents itself to us: Have we not in these *Intichiuma* ceremonies the key to the original meaning and purpose of Totemism among the Central Australian tribes, perhaps even of Totemism in general? The suggestion is not made by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, but it occurred to me in reading the proofs of their book last September, and in a letter written in that month I communicated it to Professor Spencer. From his reply I learned, without surprise, that he had been coming independently to a similar conclusion. To quote from his letter, which is dated Melbourne, October 20, 1898:—

Perhaps the *Intichiuma* ceremonies give the key to the original meaning of Totemism among the Central Australians, possibly even of Totemism in general.

“ In thinking over the totem question I have been coming more and more to the conclusion that the religious aspect

View of  
Professor  
Baldwin  
Spencer.

of the totem is the more ancient, and that the now existing social aspect has been tacked on at a later period, and, so far as our central tribes are concerned, your theory that each group of people was originally charged with the duty of securing the multiplication of the particular object the name of which it bears appears to me to fit in admirably with the facts. In many of the central tribes (Arunta, Ilpirra, Warramunga, etc.) the religious aspect is developed almost to the exclusion of the social, while in others (Dieri, Urabunna, etc.) the social is more strongly developed, but



at the same time the presence of *Intichiuma* ceremonies indicates the existence of a religious aspect which is, moreover, identical in nature with that of the Arunta, etc., system. A rough map of Australia is, perhaps, rather instructive in connection with this. The dotted outline with R indicates the area occupied by tribes amongst whom the religious aspect is predominant. R + S indicates that the tribes have the same religious aspect associated with the totem, but that the social (as indicated by the totems regulating marriage) is also well developed; while S indicates that the social aspect is the predominant one. It is also worth noting that over the large area in the centre,

where conditions of life are more precarious in the matter of food and water supply, the religious aspect predominates, whilst it is least marked in the area which is well wooded and watered and where the food supply is more constant. This serves to indicate, so far as Australia is concerned, a relationship between food supply and the development of the religious aspect of the totemic system at the present day."

On this I will only remark that if the *Intichiuma* ceremonies do really give the clue to Totemism, the aspect of the totemic system, which we have hitherto been accustomed to describe as religious, deserves rather to be called magical, and in this change of designation I believe that Professor Baldwin Spencer is now disposed to acquiesce. His own views as to the probable origin of Totemism will be found stated in a forthcoming number of the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. In the main they accord with those which I was led to adopt from a consideration of the same facts. The merit of the discovery, if it should prove to be such, clearly belongs to the writers who have laboriously collected the facts, and presented them in such a masterly form that any one may see for himself the conclusion to which they point.

On this theory the aspect of Totemism which has been described as religious should rather be called magical.

## II

Thus Totemism seems to be an organised and co-operative system of magic for the benefit of the whole community.

THE general explanation of Totemism to which the *Intichiuma* ceremonies seem to point is that it is primarily an organised and co-operative system of magic designed to secure for the members of the community, on the one hand, a plentiful supply of all the commodities of which they stand in need, and, on the other hand, immunity from all the perils and dangers to which man is exposed in his struggle with nature. Each totem group, on this theory, was charged with the superintendence and control of some department of nature from which it took its name, and with which it sought, as far as possible, to identify itself. If the things which composed the department assigned to a particular group were beneficial to man, as in the case of edible animals and plants, it was the duty of the group to foster and multiply them; if, on the other hand, they were either noxious by nature, or might, under certain circumstances, become so, as in the case of ravenous beasts, poisonous serpents, rain, wind, snow, and so on, then it was the duty of the group to repress and counteract these harmful tendencies, to remedy any mischief they might have wrought, and perhaps to turn them as efficient engines of destruction against foes. This latter side of totemic magic, which may perhaps be described as the negative or remedial side, hardly appears in our accounts of Central Australian Totemism; but we shall meet with examples of it elsewhere.

In favour of this hypothetical explanation of Totemism I would urge that it is simple and natural, and in entire conformity with both the practical needs and the modes of thought of savage man. Nothing can be more natural than that man should wish to eat when he is hungry, to drink

when he is thirsty, to have fire to warm him when he is cold, and fresh breezes to cool him when he is hot ; and to the savage nothing seems simpler than to procure for himself these and all other necessaries and comforts by magic art. We need not, therefore, wonder that in very ancient times communities of men should have organised themselves more or less deliberately for the purpose of attaining objects so natural by means that seemed to them so simple and easy. The first necessity of savage, as of civilised, man is food, and with this it accords that wherever Totemism exists the majority of the totems are invariably animals or plants—in other words, things which men can eat. The great significance of this fact has hitherto been concealed from us by the prohibition so commonly laid on members of a totem clan to eat their totem animal or plant. But the discovery of the *Intichiuma* ceremonies among the Central Australian tribes proves that in keeping our eye on the prohibition to eat the totem we have hitherto been looking at only one side of the medal, and that the less important of the two. For these ceremonies show—what no one had previously dreamed of—that the very man who himself abstains in general from eating his totem will, nevertheless, do all in his power to enable other people to eat it ; nay, that his very business and function in life is to procure for his fellow-tribesmen a supply of the animal or plant from which he takes his name, and to which he stands in so intimate a relation. With the new facts before us, we may safely conjecture that whatever the origin of the prohibition observed by each clan to eat its totem, that prohibition is essentially subordinate, and probably ancillary to the great end of enabling the community as a whole to eat of it—in other words, of contributing to the common food supply.

Viewed in this light, Totemism is a thoroughly practical system designed to meet the everyday wants of the ordinary man in a clear and straightforward way. There is nothing vague or mystical about it, nothing of that metaphysical haze which some writers love to conjure up over the humble beginnings of human speculation, but which is utterly foreign to the simple, sensuous, and concrete modes of thought of the savage. Yet for all its simplicity and direct-

This explanation of Totemism is simple, natural, and conformable to the modes of thought of savages.

On this hypothesis Totemism is a practical system designed to control nature for the benefit of man ; religion has no place in it.

ness we cannot but feel that there is something impressive, and almost grandiose, in the comprehensiveness, the completeness, the vaulting ambition of this scheme, the creation of a crude and barbarous philosophy. All nature has been mapped out into departments; all men have been distributed into corresponding groups; and to each group of men has been assigned, with astounding audacity, the duty of controlling some one department of nature for the common good. Religion, it will be observed, has no place in the scheme. Man is still alone with nature, and fancies he can sway it at his will. Later on, when he discovers his mistake, he will bethink himself of gods, and beg them to pull for him the strings that hang beyond his reach.

This way of regarding Totemism agrees with the traditions as well as the practice of the Central Australians.

A further recommendation of this way of regarding Totemism is that it falls in with the traditions as well as with the practice of the Central Australian tribes. We have seen that, according to these traditions, people began by regularly eating their totems, and marrying women of the same totem group as themselves. To the ordinary view of Totemism, which treats as fundamental the prohibitions to eat the totem animal or plant, and to marry a woman of the same totem group, these traditions present almost insuperable difficulties; the adherents of that view have, indeed, little choice but to reject the traditions as baseless, although strong grounds exist, as I have pointed out, for holding them to be authentic. But if we accept the theory that Totemism is merely an organised system of magic intended to secure a supply, primarily of food, and secondarily of everything else that a savage wants, the difficulties vanish. For, on this hypothesis, why should not a man partake of the food which he is at so much pains to provide? And why should he not marry a woman whose function in life is the same as his own? Nay, we may go a step farther, and say that, according to a fundamental principle of Totemism, there are good reasons why he should do both of these things. That principle, to which I would now direct the reader's attention, is the identification of a man with his totem.

Principle of the identification of a man with his totem.

Among the Central Australians, we are told, "the totem of any man is regarded, just as it is elsewhere, as the same

thing as himself."<sup>1</sup> Thus a Kangaroo man, discussing the matter with Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, pointed to a photograph of himself which had just been taken, and remarked: "That one is just the same as me; so is a kangaroo." This incapacity to distinguish between a man and a beast, difficult as it is for us to realise, is common enough, even among savages who have not the totemic system. A Bushman, questioned by a missionary, "could not state any difference between a man and a brute—he did not know but a buffalo might shoot with bows and arrows as well as a man, if it had them."<sup>2</sup> When the Russians first landed on one of the Alaskan Islands the natives took them for cuttle-fish, "on account of the buttons on their clothes."<sup>3</sup> The Bororos, a tribe of Brazilian Indians, calmly maintain that they are birds of a gorgeous red plumage, which live in their native forests. It is not merely that they will be changed into these birds at their death, but they actually are identical with them in their life, and they treat the birds accordingly, as they would their fellow-tribesmen, keeping them in captivity, refusing to eat their flesh, and mourning for them when they die. However, they kill the wild birds for their feathers, and, though they will not kill, they pluck the tame ones to adorn their own naked brown bodies with the brilliant plumage of their feathered brethren.<sup>4</sup> Now, it is by identifying himself with his totem that the Central Australian native produces the effects he aims at. If he desires to multiply grubs, he pretends to be a grub himself, emerging from the chrysalis state; if his wish is to ensure a plentiful supply of emus, he dresses himself up as an emu, and mimicks the bird; for by thus converting himself into a grub, or an emu, he thinks he can move the other grubs and emus to comply with his wishes.

But it is not merely by disguising himself as an animal and copying its habits that the Central Australian savage seeks to identify himself with his totem. All over the

<sup>1</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 202, cf. p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> J. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa, being a Narrative of a Second Journey in that Country*, ii. p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> I. Petroff, *Report on the Popula-*

*tion, Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, pp. 352, 512.

In order to identify himself with his totem animal the Central Australian eats of it.

world primitive man believes that by absorbing the flesh and blood of an animal he acquires the qualities of the creature, and so far identifies himself with it. Examples of the belief are too well known to be cited. The same idea forms the basis of the familiar blood-covenant practised by so many races: two men make themselves akin by each transfusing into the veins of the other a little of his own blood. From this point of view it is quite natural that the savage, desirous of uniting himself as closely as possible with his totem, should partake of its flesh and blood. And we have seen that according to the Central Australian traditions men did commonly eat their totems in days of old. In those early times the Kangaroo people may have lived chiefly on kangaroos, strengthening their kangaroo nature by constantly absorbing the flesh of the animal whose name they took and whose habits they copied. The Opossum men may have justified their name by consuming more opossum meat than anybody else; and so with the members of the other totem clans. With this it would agree that two clans of Western Australia, who are named after a small species of opossum and a little fish, believe themselves to be so called because they used to live chiefly on these creatures.<sup>1</sup> Even at the present day in Central Australia, though men are in general nearly forbidden to partake of their totem animal or plant, they are still bound occasionally to eat a little of it as a solemn ceremony, because it is believed that otherwise they could not successfully perform the *Intichiuma* ceremonies, and that the supply of the plant or animal would consequently fail. Clearly they think that, in order to multiply the members of their totem, they must identify themselves with it by taking into their bodies the flesh and blood of the animal or the fibre of the plant. Here, then, in the heart of Australia, among the most primitive savages known to us, we find the actual observance of that totem sacrament which Robertson Smith, with the intuition of genius, divined years ago,<sup>2</sup> but of which positive examples have hitherto been wanting.

This ceremonial eating of the totem animal is a sort of totem sacrament.

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Grey, *Vocabulary of the Dialects of South-Western Australia*, pp. 4, 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion of the Semites*, p. 276 sq. Edinburgh, 1889.

The reason why men should in course of time deny themselves the food on which they had formerly subsisted, and which they continued to provide for the use of others, is not obvious. We may conjecture that the change came about through an attempt to carry out more consistently than before that identification of a man with his totem, which seems to be of the essence of the system. Men may have remarked that animals as a rule, and plants universally, do not feed upon their own kind; and hence a certain inconsistency may have been perceived in the conduct of Grub men who lived on grubs, of Grass-seed men who ate grass-seed, and so with the other animal and vegetable totems. It might be argued that men who behaved so unlike the real animals and plants could not be true Grubs, Emus, Grass-seeds, and so on, and therefore could not effectively perform the all-important ceremonies for multiplying the beasts, birds, and vegetables on which the tribe depended for its subsistence. Further, a wish to conciliate and entice the creatures which it was desired to catch for food may have helped to establish the taboo on killing and eating the totem. This wish is widely prevalent among savages, and manifests itself in many quaint observances, which the hunter and his friends are bound to comply with for the sake of alluring the game, and making death appear to them as painless and even attractive as may be. Among tribes which have the totemic system this need of adopting a conciliatory attitude towards any particular sort of animal would naturally be felt chiefly by that part of the community whose special business it was to breed and kill the animal in question; in other words, it would be felt chiefly by the group or clan which had the particular species of animal for its totem. For it is to be remembered that in early times the members of a clan appear to have been by profession the hunters or butchers as well as the breeders of their totem animal; this comes out in the legend of the Euro man who turned himself into a Kangaroo man in order to kill a kangaroo, and a trace of the same custom appears in the case of the other Euro man, at the present day, who made and charmed a magical instrument for the very purpose of enabling a Plum-tree man to catch euro

The prohibition to eat the totem may have arisen partly from an observation that plants and animals do not as a rule feed upon their own kind, and partly from a wish to conciliate and entice the creatures which were to be caught for food.

Now, if it came to be generally thought that a Kangaroo man, for example, would be more likely to entice kangaroos to their fate if he were, so to say, personally known to them as one who had no selfish ends to gain by cultivating their acquaintance, public opinion would gradually impress on the Kangaroo men the duty of abstaining in the interest of the majority from the slaughter and consumption of kangaroos, and they would be urged to confine themselves to their more important function of securing by magical means a plentiful supply of the animal for their fellows. If this explanation is right, the common practice of sparing the totem animal originated in anything but a superstitious reverence for the creature as a superior being endowed with marvellous attributes; it was more analogous to the blandishments which a shepherd or herdsman will lavish on a sheep or a bullock for the purpose of catching the animal and handing it over to the butcher. Nor need we suppose that in abdicating their ancient right of eating kangaroo-flesh the men of the Kangaroo totem were either coerced by their fellows or animated by a noble impulse of disinterested devotion to the common weal. A similar self-denying ordinance would be simultaneously imposed by common consent on all the other clans which had animals or plants for their totem; and thus each clan, in renouncing a single kind of food for the benefit of the community, would calculate on receiving in return a more abundant supply of all the rest, not so much because there would be fewer mouths to feed with each kind of viand, as because the abstinence practised by the several clans was expected to add to the efficacy of their charms for multiplying and attracting the game. For we must bear in mind that under the totemic system the various clans or stocks do not live isolated from each other, but are shuffled up together within a narrow area, and exert their magic powers for the common good.

This answer to the question why men gave up the right of eating their totems is put forward with diffidence. The problem is difficult, and I am far from feeling confident that the solution here suggested is the true one. So far as the explanation rests on a supposed desire to conciliate the

totem it is open to the objection, raised by my friend Professor Baldwin Spencer, in the letter to which I have referred, that the Central Australian natives at the present day seem to show no other trace of an attempt to conciliate or appease the game which they kill and eat. I have no wish to disguise or extenuate the force of the objection. Indeed, I had myself, nearly ten years ago, remarked on this absence of the conciliation of game among the Australian aborigines, whom in that respect I contrasted with the North American Indians.<sup>1</sup> Yet it is not easy to see how, without introducing the idea of conciliation in some form, we are to explain the attitude of the savage towards his totem animal.

However, the Central Australians do not as a rule attempt to conciliate the game which they kill and eat.

On the new theory of Totemism it is thus quite easy to understand why men should have begun by regularly eating their totem animal or plant, as in fact they seem to have done, if the Central Australian traditions can be trusted. The real difficulty, indeed, is to explain how they ever came to give up the habit. Similarly the theory suggests a very simple reason why men should have begun by marrying women of their own totem group in preference to any others, as they are represented doing in the Central Australian legends. On the principle of the identification of the members of a clan with their totem, what can be more natural than that an Emu man should wed an Emu woman and an Opossum man should marry an Opossum woman, just as an emu cock mates with an emu hen and a male opossum pairs with a female opossum? Now this, which may be described as the natural system of Totemism, is just the one which appears from their traditions to have prevailed among the Central Australian tribes before the introduction of Exogamy.<sup>2</sup> Whatever the origin of Exogamy, there is the clearest traditional testimony that among the Central Australians it was an innovation imposed on an existing system of totem clans who previously knew nothing of such

On the new theory of Totemism it is easy to understand both why men originally ate their totem animal or plant, and why they married women of the same totem, since animals mate with their own kind.

<sup>1</sup> "The aborigines of Australia have Totemism in the most primitive form known to us, but, so far as I am aware, there is no evidence that they attempt, like the North American Indians, to conciliate the animals which they kill

and eat. The means which the Australians adopt to secure a plentiful supply of game appear to be based, not on conciliation, but on sympathetic magic."—*The Golden Bough*, ii. p. 133 sq. <sup>2</sup> See above, p. 103.

a rule.<sup>1</sup> This accords perfectly with the present hypothesis that the natural and original system of Totemism was one in which men and women of the same totem regularly cohabited with each other. Further, it is supported by the striking fact that among a large group of the Central Australian tribes the law of Exogamy is not now, and apparently never has been, applied to the totem clans.<sup>2</sup>

The Central Australians seem to have identified themselves with their totems, first, by eating them, and, second, by certain magical instruments called *churinga* and *nurtunjas*.

The principle of the identification of a man with his totem may be looked at from the two points of view according, as we think mainly of identifying the man, let us say, with an animal, or of identifying the animal with the man. In the former case we have, so to say, a man who is transformed into an animal, in the latter case we have an animal which is changed into a man. Now the Central Australian natives appear to have taken measures to ensure this double transformation. By transfusing the life of their totem animals into their own bodies, the men and women of each clan converted themselves, as far as they could, into animals; and by transfusing their own human life into the bodies of animals they converted the animals, as far as it lay in their power, into men and women. The first of these transferences of life was effected by eating the flesh and blood of the animals; the second appears to have been effected by means of certain magical instruments called *churinga* and *nurtunjas*.

The *churinga* are slabs of stone or wood carved, for the most part, with devices relating to the totem; in shape they generally resemble the well-known instrument called a bull-roarer, which is employed by savages in many parts of the world in the performance of their most solemn rites and deepest mysteries. Among the Central Australian tribes

<sup>1</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> This remarkable exception to the rule that totem clans, when they fall within the sphere of our observation, are generally exogamous, appears to be susceptible of a very simple explanation in accordance with the hypothesis here put forward. Briefly stated, the explanation is this: that the object of Exogamy was to prevent the marriage, primarily of brothers with sisters, and

secondarily, of parents with children; and that in consequence of the peculiar rules regulating the descent of the totems in these tribes an application of the principle of Exogamy to their totem clans could not have prevented such marriages, and was, therefore, never attempted. This I hope to explain fully at some future time in dealing with the origin of Exogamy. (See below, pp. 165 sq.)

every man, woman, and child has one of these mysterious implements specially associated with him or her from birth to death; those of each group are kept together hidden away in a small cave or crevice in some secluded spot among the hills, and the entrance to the cave is carefully blocked up with stones arranged so naturally as not to arouse the suspicion of a chance wayfarer that here lie concealed the most sacred possessions of the tribe. The loss of these deeply-prized sticks and stones is the most terrible evil that can befall a group of people; natives who found their cave robbed of its precious contents have been known to remain in camp for a fortnight, weeping and lamenting over the loss, and plastering themselves with pipeclay, the emblem of mourning for the dead. Further, it is believed that in the far-off times of the Alcheringa their ancestors also had each his own *churinga*, which he carried with him in his wanderings about the country, and dropped on the ground where he died. On this belief Messrs. Spencer and Gillen remark:—"We meet in tradition with unmistakable traces of the idea that the *churinga* is the dwelling-place of the spirit of the Alcheringa ancestors. In one special group of Achilpa men, for example, the latter are reported to have carried about a sacred pole or *nurtunja* with them during their wanderings. When they came to a camping-place and went out hunting the *nurtunja* was erected, and upon this the men used to hang their *churinga* when they went out from camp, and upon their return they took them down again and carried them about. In these *churinga* they kept, so says the tradition, their spirit part."<sup>1</sup> Further, the same writers observe: "We have evidently in the *churinga* belief a modification of the idea which finds expression in the folk-lore of so many peoples, and according to which primitive man, regarding his soul as a concrete object, imagines that he can place it in some secure spot apart, if needs be, from his body, and thus, if the latter be in any way destroyed, the spirit part of him still persists unharmed."<sup>2</sup> At the present day, as the authors point out, this ancient belief has been modified among the tribes of Central Australia. The loss or injury of the *churinga* is

The *churinga* are sacred sticks and stones with which the souls of all members of the tribe are closely associated.

<sup>1</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

indeed a thing to be deeply deplored, and the man who suffers such a mishap fears vaguely that some evil thing will befall him in consequence of it; but he does not apprehend that the loss, or even the destruction of the sacred stick or stone, must necessarily entail his death. In short, the natives no longer regard the *churinga* as the abode of their spirits laid up for safety in the secret cave, like the soul of the ogre or warlock in the children's story, hidden far, far away in some fairy bird or beast at the world's end. Even to the naked savage of the Australian wilderness the time for such beliefs has gone by. Yet they are nearer far to him than to us, for he ascribes them, not as we do to imaginary beings, to the giants and monsters of nursery tales, but to his own real forefathers, whose figures can yet be discerned, faint and dim, in the distance as they recede down the long road that leads to fairyland.

The *nurtunjas* are sacred poles which represent the totems.

The second of the implements by means of which the Central Australian appears, like the giant or ogre in the story, to have formerly transferred his spirit to some beast or bird or thing is the magic pole or *nurtunja*.<sup>1</sup> This is an instrument which still plays a great part in the sacred ceremonies of the natives. It takes many forms, but in every case it stands for the totem with which the particular ceremony is concerned. Thus, if the ceremony relates to the Wild Cat totem, the *nurtunja* will represent a wild cat; if it relates to the Sun totem, the *nurtunja* will represent the sun; and so on. Hence, when we hear that in the remote days of the Alcheringa the men of the Achilpa, or Wild Cat totem, before they went out hunting, hung up their *churinga*, in which they kept their spirits, on a *nurtunja*, which necessarily represented a wild cat, we can hardly avoid the inference that in doing so they believed themselves to be placing their spirits in their totem animals, the wild cats. That they permanently kept their spirits in the animals is not suggested by the legend; on the contrary, as they are said to have hung up the *churinga* on the *nurtunja* when they went out hunting, and to have taken them down again when they came

By means of the *churinga* and *nurtunjas* the Central Australians seem to have tried to transfer their spirits temporarily to their totems.

<sup>1</sup> An equivalent, though differently shaped, instrument is known among the Southern Arunta as a *wanunga*. See

*The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 306-309.

back, the natural inference seems to be that they only deposited their spirits temporarily in the animals for a definite purpose and withdrew them again when the occasion was over. Now, the occasion mentioned in the legend is the chase, and as in the days of the Alcheringa, to which the legend refers, people seem to have subsisted mainly on their totem animal or plant, we may conjecture that when the Wild Cat men went out hunting the game they sought above all were wild cats. If this was so, the previous transference of their spirits to the animals, effected by hanging up the sticks or stones, in which they kept their spirits, on a pole which represented a wild cat, can hardly have had any other intention than that of compelling the creatures to come to the hunters and be quietly knocked on the head. "If we can only put ourselves or a good part of ourselves," so these primitive huntsmen may have argued, "into yon wild cats which are now scurrying from us, we shall very soon make them, whether they like it or not, walk straight up to us, and so we shall kill them quite comfortably and make a meal of them. And, of course, in doing so we shall get back the vital part of ourselves which we temporarily transferred to the animals." On the other hand, if the game which the Wild Cat men went out to hunt were not wild cats, the motive of the hunters in depositing their spirits in the *nurtunja*, and hence in their totem, the wild cats, must have been different. It may have been done simply for safety, lest during the hunt any accident should befall them; for clearly, in the absence of their spirits, which they had taken the precaution of leaving elsewhere before they started, nothing that might happen to their mere empty carcasses could have any serious consequences. Whichever of these explanations be adopted, the tradition points clearly to a custom of depositing a man's spirit, for longer or shorter periods, in the body of his totem animal. Vestiges of the same custom are also preserved in the practice, which the natives still keep up, of hanging their *churinga* upon *nurtunjas* in certain solemn ceremonies concerned with the totems.<sup>1</sup> The practice is identical with that ascribed to the Wild Cat men in the legend, and its original meaning is probably the

<sup>1</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 253, 284, 312 sq.

same. For example, before the novices undergo the painful operation of subincision they are made to embrace a sacred pole (*nurtunja*) to which some *churinga* are often, though not invariably, attached. The effect of thus embracing the pole is thought to be that the lads will not feel the griding knife. Perhaps their ancestors, who invented this primitive pain-killer, held that by extracting the spirits of the novices from their bodies and transferring them for a time to the pole, or to the totem which it represented, they rendered the bodies of the youth inert and numb. To effect this salutary purpose it may originally have been deemed needful in every case to attach to the pole the *churinga* or receptacles in which the lads kept their spirits; but with the decay of old ideas about the *churinga* it is no longer considered indispensable to fasten any *churinga* at all to the pole, and a simple embrace bestowed on the latter by the novice now passes occasionally for a sufficient anæsthetic.

This temporary transference of the soul to the totem seems to have been intended primarily to enable the man to control the totem for the common good, though secondarily it may have been intended to deposit the soul in a safe place.

Some time ago I suggested that the transference of a man's spirit or soul for safety to some external object constituted the essence of Totemism, that in fact a totem is no more than a sort of strong box, in which a savage keeps his soul. The evidence for the former practice of such a soul-transference among the Central Australians has now been put before the reader. That it is slight and scanty I fully admit. Such as it is, when considered along with the *Intichiuma* ceremonies and other indications, it seems to show that the purpose of the transference was not so much to deposit the man's life in a secure place as to enable him to control the totem for his own and the common good. When the totem was an animal this control was directed to multiplying the species and compelling the members of it to come and be killed for food. When the totem was the sun the savage would hope, by placing a vital part of himself in the luminary, to direct its course and secure a due supply of light and heat for himself and his fellows. And so, *mutatis mutandis*, with the other totems. But it is quite possible that the other motive—the natural desire of frail man to put all that is mortal of him beyond the reach of chance and change—may also have operated. That it really did so is strongly suggested both by the rigorous

precautions taken to conceal the precious objects with which the spirits of the tribesmen are so closely associated, and by the bitter grief and vague alarm excited by their loss.

If the intention of transfusing a portion of a man's life into an animal was in part at least to exercise a sort of mesmeric attraction over the creature, and thereby to catch and kill it, the apparent inconsistency in the conduct of the hunter, who first endows a beast with his own spirit, and then kills and devours it, need cause no difficulty, for, in consuming the flesh and blood, he recovers all of himself that he put into the animal. The case, however, is somewhat different when the animal which contains his life is killed and eaten by somebody else. If I deposit my soul in a hare, and my brother John shoots that hare, roasts, and swallows it, what becomes of my soul? Am I not thereby put in the parlous state of being left without a soul? To meet this obvious danger it is necessary that John should know the state of my soul, and that, knowing it, he should, whenever he shoots a hare, take steps to extract and restore to me my soul before he cooks and dines upon the animal. This, we may conjecture, is in part the intention of a Central Australian rite which has been already described. We have seen that after the *Intichiuma* ceremony the first supply of the totem animal which is brought into the camp is solemnly laid before the men of the totem, who eat a little of it and then pass on the remainder to the others to be consumed by them. By thus partaking first of their totem animal the men of the totem may be supposed not merely to absorb its qualities sacramentally but also to recover that portion of their own spirit which they had temporarily deposited in the animal. In this connection the ceremonies observed by a Brazilian tribe in killing some sorts of game and fish are instructive. The Bororos believe that the souls of their medicine-men transmigrate at death into the bodies of certain kinds of large and succulent animals and fish, which are reckoned the greatest dainties, such, for instance, as the tapir, the cayman, the large *jahu* fish, and a sort of shad. Whenever one of these creatures is killed a ceremony has to be performed over it by a medicine-man before its flesh can be eaten, the purpose of the ceremony being to make sure

When a man deposits his soul in an animal, and a friend kills the animal, the friend must take steps to restore the soul to its proper owner.

that the animal cannot be restored to life. Cowering down on the ground, the wizard blows and spits upon the carcase, claps it, and shrieks and spits into its open mouth. Nay more, he is bound to be present at the actual killing of the animal. If, for example, a *jahu* fish or a shad were caught in a net when no medicine-man was by, the fish would be set free again. The Indians think that any one who ate fish, flesh, or fowl over which the needful ceremony had not been performed would soon die.<sup>1</sup> The analogy between the Brazilian and the Australian practice is, if I am right, very close. Both peoples believe that the bodies of certain animals are tenanted by the souls of men belonging to their tribe; both use these animals as food; and both perform certain ceremonies over the dead animals for the purpose of disengaging the souls of their friends from the carcasses of the beasts before they proceed to convey the latter into their own bellies. The only essential difference between them is that in the Brazilian case the souls so disengaged are the souls of the dead, while in the Australian case they are the souls of the living.<sup>2</sup>

We have still to ask whether magical ceremonies like the *Intichiuma* are performed by totem clans in other parts of the world.

We have still to inquire how far the explanation of Totemism suggested by the new Australian facts is confirmed by similar facts observed among totemic peoples in other parts of the world. I may remind the reader that the explanation, based on the *Intichiuma* ceremonies, is that the totem clans are essentially bands of magicians charged with the duty of controlling and directing the various departments of nature for the good of man. A crucial question, therefore, is, Are analogous ceremonies performed by totem groups in other parts of the world? and in general are totem clans elsewhere than in Australia credited with the power of exercising control over the totem? Before adducing some evidence of the existence of such beliefs and practices in various parts of the world, I would ask the reader to remember that,

<sup>1</sup> K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, pp. 492 sq., 512.

<sup>2</sup> The remarkable ceremonies observed by some of the Torres Straits Islanders before they will eat of the turtles which they have caught may,

perhaps, be explained in the same way. Among some of the islanders the turtle is a totem. See A. C. Haddon, "The Secular and Ceremonial Dances of Torres Straits," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, vi. (1893) p. 150 sq.

although the *Intichiuma* ceremonies have probably been practised from time immemorial in the centre of Australia, they were never observed by Europeans until quite lately; nay, that one of the authors, to whom we are indebted for their discovery, lived (as I understand) on intimate terms with the natives for many years without getting the least inkling that any such solemn ceremonies were going on around him. With his experience before us we may surmise that similar rites practised by other totem tribes have escaped the notice of Europeans elsewhere, and that the scantiness of the evidence for their existence is due not so much to the rarity of the ceremonies themselves as to the ignorance or carelessness of observers. With this caution I proceed to give the few notices I have thus far collected of customs and beliefs analogous to those revealed in the *Intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australians.

In one of the Torres Straits Islands members of the Dog clan were believed to understand the habits of dogs, and to be able to exercise special control over them.<sup>1</sup> In one of the New Hebrides, when a man wished to catch octopus he used to take one of the members of the Octopus family with him; the latter stood on the beach and called out, "So-and-so wants octopus," and then plenty of octopuses would come and be caught.<sup>2</sup> On a cloudy morning the Sun clan of the Bechuanas were wont to make the sun shine out through the clouds; the chief kindled a new fire in his dwelling, and every one of his subjects carried a light from it to his own hut.<sup>3</sup> The intention of the ceremony clearly was, by means of sympathetic magic, to blow up into a brighter blaze the smouldering fire of the sun. In the Murray Islands, Torres Straits, it is the duty of the Sun clan to imitate the rising and setting of the sun,<sup>4</sup> probably to ensure the punctual performance of his daily duties by the orb of day. Among the Omahas of North America the Small Bird clan performs a magic ceremony to keep small

In point of fact magical ceremonies for the control of the totem have been performed by totem clans in Torres Straits, Africa, and America.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. pp. 325, 393. 1890.

<sup>2</sup> R. C. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Arbouset et Daumas, *Voyage d'Ex-*

*ploration au Nord-est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne Espérance*, p. 350 sq. Paris, 1842.

<sup>4</sup> A. E. Hunt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. p. 6.

birds from the corn; the Reptile clan performs a similar ceremony to protect the crops from worms; and the Wind clan think they can start a breeze by flapping their blankets.<sup>1</sup> The same Wind clan practises a magic rite to stop a blizzard. They paint one of their boys red, and he rolls over and over in the snow, reddening it for some distance all around him. This stops the blizzard,<sup>2</sup> the notion apparently being that the white snow will not fall when it knows that it will be thus reddened and defiled. In another North American tribe the Hare clan seems to have been credited with the power of stopping a heavy and long-continued fall of snow; at least, this seems a natural inference from a passage in one of the letters of the early Jesuit missionaries. The writer tells a story to explain why the body of a certain old man, who had just died, was burned instead of being buried, though interment was the regular mode of disposing of the dead in the tribe. "They regard it as certain," says he, "that the father of this old man was a hare, which walks on the snow in winter, and that thus the snow, the hare, and the old man are of the same village, that is to say, are kinsmen. They add that the hare said to his wife that he would not suffer his children to remain under ground—it was not suitable to their rank, seeing they were kinsmen of the snow, whose country is high up in the sky; and that if ever his children were put in the ground after their death he would pray to the snow, his kinsman, to punish mankind for their fault by falling so thick and so long that there would be spring no more." In confirmation of this story the Indians told the missionary that three years ago the brother of this same old man died at the beginning of winter, and that as he was buried instead of burned the snow fell so heavily and the winter was so long that they began to fear they would never see spring again. However, they bethought themselves of digging up the body of the kinsman of the snow and burning it; and no sooner had they done so than, sure

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, in *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 238 sq., 241, 248. Washington, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, in *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 410 sq. Washington, 1894.

enough, the snow ceased to fall, and spring came with a burst.<sup>1</sup> Apparently, the men whose bodies had thus to be burnt belonged to the Hare clan, and yet were deemed so closely akin to the snow that to burn their bodies was equivalent to melting the snow itself. We may conjecture that the same men were believed in their lifetime to be able to stop a snowfall by their charms and spells.

Some of these examples explain the attitude of a totem clan towards its totem when the totem is or may, under certain circumstances, become of a noxious and maleficent nature. In such cases it is the function of the clan, not, of course, to multiply the numbers of the totem or increase its virulence, but, on the contrary, to disarm, counteract, and keep within due bounds its dangerous influence. Hence, members of the Snake clan in Senegambia profess to heal by their touch persons who have been bitten by serpents;<sup>2</sup> and the same profession was made by Serpent clans in antiquity.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, in Central Australia, members of the Fly totem claim to cure, by the touch of a magic implement (*churinga*), eyes which are swollen and inflamed with fly-bites.<sup>4</sup> And, on analogy, we may conjecture that certain Arab families, who believed their blood to be a remedy for hydrophobia,<sup>5</sup> were descended from men of a Dog totem.

Further, when the case of the Indian, who was a kinsman of the snow as well as of hares, is considered in the light of the preceding discussion, we arrive at a simple explanation of a peculiar feature of Australian Totemism which has hitherto baffled inquirers. In many Australian tribes the members of a totem clan believe themselves to stand in a very intimate relation, not merely to their own totem, but to a number of other natural objects or phenomena; and this relation seems to amount to a claim of ownership, the natives affirming that the things belong to them.<sup>6</sup> It has been proposed by Mr. Howitt to designate

When the totem is noxious, the magical ceremonies are intended not to multiply it but to counteract its dangerous influence.

Besides their totems, many Australian clans have sub-totems, that is, other natural objects which they claim to own.

<sup>1</sup> *Relations des Jésuites* (1667), p. 19 (of the Canadian reprint). Compare *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vi. pp. 169-171.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iii. p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, xiii. p. 588 (ed. Casaubon); Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxviii. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 546.

<sup>5</sup> W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 369. New edition, 1894.

<sup>6</sup> A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. p. 61.

these things as sub-totems or pseudo-totems; they might also be called multiplex totems. To take instances of them, we are told that in some tribes of New South Wales "everything in the universe is divided among the different members of the tribe; some claim the trees, others the plains, others the sky, stars, wind, rain, and so forth."<sup>1</sup> Another writer, speaking of a tribe in Queensland, says: "Everything in nature, according to them, is divided between the classes. The wind belongs to one, and the rain to the other. The sun is Wutaroo, and the moon is Yungaroo. The stars are divided between them; and if a star is pointed out they will tell you to which division it belongs."<sup>2</sup> Among the Wakelbura and kindred tribes of Northern Queensland we are told that everything, animate and inanimate, belongs to one or other of the two exogamous classes into which the tribes are divided. A wizard in performing his incantations may use only things which belong to his own class. The stage on which a corpse is set must be made of the wood of a tree which is of the same class as the deceased, and similar rules hold in other matters.<sup>3</sup> In the Mount Gambier tribe of South Australia, which includes ten totem clans, the men of the Black Cockatoo totem claim to stand in this peculiar relation towards the moon, the stars, etc.; men of the Fish-Hawk totem claim honeysuckle, smoke, etc.; men of the Pelican totem claim dogs, blackwood trees, fire, frost, etc.; men of the Crow totem claim thunder, lightning, rain, hail, winter, clouds, etc.; men of a Snake totem claim fish, seals, eels, stringy-bark trees, etc.; men of the Tea-tree totem claim ducks, wallabies, owls, crayfish, opossum, etc.; men of the black, crestless Cockatoo claim kangaroos, sheoak trees, sun, wind, summer and autumn. A man will not, if he can help it, either kill or eat any of the animals which he thus regards as peculiarly his own; if he is compelled by hunger to do so, he expresses his sorrow at having to eat his "friends," or his "flesh," by touching his breast as a sign of

<sup>1</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> G. F. Bridgman, in Fison and Howitt's *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 168. Compare *id.*, in Brough Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> J. C. Muirhead, cited by Mr. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. p. 61, note. Compare *id.*, in E. M. Curr's *Australian Race*, iii. p. 27 sq.

relationship.<sup>1</sup> In the Wotjoballuk tribe of North-western Victoria men of the Hot Wind totem looked upon as their own three different kinds of snakes and two kinds of birds; the men of the White Cockatoo totem asserted a right to no less than seventeen different species of plants and animals; and claims of the same sort were advanced by the members of the other totem clans, namely, the Black Cockatoo clan, the Sun clan, the Deaf Adder clan, and the Pelican clan.<sup>2</sup>

Now, on the hypothesis that each totem clan is a band of magicians, whose function it is to control certain natural phenomena for the common good, we can easily see that, where the totem clans were not numerous, it might be found necessary to entrust several departments of nature to each clan. Thus, to take the case of the Wotjoballuk tribe, which we have just been considering, it seems to have included no more than six totem clans, four of which were concerned with species of birds or beasts (pelican, adder, black and white cockatoo), one with the sun, and one with the wind. Clearly, if each of these six clans were to give its attention exclusively to its particular totem, whole departments of nature, including multitudinous species of animals and plants, would be uncared for, and the consequences to the tribe might be disastrous. What would become of kangaroos, opossums, and wallabies if it was nobody's business to multiply them? How could gum-trees be reasonably expected to flourish, and plum-trees to bear fruit, if they were suffered to droop and dwine in the cold shade of indifference and neglect? The thing was not to be thought of. There was nothing for it but that the members of each clan should buckle to and, after discharging their primary duty to their totem, should devote their superfluous energies to the laudable task of keeping a few more of the great processes of nature a-going. Again, take the ten clans of the Mount Gambier tribe, with their totems—fish-hawk, pelican, crow, two sorts of black cockatoo, a harmless snake, the tea-tree, and an edible root (the totems of two clans are unknown). Consider how far even fish-

On the present hypothesis sub-totems are departments of nature which a totem clan undertakes to regulate for the common good.

<sup>1</sup> D. S. Stewart, in Fison and Howitt's *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 168 sq.; *id.*, in E. M. Curr's *Australian Race*, iii. p. 461 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, in *Report of the Smithsonian Institute for 1883*, p. 818.

hawks, pelicans, crows, black cockatoos, etc., are from exhausting the sum total of the universe, and you will readily perceive why Crow men, in addition to looking after crows, had to take charge of thunder, lightning, rain, hail, etc.; why Black Cockatoo men, not content with exercising a due supervision over black cockatoos, had to extend the sphere of their operations to the sun, the wind, the summer, the autumn, and so on. In short, the fewer the clans the more numerous necessarily were the magical functions to be discharged by each, if the great cosmic movement was still to go on.

The many animals which Queensland clans are forbidden to eat may be nothing but sub-totems.

We can now hazard a conjecture as to the meaning of the numerous prohibitions imposed on each of the clans in the Queensland tribes, whose social system has been so patiently observed and recorded by Mr. W. E. Roth.<sup>1</sup> Among these tribes the members of each exogamous class are forbidden to eat, not merely one, but several, and sometimes many different kinds of animals. The exogamous classes are four in number, and the lists of foods prohibited to each class, though constant throughout each tribe, are found to vary from tribe to tribe. In one district, for example, the class called Koopooroo are not allowed to eat iguana, whistler duck, black duck, "blue-fellow" crane, yellow dingo, and small yellow fish "with-one-bone-in-him"; another class, called Woongko, have to avoid scrub-turkey, eagle-hawk, bandicoot, brown snake, black dingo, and white duck; a third class have to do without kangaroo, carpet-snake, teal, white-bellied brown-headed duck, various kinds of diver birds, "trumpeter" fish, and a kind of black bream; while members of the fourth class, called Bunburi, dare not eat emu, yellow snake, galah parrot, and a certain species of hawk. They firmly believe that if any one were to eat a forbidden food he would fall sick and probably die, and that the food could never satisfy his hunger. Should the delinquent be caught in the act by his fellow tribesmen, he would in all probability be put to death.<sup>2</sup> With the evidence as to

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-west-central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane and London, 1897); *id.*, *Notes on Social and Individual Nomenclature among certain*

*North Queensland Aborigines*, read before the Royal Society of Queensland, Nov. 13, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, etc., p. 57 sq.

the *Intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australians before us, we may surmise that the animals which are thus tabooed to the various intermarrying classes of these Queensland tribes are neither more nor less than what I have proposed to call multiplex totems, and that the members of each of these classes are, or have at some time been, bound to perform ceremonies of the same sort as the *Intichiuma* for the multiplication of all the kinds of animals which they are forbidden to eat. The surmise is confirmed by the circumstance that, though the members of each class are forbidden to eat the animals in question, they are not forbidden to kill them. In other words, they are at liberty to provide their fellows with the food of which they may not themselves partake. This entirely agrees with the view of Totemism here suggested, that it is a co-operative system designed to procure for the community a supply, primarily of food, and secondarily of all the other necessaries of life. It is interesting to observe that Mr. Roth, to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of the social system of these Queensland tribes, has been led by a different chain of reasoning to the conclusion that "the whole class system has been devised by a process of natural selection, to regulate the proper distribution of the total quantity of food available."<sup>1</sup> But under a superficial appearance of agreement his conclusion differs fundamentally from the one which we have reached. For while he supposes that the rules of abstinence imposed on each class had no other object than that of leaving more food for the remaining mouths of the tribe, the conclusion to which we have been led by a consideration mainly of the *Intichiuma* ceremonies is, that such rules of abstinence originated rather in a belief that by observing them the members of each group or class would possess, in a higher degree than before, those magical powers for the multiplication and enticing of the game to which the tribe, as a whole, trusted for its supply of food.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Roth's theory of the origin of these prohibitions.

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on Social and Individual Nomenclature among certain North Queensland Aborigines* (read before the Royal Society of Queensland, Dec. 11, 1897), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> The Battas of Sumatra seem also

to have multiplex totems. They are divided into exogamous clans called *margas*, one of which has for its totems the ape and the goat; another has the tiger, the panther, and beasts of that sort; while a third has the wild turtle,

The introduction of such an elaborate social system, based on co-operation, may have been effected by the influence of a few able men.

It may be asked how an elaborate social organisation, based on the mutual co-operation of many separate groups, and aiming at nothing less than a systematic control of the whole of nature, can possibly have sprung up among savages so rude as the Australians. The answer seems to be that the system may have begun in a humble way by the union of a few neighbouring groups under the influence of some able men, and may have gradually spread to more distant groups, extending its scope and perfecting its organisation as more and more groups fell in with the scheme. That such a thing may have happened appears to result from the observations of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. They remark that, "after carefully watching the natives during the performance of their ceremonies, and endeavouring as best we could to enter into their feelings, to think as they did, and to become, for the time being, one of themselves, we came to the conclusion that if one or two of the most powerful men settled upon the advisability of introducing some change, even an important one, it would be quite possible for this to be agreed upon and carried out."<sup>1</sup>

It might be premature to say that the admirable researches and discoveries of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have finally solved the problem of Totemism; but at least they seem to point to a solution more complete and satisfactory than any that has hitherto been offered.

and other kinds of pigeons. See J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane en Bilastroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede

Serie, Deel iv., Afdeeling: Meer uitgebreide artikelen, No. 1, p. 8 sq. Amsterdam, 1887.

<sup>1</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 12.

THE BEGINNINGS OF RELIGION  
AND TOTEMISM AMONG THE  
AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

*Reprinted from the Fortnightly Review, July and September 1905*



# THE BEGINNINGS OF RELIGION AND TOTEMISM AMONG THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

## I

### THE BEGINNINGS OF RELIGION •

THE theory that in the history of mankind religion has been preceded by magic is confirmed inductively by the observation that among the aborigines of Australia, the rudest savages as to whom we possess accurate information, magic is universally practised, whereas religion in the sense of a propitiation or conciliation of the higher powers seems to be nearly unknown. Roughly speaking, all men in Australia are magicians, but not one is a priest; everybody fancies he can influence his fellows or the course of nature by sympathetic magic, but nobody dreams of propitiating gods by prayer and sacrifice. "It may be truly affirmed," says a recent writer on the Australians, "that there was not a solitary native who did not believe as firmly in the power of sorcery as in his own existence; and while anybody could practise it to a limited extent, there were in every community a few men who excelled in pretension to skill in the art. The titles of these magicians varied with the community, but by unanimous consent the whites have called them 'doctors,' and they correspond to the medicine-men and rain-makers of other barbarous nations. The power of the doctor is only circumscribed by the range of his fancy. He communes with spirits, takes aërial flights at

Among the Australian aborigines magic is universally practised, but religion, in the sense of a propitiation of the higher power, seems to be nearly unknown

pleasure, kills or cures, is invulnerable and invisible at will, and controls the elements."<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the Australian aborigines, Dr. A. W. Howitt observes: "The belief in magic in its various forms, in dreams, omens, and warnings, is so universal, and mingles so intimately with the daily life of the aborigines, that no one, not even those who practise deceit themselves, doubts the power of other medicine-men, or that if men fail to effect their magical purposes the failure is due to error in the practice, or to the superior skill or power of some adverse practitioner."<sup>2</sup> On the same subject Mr. E. M. Curr wrote: "In connection with the manners and customs of our aboriginal race a great motor power is the belief in sorcery or witchcraft. In the everyday life of the Black, a pressure originating in this source may be said to be always at work. As it seems to me, no writer has given this fact quite its due weight, and yet it is impossible to appreciate correctly the manners and customs of our tribes until the more salient features in connection with their ideas about sorcery have been mastered. The groundwork of sorcery amongst the Blacks is the belief that several things of importance can be effected by means of charms and incantations. The tribes differ somewhat in details and ceremonies, but there is no doubt that the system is the same throughout."<sup>3</sup>

Yet among these savages there are beliefs and practices which might have developed into a regular religion.

Yet though religion, in the sense in which I use that word, seems to be nearly unknown among the Australian aborigines, some of them nevertheless hold beliefs and observe practices which might have grown into a regular religion, if their development had not been cut short by European intervention. Thus in the south-eastern parts of the continent, where the conditions of life in respect of climate, water, and food are more favourable than elsewhere,

<sup>1</sup> J. Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow*, p. 142. Similarly among the Fuegians, another of the lowest races of mankind, almost every old man is a magician, who is supposed to have the power of life and death, and to be able to control the weather. But the members of the French scientific expedition to Cape Horn could detect nothing worthy the name of religion

among these savages. See *Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn*, vii. "Anthropologie, Ethnographie," par P. Hyades et J. Deniker (Paris, 1891), pp. 253-257.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 45.

some rudiments of religion appear in a regard for the comfort of departed friends. For example, certain Victorian tribes are said to have kindled fires near the bodies of their dead in order to warm the ghost, but "the recent custom of providing food for it is derided by the intelligent old aborigines as 'white fellow's gammon.'" <sup>1</sup> Among the Dieri, if the deceased was a person of importance, food is placed for many days at the grave, and in winter a fire is lighted in order that the ghost may warm himself at it. <sup>2</sup> Some of the natives of Western Australia keep up a fire for this purpose on the grave for more than a month. But they expect the dead to return to life, for they detach the nails from the thumb and forefinger of the deceased and deposit them in a small hole beside the grave, in order that they may know him again when he comes back to the world. <sup>3</sup>

Thus some tribes show a certain regard for the comfort of the departed, which might easily grow into a worship of the dead.

Again, the natives of the Herbert river, in North-east Queensland, often put food and water in the grave, and they deposit with the dead his weapons, ornaments, and indeed everything he used in life. On the other hand, they generally break his legs to prevent him from wandering at night, and for the same purpose they cut gashes in his stomach, shoulders, and lungs, and fill the gashes with stones. <sup>4</sup> The Turribul tribe placed their dead in trees. If the deceased was a man, they left a spear and a club near him that his spirit might kill game for its sustenance in the future state; but if the deceased was a woman, they laid a yam stick near her body in order that she might dig for roots. <sup>5</sup> Among the Jupagalk, a person in great pain would call on some dead friend to come and help him—that is, to visit him in a dream, and teach him some song whereby he might avert the evil magic that was hurting him. <sup>6</sup> Customs like these, it is plain, might easily develop into a worship of the dead.

<sup>1</sup> J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 50 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. O. Siebert, in A. W. Howitt's *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 448.

<sup>3</sup> R. Salvado, *Mémoires historiques sur l'Australie* (Paris, 1854), p. 261; *Missions Catholiques*, x. (1878) p.

247. For more instances of lighting fires for this purpose, see Dr. A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 452, 455, 470.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

<sup>5</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

<sup>6</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

Again, some Australians invoke their totems, which might easily grow into a worship of the totems.

Further, the Queensland aborigines on the Tully river and Proserpine river are wont to call on their totems by name before they fall asleep, and they believe that they derive certain benefits from so doing. For example, if their totem is an animal, it will warn the man who thus invokes it of the approach of other animals, and so forth, during his sleep; or, if it is itself a dangerous creature, such as a crocodile or a snake, it will not bite or sting the man without serving him with due notice of its intention to injure him. Again, if his totem is thunder or rain, the man who fails to invoke it will lose his power of making thunder or rain at will.<sup>1</sup> Such beliefs and practices, it is clear, might grow into a regular propitiation or worship of the totems.

Among the Warramunga a fabulous water-snake, which is one of their totems, seems to be in process of developing into a god.

Again, the Warramunga of Central Australia believe in the existence of a gigantic but wholly fabulous water-snake called Wollunqua, the totem and ancestor of one of their clans. His home is in a rocky gorge which runs into the heart of the Murchison Ranges. In this secluded spot there is a picturesque pool of deep water with a sandy margin on the south and a little precipice of red rock curving round the northern edge. Over these red rocks after rain the water tumbles in a cascade into the pool below, and the rocks are hollowed out below so that they beetle over the water, forming a long shallow cave, from the roof of which roots of trees, that have forced their way down through clefts, hang pendulous. According to the natives, the Wollunqua lives in the water of the pool, and the pendulous roots are his whiskers. They have a tradition that he once came out of the pool and destroyed some men and women, but was at last obliged to retreat under a shower of stones. To prevent him from repeating his ravages they perform ceremonies by which they seem to think that they can at once propitiate and coerce him. Thus they make a long mound of wet sand and draw wavy bands on it to represent the water-snake. Round this at night they sing and dance by the light of fires until the earliest streak of dawn glimmers in the east. Then they attack the mound fiercely with their weapons and soon demolish it. If shortly afterwards they

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography*, *Bulletin No. 5* (Brisbane, 1903), § 74, p. 20 sq.

hear thunder rumbling in the distance, they declare that it is the voice of the water-snake saying that he is pleased with what they have done and that he will send rain. But if the remains of the ruined mound are left uncovered, he growls, and his growl is a peal of thunder. When they hear it they hasten to cover the ruins with branches, lest the snake should come and eat them up. On the other hand, the savage destruction of the mound seems to imply that they can to some extent control the beast by force. The Wollunqua differs from all other known Australian totems in that he is a purely mythical being. He is not the only snake totem of the Warramunga, but he is the most important, and, more than that, he apparently occupies in the native mind the position of a dominant totem.<sup>1</sup> In short, he seems to be a totem on the high road to become a god.

Again, in the south-eastern parts of Australia "a belief exists in an anthropomorphic supernatural being, who lives in the sky, and who is supposed to have some kind of influence on the morals of the natives. . . . This supernatural being, by whatever name he is known, is represented as having at one time dwelt on the earth, but afterwards to have ascended to a land beyond the sky, where he still remains, observing mankind. As Daramulun, he is said to be able 'to go anywhere and do anything.' He can be invisible; but when he makes himself visible, it is in the form of an old man of the Australian race. He is evidently everlasting, for he has existed from the beginning of things, and he still lives. But in being so he is merely in that state in which, these aborigines believe, every one would be, if not prematurely killed by evil magic. . . . In this being, though supernatural, there is no trace of a divine nature. All that can be said of him is that he is imagined as the ideal of those qualities which are, according to their standard, virtues worthy of being imitated. Such would be a man who is skilful in the use of weapons of offence and defence, all-powerful in magic, but generous and liberal to his people, who does no injury or violence to any one, yet treats with severity any breaches of custom or morality. Such is,

In South-eastern Australia there is said to be a belief in a supernatural but anthropomorphic being, a sort of ideal headman, who lives in the sky.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, chap. vii., and p. 495 sq.

according to my knowledge of the Australian tribes, their ideal of a headman, and naturally it is that of Biamban, the master, in the sky-country. Such a being, from Bunjil to Baiame, is *Mami-ngata*, that is, 'our father'; in other words, the All-father of the tribes. . . . Although it cannot be alleged that these aborigines have consciously any form of religion, it may be said that their beliefs are such that, under favourable conditions, they might have developed into an actual religion, based on the worship of Mungan-ngaua, or Baiame. There is not any worship of Daramulun; but the dances round the figure of clay and the invoking of his name by the medicine-men certainly might have led up to it. If such a change as a recognised religion had ever become possible, I feel that it would have been brought about by those men who are the depositaries of the tribal beliefs, and by whom in the past, as I think, all the advances in the organisation of their society have been effected. If such a momentous change to the practice of a religion had ever occurred, those men would have readily passed from being medicine-men to the office of priests."<sup>1</sup>

But no such belief is found among the Central Australians, though they have invented moral bogies to frighten women and children.

On the other hand, "the Central Australian natives, and this is true of the tribes extending from Lake Eyre in the south to the far north, and eastwards across to the Gulf of Carpentaria, have no idea whatever of the existence of any supreme being who is pleased if they follow a certain line of what we call moral conduct, and displeased if they do not do so. They have not the vaguest idea of a personal individual other than an actual living member of the tribe who approves or disapproves of their conduct, so far as anything like what we call morality is concerned. . . . It must not, however, be imagined that the Central Australian native has nothing in the nature of a moral code. As a matter of fact he has a very strict one, and during the initiation ceremonies the youth is told that there are certain things which he must do and certain others which he must not do, but he quite understands that any punishment for the infringement of these rules of conduct, which are thus laid down for him, will come from the older men, and not

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 500, 506 *sqq.*

at all from any supreme being, of whom he hears nothing whatever. In fact, he then learns that the spirit creature, whom up to that time, as a boy, he has regarded as all-powerful, is merely a myth, and that such a being does not really exist, and is only an invention of the men to frighten the women and children."<sup>1</sup> The aborigines of Central Australia are not the only people who have invented bug-bears for the moral edification of youth. The Ona Indians of Tierra del Fuego pretend that the natural features of their country, such as the woods and rocks, the white mists and running waters, are haunted by spirits of various sorts, "bogies in which they themselves do not believe, but which are a strong moral aid in dealing with refractory wives and wilful children." To impress this salutary belief on the feminine and youthful mind the men act the part of the spirits, disguised in appropriate costumes. Thus the spirit of the beech forests is represented by a man clad in moss and the bark of trees; the spirit of the lichen-grown rocks is played by an actor who is painted slate-colour, with daubs of red and yellow clay; the spirit of clouds and mist is dressed all in white, with a very long head partly made up of twigs, which are covered with skin and painted. Till they are initiated into these mysteries at the age of fourteen or so, the boys firmly believe in the bogies, and no wonder, inasmuch as they have been chased and scared by them. When the time of their initiation draws near, the lads are seriously exhorted by their elders. They must be keen hunters, and quick to avenge the spilt blood of their family. They must be careful of their own bodies, despising greed, and, above all, letting no woman share their inmost thoughts. At a series of nocturnal meetings they then learn the true nature of the "moral aid" by which their green unknowing youth has been trained in the way it should go. They are in fact introduced to the bogies, who turn out to be members of their own family. Any boy or man who betrays the secret is quietly put to death; and the same fate overtakes any woman who is suspected of knowing more than is good for her.<sup>2</sup>

Such moral bogies also flourish among the Ona Indians of Tierra del Fuego.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 491 sq.

Magellanes, with some Account of the Ona and other Indians," *The Geographical Journal*, xxiii. (1904) p. 74 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. S. Barclay, "The Land of

According to Spencer and Gillen there is no high ethical religion among the Australian savages.

In regard to the precepts inculcated on Central Australian boys at initiation, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen think it "most probable that they have originated in the first instance in association with the purely selfish desire of the older men to keep all the best things for themselves, and in no case whatever are they supposed to have the sanction of a superior being."<sup>1</sup> "As to the 'discovery' of a high ethical religion amongst the lowest savages there is not, I am convinced, any such thing in Australia. The great difficulty is that we have had statements made on the authority of men like Gason. The latter was a police-trooper, I believe, who was perfectly honest, but at the same time perfectly incapable of dealing with matters such as these. In the days when the evidence of Baiame and Daramulun was collected the importance of securing minute and detailed information was really not realised, nor was it imagined that there were men without any so-called religious ideas; and as I have endeavoured to point out in one of our chapters, it is the easiest thing possible to be misled by what a native tells you in regard to such a point as this."<sup>2</sup>

Gason's mistake in thinking that the Mura-mura of the Dieri was a Good Spirit or Deity.

As an example of the mistakes into which it is possible to fall on this subject, we may take Mr. S. Gason's statement that the Mura-mura of the Dieri is a Good Spirit or Deity,<sup>3</sup> whereas further inquiries have ascertained that the Mura-muras, male and female, young and old, are nothing more than the legendary predecessors or prototypes of the Dieri, who roamed over the country, resembling the present natives in their customs and mode of life, though they excelled them in their magical powers and the wonderful feats they performed.<sup>4</sup> Yet Mr. Gason was an honest man, and he enjoyed the best opportunities for making himself acquainted

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, p. 504.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Baldwin Spencer, in a letter to me dated 19th August 1902. In quoting from my friend's letter I have struck out four words in accordance with a wish expressed by him in another letter of 18th March 1904. The omission does not affect the sense of the passage.

<sup>3</sup> *Native Tribes of South Australia* (Adelaide, 1879), p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 475-482, 644 *sqq.*, 779 *sqq.*; *id.*, "Legends of the Dieri and Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) pp. 100-129; Miss E. B. Howitt, in *Folklore*, xiii. (1902) pp. 403-417. Dr. Howitt's informant is the Rev. Otto Siebert, a German missionary to the aborigines at Killalpanina, on the Cooper river, in Central Australia.

with the beliefs of the Dieri, for he lived among them on terms of intimacy for years, and he took a special interest in their customs and ideas, bequeathing to us accounts of them which, in spite of some grave mistakes, contain much that is valuable.<sup>1</sup> His error as to the supposed "Good Spirit" of the Dieri only shows how easy it is even for an honest inquirer, with the best intentions and the amplest means of ascertaining the facts, to misinterpret savage ideas in accordance with his own religious creed. Precisely the same mistake which Mr. Gason made as to the Mura-muras of the Dieri, other people have made as to the Balimo of the Basutos in South Africa. On this subject an experienced missionary writes: "The Basutos, like the Caffres in general, had no religious ideas before they came into contact with the whites. It has been asked whether they knew at least the name of God. Their idea of the divinity must have been very confused, if I may judge by the heathen whom I have associated with for thirteen years. It is the missionaries, I believe, who have employed in the singular the name of God, *Molimo*, 'He who is on high,' for in the language *molimo* would mean 'ancestor,' and was not used except in the plural *Balimo* ('the ancestors'). However it may be with their vague knowledge of the name of God, it is certain that they had no worship, no prayer for the Supreme Being. No ruins of a temple have been found, no vestige of a sacrifice to God, no word designating a priest dedicated to His service. All that was found sixty or seventy years ago, when the first whites arrived in Basutoland, is to be found there to-day among the heathen; that is, the sacrifices to

A similar mistake has been made as to the Balimo of the Basutos.

<sup>1</sup> "The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie Tribe of Australian Aborigines," in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 253-307; "Of the tribes Dieyerie, Auminie, Yandra-wontha, Yarawuarka, Pilladapa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 167-176. Compare A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 30-104. Another grave blunder of Mr. Gason's, concerning the fundamental question of the descent of the totems

(*murdus*), was corrected by Dr. A. W. Howitt many years ago. See *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvii. (1888) pp. 185 sq.; *id.*, xix. (1890) p. 90. Further, "Gason supplied the information that only certain of the men were subincised, and that only those who were purposely left alone could beget children. . . . It is absolute nonsense, and makes me regard Gason as very unreliable, especially when taken in connection with his Mura-mura" (Prof. Baldwin Spencer, in a letter to me dated 18th March 1904).

the ancestors.”<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Dr. G. M’Call Theal, the learned historian of South Africa, writes of the Bantus in general, of whom the Basutos are a branch: “No man of this race, upon being told of the existence of a single supreme God, ever denies the assertion, and among many of the tribes there is even a name for such a being, as, for instance, the word Umkulunkulu, the Great Great One, used by the Hlubis and others. From this it has been assumed by some investigators that the Bantu are really monotheists, and that the spirits of their ancestors are regarded merely as mediators or intercessors. But such a conclusion is incorrect. The Great Great One was once a man, they all assert, and before our conception of a deity became known to them, he was the most powerful of the ancient chiefs, to whom tradition assigned supernatural knowledge and skill.”<sup>2</sup>

The accounts which savages give of their religious beliefs are often deliberately fabricated by them to deceive or please the white man.

Again, there is reason to believe that the accounts which savages give of their religious beliefs are often deliberately fabricated by them in order to deceive the white man. This source of error, though it is not limited to the religious sphere, applies especially to it, since the uncivilised, like the civilised, man is, in general, loth to reveal his most sacred beliefs to any chance inquirer. To win his confidence and elicit his inmost thoughts, it is necessary for the investigator either to have known him intimately for a long time, or to give evidence that he himself has already been initiated into mysteries of the same sort. But the deception practised by the savage sometimes springs from a different motive. In his amiable anxiety to oblige a stranger, he will often tell him whatever he imagines that the inquirer would like to hear, without the least regard to the truth. Thus it is a custom with the Bantu “not to dispute with honoured guests, but to profess agreement with whatever is stated. This is regarded by those people as politeness, and it is carried to such an absurd extent that it is often difficult to obtain correct information from them. Thus if one asks a man, is it far to such a place? politeness requires him to reply it is

<sup>1</sup> Father Porte, “Les reminiscences d’un missionnaire du Basutoland,” *Missions Catholiques*, xxviii. (1896) p. 370. Compare E. S. Hartland,

in *Folklore*, xii. (1901) p. 24 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> G. M’Call Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. (1901) p. 401.

far, though it may be close by. The questioner, by using the word far, is supposed to be under the impression that it is at a distance, and it would be rudeness to correct him. They express their thanks for whatever is told them, whether the intelligence is pleasing or not, and whether they believe it or not. Then, too, no one of them ever denies the existence of a Supreme Being, but admits it without hesitation as soon as he is told of it, though he may not once have thought of the subject before."<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the Australian aborigines, it appears that this source of error has also vitiated some of the accounts which have been given of their religious notions. "Many persons try to persuade themselves that they can detect the existence amongst these natives of a true religion and a knowledge of a Supreme Being, but they forget that these Blacks are extremely shrewd, so that when they perceive the object of the conversation, they readily adapt all that they have been taught on this subject to their replies. I have always found that the rigmarole stories which many of them have told me, and which are supposed to represent their religious belief, were founded upon the teachings of missionaries and others."<sup>2</sup> "I am strongly of opinion that those who have written to show that the Blacks had some knowledge of God, practised prayer, and believed in places of reward and punishment beyond the grave, have been imposed upon, and that until they had learnt something of Christianity from missionaries and others the Blacks had no beliefs and practices of the sort. Having heard the missionaries, however, they were not slow to invent what I may call kindred statements with aboriginal accessories, with a view to please and surprise the Whites."<sup>3</sup> In pursuing his researches in this subject, Dr. A. W. Howitt was on at least one occasion surprised, though not pleased, with "kindred statements" of this sort. Wishing to learn the native belief as to Brewin, a spirit whom the Kurnai dread, he questioned two of the most intelligent men, one of whom

This source of error seems to have vitiated some of the accounts which have been given of the religious notions of the Australian savages.

<sup>1</sup> G. M'Call Theal, *op. cit.* vii. 497. *the Geographical Society of Australasia*, i. (1885) p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> J. F. Mann, "Notes on the Aborigines of Australia," *Proceedings of* <sup>3</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 45.

was a member of the Church of England. After consulting together for a few minutes, one of them said, "We think that he is Jesus Christ." When this answer proved unsatisfactory, they laid their heads together again, and after mature deliberation declared that he must be the devil.<sup>1</sup> The anecdote is instructive, because it illustrates the readiness with which the natives adapt their answers to the supposed taste of the inquirer, and the little dependence that can consequently be placed on their statements as to this subject.

Incredulity of Baldwin Spencer as to alleged Australian beliefs in a Supreme Being.

Now it is to be observed that the reports of moral Supreme Beings among the Australian aborigines come chiefly from Victoria and New South Wales, that is, the parts of the continent where the natives have been longest under the influence of the white man. If we could deduct from these reports the elements of error and fraud, we should probably find that the residue would be small indeed; and we might acquiesce in the opinion of Professor Baldwin Spencer: "I do not think that there is really any direct evidence of any Australian native belief in a 'supreme being' in our sense of the term."<sup>2</sup>

However, some tribes believe in spiritual beings who can make or mar them.

But though the natives of Central Australia appear to be equally destitute of ancestor worship,<sup>3</sup> and of a belief in a Supreme Being, the guardian of morality, some of the tribes on the Gulf of Carpentaria have a notion of spiritual beings who can help or injure them. The Binbinga, Mara, and Anula tribes believe that the sky is inhabited by two unfriendly beings who are always anxious to come down and kill people, but are prevented from doing so by a friendly spirit who lives in the woods. When an Anula man falls ill, his friends sing to the friendly spirit in the woods to come and make him well.<sup>4</sup> Such beliefs and such a practice might in time develop into a regular propitiation of these spirits, that is, they might grow into a religion.

Thus, if the Australian aborigines had been left to themselves, they might have evolved a native religion along

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to me dated 15th April 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, p. 494.

<sup>4</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 501 sq.

several more or less independent lines. Their regard for the comfort of departed friends might have given rise to a worship of the dead, provided always that the theory of reincarnation, which prevails among the central tribes and is obviously incompatible with a deification of the ancestral spirits,<sup>1</sup> had been exchanged for a belief that these spirits, instead of returning to earth and being born again in the flesh, dwell for ever in some happy land, whence, though unseen by mortal or at least vulgar eyes, they watch over their children and aid them in their time of need. Again, totemism might have led to a cult of the totem animal or plant, as indeed seems to be happening to the Wollunqua or mythical water-snake of the Warramunga. Further, a belief in friendly or hostile spirits, neither ancestral nor totemic, who live on earth or in the sky, and can help or harm mankind, is not far from a religion of nature. Finally, if the abstract idea of a powerful headman, kind to his own people and terrible to their foes, had blended with a belief in the immortality of the dead, it might easily have culminated in the worship of a tribal or national god. And these various lines of development might have co-existed in the same tribe, leading up to a complex religion in which a cult of the totems should have been combined with a worship of other natural powers, and a general propitiation of the dead should have gone hand-in-hand with the special worship of a tribal or national god, who had grown out of an ideal or legendary headman. Such a complex religion would conform to the general rule that fully developed religions are compounded of many different elements, which spring from diverse roots.

Thus if the Australian aborigines had been left to themselves they might have developed a native religion along several independent lines.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

## II

### THE BEGINNINGS OF TOTEMISM

The same regions of Australia which exhibit the rudiments of religion exhibit also an advance towards a higher form of social life. That advance is marked by the substitution of individual for group marriage, and of paternal for maternal descent of the totem.

IT is significant that the rudiments of a native religion in Australia, so far as they are known to us, make their appearance for the most part either in the south-eastern districts or on the northern coast, but are, on the whole, conspicuously absent from the centre,<sup>1</sup> while on the contrary magical ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems attain their highest vogue among the central tribes, and gradually diminish in number and importance as we approach the sea, till on the Gulf of Carpentaria they have almost disappeared.<sup>2</sup> Now it can hardly be an accidental coincidence that, as Dr. Howitt has well pointed out,<sup>3</sup> the same regions in which the germs of religion begin to appear have also made some progress towards a higher form of social and family life. That progress in Australia is marked by two great steps: individual marriage has been substituted for group marriage,<sup>4</sup> and paternal descent of the totem has prevailed over maternal descent, as well as over an even older mode of transmitting the totem which still survives among the Arunta and Kaitish.

<sup>1</sup> The Warramunga respect for the Wollunqua water-snake and the Dieri custom of leaving food for the dead are exceptions.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, pp. 14 sq., 23, 311 sq., 315-319.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 500.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Further Notes on the Australian Class System," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 66 sq.; *id.*, "The

Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," xx. (1891) p. 98 sq.; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, chap. v.; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 92 sqq. The evidence marshalled by these writers appears to me to render it practically certain that in Australia individual marriage has everywhere been preceded by group marriage, and that again by a still wider sexual communism.

In regard to the first of these changes, whereas group marriage exists to this day as an institution among several of the central tribes, such as the Dieri and Urabunna,<sup>1</sup> it has disappeared from all the other tribes known to us, only leaving traces of itself in the classificatory system of relationship, and in the licence accorded to the sexes on certain occasions, especially at marriage. In regard to the second change, the inheritance of the totem in the paternal line is fixed and invariable among the tribes on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, but as we pass inland from them we find that it gradually grows rarer and rarer, until among the Arunta and Kaitish tribes, in the very heart of the continent, it totally disappears, and is replaced by an entirely different mode of determining the totem.<sup>2</sup> For in these tribes a person derives his totem neither from his father nor from his mother, but from the place where his mother first became aware that she was with child. Scattered all over the country are what Messrs. Spencer and Gillen call local totem centres, that is, spots where the souls of the dead are supposed to live awaiting reincarnation, each of these spots being haunted by the spirits of people of one totem only; and wherever a pregnant woman first feels the child in her womb, she thinks that a spirit of the nearest totem centre has entered into her, and accordingly the child will be of that local totem, whatever it may be, without any regard to the totem either of the father or of the mother.<sup>3</sup>

Group marriage and a peculiar mode of determining the totem still exist among some of the central tribes, but have disappeared from all the others.

Among the central tribes a person takes his totem neither from his father nor his mother, but from the place where his mother first felt she was with child.

This mode of determining the totem has all the

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) p. 53 sqq.; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 55 sqq. On this subject Dr. A. W. Howitt writes to me: "When I wrote the paper quoted from I did not know of the *pirrauru* [group marriage] practice in other tribes. It exists in all the Lake Eyre tribes, and I am satisfied that it also extended to the *Parkalla* at Port Lincoln, to the *Kurnandaburi* at Mount Howitt, and the *Wakelbura* in East Queensland."

For the detailed evidence see Dr. Howitt's book, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 175 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 144, 163 sqq., 169 sqq., 174-176. The descent of the totem must be carefully distinguished from the descent of the exogamous class, which is invariably in the paternal line among all these central and north-central tribes, except the Dieri and Urabunna, among whom the descent both of the totem and of the class is in the maternal line.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 123 sqq.

This mode of determining the totem appears to be very ancient, since it ignores paternity altogether: it may be called con-ceptional or local, as distinguished from hereditary totemism.

But con-ceptional could easily pass into hereditary totemism, either in the paternal or the maternal line.

appearance of extreme antiquity. For it ignores altogether the intercourse of the sexes as the cause of offspring, and further, it ignores the tie of blood on the maternal as well as the paternal side, substituting for it a purely local bond, since the members of a totem stock are merely those who gave the first sign of life in the womb at one or other of certain definite spots. This form of totemism, which may be called conceptional or local to distinguish it from hereditary totemism,<sup>1</sup> may with great probability be regarded as the most primitive known to exist at the present day, since it seems to date from a time when blood relationship was not yet recognised, and when even the idea of paternity had not yet presented itself to the savage mind. Moreover, it is hardly possible that this peculiar form of local totemism, with its implied ignorance of such a thing as paternity at all, could be derived from hereditary totemism, whereas it is easy to understand how hereditary totemism, either in the paternal or in the maternal line, could be derived from it. Indeed, among the Umbaia and Gnanji tribes we can see at the present day how the change from local to hereditary totemism has been effected. These tribes, like the Arunta and Kaitish, believe that conception is caused by the entrance into a woman of a spirit who has lived in its disembodied state, along with other spirits of the same totem, at any one of a number of totem centres scattered over the country; but, unlike the Arunta and Kaitish, they almost always assign the father's totem to the child, even though the infant may have given the first sign of life at a place haunted by spirits of a different totem. For example, the wife of a snake man may first feel her womb quickened at a tree haunted by spirits of goshawk people; yet the child will not be a goshawk but a snake, like its father. The theory by which the Umbaia and Gnanji reconcile these apparently incon-

<sup>1</sup> But this peculiar form of local totemism must not be confused with another form of totemism, in which hereditary totem clans inhabit each its own separate district of country or quarter of a village; for this latter species of totemism, which combines

the local with the hereditary principle, seems to be a very late development. See above, p. 83; A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters*, pp. 132, 171; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. (Cambridge, 1904) pp. 159, 172 sqq., 188 sqq.

sistent beliefs is that a spirit of the husband's totem follows the wife and enters into her wherever an opportunity offers, whereas spirits of other totems would not think of doing so. In the example supposed, a snake spirit is thought to have followed up the wife of the snake man and entered into her at the tree haunted by goshawk spirits, while the goshawk spirits would refuse to trespass, so to say, on a snake preserve by quartering themselves in the wife of a snake man.<sup>1</sup> This theory clearly marks a transition from local to hereditary totemism in the paternal line. And precisely the same theory could, *mutatis mutandis*, be employed to effect a change from local to hereditary totemism in the maternal line; it would only be necessary to suppose that a pregnant woman is always followed by a spirit of her own totem, which sooner or later effects a lodgment in her body. For example, a pregnant woman of the bee totem would always be followed by a bee spirit, which would enter into her wherever and whenever she felt her womb quickened, and so the child would be born of her own bee totem. Thus the local form of totemism which obtains among the Arunta and Kaitish tribes is older than the hereditary form, which is the ordinary type of totemism in Australia and elsewhere, first, because it rests on far more archaic conceptions of society and of life, and, secondly, because both the hereditary kinds of totemism, the paternal and the maternal, can be derived from it, whereas it can hardly be derived from either of them.<sup>2</sup>

I have said that the form of totemism which prevails in the most central tribes of Australia, particularly the Arunta and Kaitish, is probably the most primitive known to exist at the present day. Perhaps we may go a step further, and say that it is but one remove from the original pattern, the absolutely primitive type of totemism. The theory on which it is based denies implicitly, and the natives themselves deny explicitly,<sup>3</sup> that children are the fruit of the commerce of

Conceptual totemism among the Central Australians seems to be only one remove from absolutely primitive totemism,

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 169 sq., 176.

<sup>2</sup> I may remark in passing that the irregularity or total absence of paternal descent of the totems among tribes who have strict paternal descent of the

exogamous classes is one proof amongst others that these classes are of more recent origin than totemism; in other words, that totemism is older than exogamy.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 124 sq., 265.

which was apparently a theory to account for pregnancy and child-birth at a time when their true cause was unknown.

the sexes. So astounding an ignorance of natural causation cannot but date from a past immeasurably remote. Yet that ignorance, strange as it seems to us, may be explained easily enough from the habits and modes of thought of savage man. In the first place, the interval which elapses between the act of impregnation and the first symptoms of pregnancy is sufficient to prevent him from perceiving the connection between the two. In the second place, the custom, common among savage tribes, of allowing unrestricted licence of intercourse between the sexes under puberty has familiarised him with sexual unions that are necessarily sterile; from which he may not unnaturally conclude that the intercourse of the sexes has nothing to do with the birth of offspring.<sup>1</sup> Hence he is driven to account for pregnancy and child-birth in some other way. The theory which the Central Australians have adopted on the subject is one which commends itself to the primitive mind as simple and obvious. Nothing is commoner among savages all the world over than a belief that a person may be possessed by a spirit, which has entered into him, thereby disturbing his organism and creating an abnormal state of body or mind, such as sickness or lunacy. Now, when a woman is observed to be pregnant, the savage infers, with perfect truth, that something has entered into her. What is it? and how did it make its way into her womb? These are questions which he cannot but put to himself as soon as he thinks about the matter. For the reasons given above, it does not occur to him to connect the first symptoms of pregnancy with a sexual act, which preceded them by a considerable interval. He thinks that the child enters into the woman at the time when she first feels it stirring in her womb, which, of course, does not happen until long after the real moment of conception. Naturally enough, when she is first aware of the mysterious movement within her, the mother fancies that something has that very moment passed into her body, and it is equally natural that in her attempt to ascertain what the thing is she should fix upon

<sup>1</sup> This latter consideration has already been indicated by Mr. W. E. Roth (*North Queensland Ethno-*

*graphy*, *Bulletin No. 5*, Brisbane, 1903, § 83, p. 23).

some object that happened to be near her and to engage her attention at the critical moment. Thus if she chanced at the time to be watching a kangaroo, or collecting grass-seed for food, or bathing in water, or sitting under a gum-tree, she might imagine that the spirit of a kangaroo, of grass-seed, of water, or of a gum-tree had passed into her, and accordingly, that when her child was born, it was really a kangaroo, a grass-seed, water, or a gum-tree, though to the bodily eye it presented the outward form of a human being. Amongst the objects on which her fancy might pitch as the cause of her pregnancy we may suppose that the last food she had eaten would often be one. If she had recently partaken of emu flesh or yams she might suppose that the emu or yam, which she had unquestionably taken into her body, had, so to say, struck root and grown up in her. This last, as perhaps the most natural, might be the commonest explanation of pregnancy; and if that was so, we can understand why, among the Central Australian tribes, if not among totemic tribes all over the world, the great majority of totems are edible objects, whether animals or plants.<sup>1</sup>

Now, too, we can fully comprehend why people should identify themselves, as totemic tribes commonly do with their totems, to such an extent as to regard the man and his totem as practically indistinguishable. A man of the emu totem, for example, might say, "An emu entered into my mother at such and such a place and time; it grew up in her, and came forth from her. I am that emu, therefore I am an emu man. I am practically the same as the bird, though to you, perhaps, I may not look like it." And so with all the other totems. On such a view it is perfectly natural that a man, deeming himself one of his totem species, should regard it with respect and affection, and that he should imagine himself possessed of a power, such as men of other totems do not possess, to increase or diminish it, according to circumstances, for the good of

On this view of totemism we can understand why men should identify themselves with their totem, and should imagine themselves possessed of special power over it.

<sup>1</sup> As to the Central Australian totems, see Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, Appendix B, pp. 767-773. Amongst

the two hundred and one sorts of totems here enumerated, no less than a hundred and sixty-nine or a hundred and seventy are eaten.

himself and his fellows. Thus the practice of *Intichiuma*, that is, magical ceremonies performed by men of a totem for its increase or diminution, would be a natural development of the original germ or stock of totemism.<sup>1</sup>

If the germ of totemism was a primitive theory of conception, which may have occurred independently to men in many parts of the world, we can understand the wide diffusion and other characteristic features of totemism.

That germ or stock, if my conjecture is right, is, in its essence, nothing more or less than an early theory of conception, which presented itself to savage man at a time when he was still ignorant of the true cause of the propagation of the species. This theory of conception is, on the principles of savage thought, so simple and obvious that it may well have occurred to men independently in many parts of the world. Thus we could understand the wide prevalence of totemism among distant races without being forced to suppose that they had borrowed it from each other. Further, the hypothesis accounts for one of the most characteristic features of totemism, namely, the intermingling in the same community of men and women of many different totem stocks. For each person's totem would be determined by what may be called an accident, that is, by the place where his mother happened to be, the occupation in which she was engaged, or the last food she had eaten at the time when she first felt the child in her womb; and such accidents (and with them the totems) would vary considerably in individual cases, though the range of variation would necessarily be limited by the number of objects open to the observation, or conceivable by the imagination, of the tribe. These objects would be chiefly the natural features of the district, and the kinds of food on which the community subsisted; but they might quite well include artificial and even purely imaginary objects, such as boomerangs and mythical beasts. Even a totem like Laughing Boys, which

<sup>1</sup> When some years ago these *Intichiuma* ceremonies were first discovered on a great scale among the Central Australians, I was so struck by the importance of the discovery that I was inclined to see in these ceremonies the ultimate origin of totemism; and the discoverers themselves, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, were disposed to take the same view. See Baldwin Spencer, F. J. Gillen, and J. G. Frazer, in *Journal of the Anthropol-*

*logical Institute*, xxviii. (1899) pp. 275-286; and above, pp. 113 *sqq.* Further reflection has led me to the conclusion that magical ceremonies for the increase or diminution of the totems are likely to be a later, though still very early, outgrowth of totemism rather than its original root. At the present time these magical ceremonies seem to constitute the main function of totemism in Central Australia. But this does not prove that they have done so from the beginning.

we find among the Arunta, is perfectly intelligible on the present theory. In fact, of all the things which the savage perceives or imagines, there is none which he might not thus convert into a totem, since there is none which might not chance to impress itself on the mind of the mother, waking or dreaming, at the critical season.

If we may hypothetically assume, as the first stage in the evolution of totemism, a system like the foregoing, based on a primitive theory of conception the whole history of totemism becomes intelligible. For in the first place, the existing system of totemism among the Arunta and Kaitish, which combines the principle of conception with that of locality, could be derived from this hypothetical system in the simplest and easiest manner, as I shall point out immediately. And in the second place, the existing system of the Arunta and Kaitish could, in its turn, readily pass into hereditary totemism of the ordinary type, as, in fact, it appears to be doing in the Umbaia and Gnanji tribes of Central Australia at present.<sup>1</sup> Thus what may be called conceptional totemism pure and simple furnishes an intelligible starting-point for the evolution of totemism in general. In it, after years of sounding, our plummets seem to touch bottom at last.

I have said that a primitive system of purely conceptional totemism could easily give rise to the existing system of the Arunta and Kaitish, which appears to be but one remove distant from it. Among the Arunta and Kaitish the choice of the totem is not left absolutely to chance or to the imagination of the mother. The whole country is parcelled out into totem districts, each with its centre, where the disembodied spirits of the totems are supposed to linger, awaiting reincarnation; and the child's totem is determined by the particular totem centre to which its mother happened to be nearest when she felt her womb quickened; one of the local spirits is supposed to have entered into her. Thus the wide range of accidents which, under a system of conceptional totemism pure and simple, might settle the totem of the individual, is, under the existing system, restricted to the accident of place; and in virtue of this restriction an original

On this hypothesis the whole history of totemism becomes intelligible.

Hypothetical passage of a primitive system of purely conceptional totemism into the local variety of it which is actually found in Central Australia.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 156 *sq.*

system of purely conceptional totemism has, while it retains the conceptional principle, developed into a species of local totemism. How the restriction in question has been brought about can only be a matter of conjecture. But it is not difficult to imagine that when several women had, one after the other, felt the first premonitions of maternity at the same spot and under the same circumstances, the place would come to be regarded as haunted by spirits of a particular sort; and so the whole country might in time be dotted over with totem centres and distributed into totem districts. Any striking natural feature of the landscape, such as a conspicuous tree, a curiously-shaped rock, or a pool of clear water, would be likely to impress itself on the mind of women at such times, and so to lend a certain uniformity to their fancies.

The hypothesis does not account for the exogamy of the totem stocks, because exogamy forms no part of true totemism; it was a social reform introduced at a later time, when the community composed of totem stocks was bisected into two or afterwards four exogamous divisions, in order to prevent

Thus the hypothesis that totemism is, in its origin, a savage theory of conception seems to furnish a simple and adequate explanation of the facts. But there is one feature of totemism, as that system commonly meets us, which the hypothesis does not account for, namely, the exogamy of the totem stocks; in other words, the rule that a man may not marry nor have connection with a woman of the same totem as himself. That rule is, indeed, quite inexplicable on the view that men and women regard themselves as identical with their totem animals; for as these animals mate with their kind, why should not men and women of the same totem do so too, seeing that they are only slightly-disguised forms of their totem animals? But the truth is, exogamy forms no part of true totemism. It is a great social reform of a much later date, which, in many communities, has accidentally modified the totemic system, while in others it has left that system entirely unaffected. Native Australian traditions represent, doubtless with truth, exogamy as an innovation imported into a community already composed of totem stocks;<sup>1</sup> and these traditions are amply

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 392 sq., 418-422; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 429, 438 sq.; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 480-482. As Dr.

Howitt here points out, the tradition which represents the totemic system of the Dieri as introduced for the purpose of regulating marriage appears to be merely one of Mr. Gason's blunders.

confirmed by a study of the social organisation of the Australian tribes, which proves, as Messrs. Howitt, Spencer, and Gillen have rightly perceived, that the primary exogamous unit was not the totem stock, but the moiety of the whole tribe. Each tribe was, in fact, divided into two halves, all the children of the same mother being assigned to the same half, and the men of each half were obliged to take their wives from the other half. At a later time each of these halves was, in some tribes, again subdivided into two, and the men and women in each of the four quarters thus constituted were forced to take their wives or husbands from a particular one, and only one, of the remaining three quarters; while it was arranged that the children should belong neither to their mother's nor to their father's quarter, but to one of the remaining two quarters. The effect of the division of the tribe into two exogamous halves, with all the children of the same mother ranged on the same side, is obviously to prevent the marriage of brothers with sisters. The effect of the division of the tribe into four exogamous quarters, coupled with the rules that every person may marry only into one quarter, and that the children must belong to a quarter which is neither that of their father nor that of their mother, is to prevent the marriage of parents with children.<sup>1</sup> Now, since these successive bisections of the tribe into two, four, or even eight exogamous divisions, with an increasingly complicated rule of descent, have every appearance of being artificial, we may fairly infer that the effect they actually produce is the effect they were intended to produce; in other words, that they were deliberately devised and adopted as a means of preventing the marriage, at first, of brothers with sisters, and, at a later time, of parents with children.

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children.

That this was so I regard as practically certain. But the question why early man in Australia, and, apparently,

<sup>1</sup> This observation, the truth of which can easily be demonstrated in a tabular form, was communicated by me to my friend Dr. A. W. Howitt, who did me the honour to mention it with approval in his book. See his *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 284-286. The conclusion here

stated was briefly indicated in my paper, "The Origin of Totemism," *Fortnightly Review*, May 1899, p. 841, note 2 [above, p. 124, note <sup>2</sup>]. Nearly the same observation was afterwards made independently by Mr. E. Crawley in his book, *The Mystic Rose* (London, 1902), pp. 469-472.

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moral ;

in many other parts of the world, objected to these unions, and took elaborate precautions to prevent them, is difficult to answer, except in a vague and general way. We should probably err if we imagined that this far-reaching innovation or reform was introduced from any such moral antipathy to incest, as most, though by no means all, races have manifested within historical times. That antipathy is rather the fruit than the seed of the prohibition of incest. It is the slowly accumulated effect of a prohibition which has been transmitted through successive generations from time immemorial. To suppose that the law of incest originated in any instinctive horror of the act would be to invert the relation of cause and effect, and to commit the commonest of all blunders in investigating early society, that of interpreting it in the light of our modern feelings and habits, and so using the late products of evolution to account for its primordial germs ; in short, it would be to explain the beginning by the end, instead of the end by the beginning.

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Further, the original ground of objection to incestuous unions certainly cannot have been any notion that they were injurious to the offspring, and that for two reasons. In the first place, it is a moot question among men of science at the present day whether the closest interbreeding has, in itself, when the parents are perfectly healthy, any such harmful effect.<sup>1</sup> However that question may be finally decided, we cannot suppose that the rudest savages perceived ages ago what, with all the resources of accurate observation and long-continued experiments in breeding animals, modern science has not yet conclusively established. But in the second place, not only is it impossible that the savage can have detected so very dubious an effect, but it is impossible that he can even have imagined it. For if, down to the present day, the Central Australians, who practise strict exogamy, do not believe that children are the result of the intercourse of the sexes, their still ruder forefathers certainly

<sup>1</sup> See Ch. Darwin, *Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1875), ii. chap. xvii. pp. 92-126 ; A. H. Huth, *The Mar-*

*riage of Near Kin*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1887) ; G. A. Wilken, "Die Ehe zwischen Blutsverwandten," *Globus*, lix. (1891) pp. 8-12, 20-24, 35-38.

cannot have introduced exogamy at a more or less remote period for the purpose of remedying the action of a cause, the existence of which they denied.

But if the prohibition of incestuous unions was based neither on what we might call a moral instinct, nor on a fear of any evil, real or imaginary, which they were supposed to entail on the offspring, the only alternative open to us seems to be to infer that these unions were forbidden because they were believed to be injurious to the persons who engaged in them, even when they were both in perfect health. Such a belief, I apprehend, is entirely groundless, and can only have arisen in some mistaken notion of cause and effect; in short, in a superstition. What that superstition precisely was, in other words, what exact harm was supposed to be done by incest to the persons immediately concerned, I am unable to guess. Thus the ultimate origin of exogamy, and with it of the law of incest—since exogamy was devised to prevent incest—remains a problem nearly as dark as ever. All that seems fairly probable is that both of them originated in a savage superstition, to which we have lost the clue. To say this is not to prejudice the question of the effect for good or ill which these institutions have had on the race; for the question of the working of any institution is wholly distinct from that of its historical origin. Just as a bad practice may be adopted from a good motive, so, on the other hand, an excellent custom may be instituted for a reason utterly false and absurd.

I have said that the introduction of exogamy affected the totemic system of some tribes, but not that of others. This I will now explain. Where totemism had become hereditary, that is, where every person received his totem either from his father or from his mother, the introduction of exogamy naturally resulted in making the totem stocks exogamous. For when the tribe was split up into two intermarrying moieties the hereditary totem stocks would be distributed between the moieties, the whole of each stock being placed in one or other of the moieties, and not divided between the two. From this it would follow that as each moiety was exogamous, so necessarily were all the totem stocks of which it was composed. The exogamy of the hereditary

Apparently the prohibition of incest must have been founded on a superstition that incestuous unions are injurious to those who engage in them.

The introduction of exogamy affected the totemic system only of those tribes among whom totemism had become hereditary; it could not affect the system among tribes who retained

conceptional totemism, because under the latter system brothers and sisters, parents and children may all be of different totems, in which case the prohibition to marry a person of the same totem would be no bar to the union of brothers with sisters, or of parents with children.

totem stocks was thus a direct, though accidental, consequence of the exogamy of the two moieties. On the other hand, where the old conceptional, as opposed to the newer hereditary, type of totemism survived, as we see it, in a slightly modified form, among the Arunta and Kaitish tribes, the introduction of exogamy would have no effect on the totem stocks as such ; that is, it would not make them exogamous. The reason is simple. Exogamy was introduced, as I have pointed out, at first to prevent the marriage of brothers with sisters, and afterwards to prevent the marriage of parents with children. But under a system like that of the Arunta, where, in virtue of the accidents which determine the totem of each individual, brother and sister may be of different totems, and the totem of the child may differ from that both of the father and of the mother, it is obvious that to make the totem stocks exogamous would not necessarily effect the purpose for which the rule of exogamy was devised ; for even with strict exogamy of the totem stocks it would still be open to a brother to marry a sister, and to a parent to marry a child, in all the cases—and they would probably be the majority of cases—in which the totem of the brother differed from that of the sister, and the totem of the parent differed from that of the child. When we find, therefore, that the rule of exogamy is not applied to the totem stocks in the very cases where, if it were applied, it would be powerless to prevent the marriage of brothers with sisters, and of parents with children, we can hardly help regarding this omission to apply the rule in these circumstances as a strong additional proof that exogamy was devised expressly for the purpose of preventing such marriages. Further, it appears to demonstrate that the machinery by which exogamy was introduced and worked was not the organisation of the community in totem stocks, but its bisection, single or repeated, into two, four, or eight exogamous divisions, or classes and sub-classes, as they may, with Dr. A. W. Howitt, be conveniently designated. For we have to remember that though, for the reason I have given, the Arunta and the Kaitish do not apply the principle of exogamy to their totem stocks, they fully recognise and act on the principle, the whole community being divided into eight exogamous

classes, a division which is quite distinct from, and probably far later than, the distribution of the community into totem stocks.

Finally, I have to point out that, if the present theory of the development of totemism is correct, the common assumption that inheritance of the totem through the mother always preceded inheritance of it through the father need not hold good. If the transition from the conceptional to the hereditary form of totemism was effected in the manner in which it seems to be actually taking place at present among the Central Australian tribes, it is clear that the change could be made just as readily to paternal as to maternal descent. For it would be quite as easy to suppose that a spirit of the husband's totem had entered into his wife as that a spirit of her own totem had done so: the former supposition would give paternal descent of the totem, the latter would give maternal descent. Only we have to bear in mind that the notion of paternity among these tribes is a totally different thing from what it is with us. Denying, as they do explicitly, that the child is begotten by the father, they can only regard him as the consort, and, in a sense, the owner of the mother, and therefore, as the owner of her progeny, just as a man who owns a cow owns also the calf she brings forth. In short, it seems probable that a man's children were viewed as his property long before they were recognised as his offspring.

Since conceptional totemism can pass as readily into hereditary totemism in the male as in the female line, it follows that paternal descent of the totem need not have been preceded by maternal descent of it; both lines of descent may have sprung independently from the conceptional system. The primitive notion of paternity was probably that of ownership.

From the foregoing discussion it follows that, judged either by the type of social organisation or by the relation of magic to religion, the central tribes of Australia are the more backward, and the coastal tribes the more progressive. To put it otherwise, in aboriginal Australia social and religious progress has spread or is spreading from the sea inland, and not in the reverse direction.

Thus, the central tribes of Australia are more backward than the coastal tribes.

This conclusion is no more than might have been anticipated on general grounds without any knowledge of the particular facts. For the interior of a country is naturally less open to foreign influence than its coasts, and is therefore more tenacious of old ways. But quite apart

This conclusion might have been anticipated on general grounds.

from the seclusion of the central tribes and the desert nature of their country ; for observation teaches us that civilisation arises in fertile countries, not in deserts, abundance of food being essential to an advance in culture.

from any foreign influence, which before the coming of Europeans seems hardly to have affected the Australian race, there is a special cause why the coastal tribes of Australia should take the first steps towards civilisation, and that is the greater abundance of water and food in their country as compared with the parched and barren table-lands of the interior.<sup>1</sup> Central Australia lies in the desert zone of the southern hemisphere, and has no high mountains to condense the vapours from the surrounding ocean. The most extensive tract of fertile and well-watered country is on the east and south-east, where a fine range of mountains approaches, in the colony of Victoria, the limits of perpetual snow.<sup>2</sup> And in the north, on the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, a heavier rainfall produces a more abundant vegetation and a more plentiful supply of food than can be found in the arid wilderness of the interior. Thus, even among the rude savages of Australia, we can detect the operation of those natural laws which have ordained that elsewhere all the great civilisations of the world should arise in well-watered and fertile lands within the atmospheric influence of the sea. An abundant supply of good food stimulates progress in more ways than one. By leaving men with leisure on their hands it affords them greater opportunities for observation and thought than are enjoyed by people whose whole energies are absorbed in an arduous struggle for a bare subsistence ; and by improving the physical stamina of the race it strengthens and sharpens the intellectual faculties which, in the long run, are always depressed and impaired by a poor and meagre diet. Thus, if in Australia the tide of progress, slow but perceptible, has set from the sea towards the interior, it has probably been in large measure under the impulse of a more plentiful supply of food, which in its turn is due

<sup>1</sup> This cause has been assigned by Dr. Howitt for the social advance, and by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen for the decrease of *Intichiuma* magic, on the coast. See A. W. Howitt, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 33 *sq.* ; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 154

*sq.* ; Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 173, 311, 318.

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Wallace, *The Geographical Distribution of Animals* (London, 1876), i. 387 *sq.* Mr. Wallace here states that the Victorian mountains actually reach the limit of perpetual snow. But this, as Prof. Baldwin Spencer tells me, is a mistake.

to the heavier rainfall on the coast and the neighbouring regions.

But it is not merely by starving the vital energies and hence cramping the intelligence of the race that the physical character and climate of Central Australia have retarded progress and favoured the survival of a faith in magic after that faith had begun to waver in more fertile districts. A little reflection will probably convince us that the more variable the course of nature throughout the year, the more persistent probably will be man's efforts to regulate it for his benefit, and the firmer will be his faith in his power to do so. In other words, the more marked the changes of the seasons, the greater will tend to be the prevalence of magic and the belief in its efficacy, though naturally that tendency may be counteracted by other causes. On the other hand, where nature is bounteous and her course is uniform or varies but little from year's end to year's end, man will neither need nor desire to alter it by magic or otherwise to suit his convenience. For he makes magic, just as he prays and sacrifices, in order to obtain what he has not got; if he already possesses all he wants, why should he exert himself? It is in times of need and distress rather than of abundance and prosperity that man betakes himself to the practice both of magic and of religion. Hence in some tropical regions of eternal summer, where moisture, warmth, and sunshine never fail, where the trees are always green and fruits always hang from the boughs, where the waters perpetually swarm with fish and the forests teem with an exuberance of animal life, ceremonies for the making of rain and sunshine and for the multiplication of edible beasts and plants are for the most part absent or inconspicuous. For example, we hear little or nothing of them, so far as I remember, among the Indians of the luxuriant forests of Brazil. Far otherwise is it with countries where a brief summer alternates with a chilly spring, a fickle autumn, and a long and rigorous winter. Here of necessity man is put to all his shifts to snatch from a churlish nature boons that are at once evanescent and precarious. Here, accordingly, that branch of magic which aims at procuring the necessaries of life may be expected to

The physical character and climate of Central Australia have favoured the survival of magic in another way; for magic tends to prevail in proportion to the range of variations of the seasons, these annual changes serving to confirm man's belief that he can bring them about by magical arts.

flourish most. To put it generally, the practice of magic for the control of nature will be found on the whole to increase with the variability and to decrease with the uniformity of the course of nature throughout the year. Hence the increase will tend to become more and more conspicuous as we recede from the equator, where the annual changes of natural conditions are much less marked than elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> This general rule is no doubt subject to many exceptions which depend on local varieties of climate. Where the contrast between a wet and a dry season is sharply marked, as in the track of the monsoons, magic may well be invoked to secure the advantages or remedy the inconveniences of heavy rain or drought. But, on the whole, this department of magic, if not checked by civilisation or other causes, would naturally attain its highest vogue in the temperate and polar zones rather than in the equatorial regions; while, on the other hand, the branch of magical art which deals directly with mankind, aiming for example at the cure or infliction of disease, tends for obvious reasons to be diffused equally over the globe without distinction of latitude or climate. And the same causes which impel men to practise magic for the control of nature confirm their belief in its efficacy; for the very changes which the magician seeks to bring about by his spells are silently wrought by the operation of natural law, and thus the apparent success of his efforts greatly strengthens the wizard's confidence in his imaginary powers.

In Central Australia the changes of the seasons are so sudden and violent that even Europeans have compared them to the effect of magic; it is no wonder therefore

Nowhere, apparently, in the world are the alternations of the seasons so sudden and the contrasts between them so violent, nowhere, accordingly, is the seeming success of magic more conspicuous than in the deserts of Central Australia. The wonderful change which passes over the face of nature after the first rains of the season has been compared even by European observers to the effect of magic; what marvel, then, that the savage should mistake it for such in very truth? It is difficult, we are told, to realise the contrast between the steppes of Australia in the dry and in the rainy season. In the dry season the landscape

<sup>1</sup> On the uniformity, nay, monotony of nature in the equatorial regions, see A. R. Wallace, *Tropical Nature* (London, 1878), p. 1 *sqq.*

presents a scene of desolation. The sun shines down hotly on stony plains or yellow sandy ground, on which grow wiry shrubs and small tussocks of grass, not set closely together, as in moister lands, but straggling separately, so that in any patch the number of plants can be counted. The sharp, thin shadows of the wiry scrub fall on the yellow ground, which betrays no sign of animal life save for the little ant-hills, thousands of whose inmates are seen rushing about in apparently hopeless confusion, or piling leaves and seeds in regular order around the entrance to their burrows. A desert oak, as it is called, or an acacia tree, may here and there afford a scanty shade, but for weeks together there are no clouds to hide the brightness of the sun by day or of the stars by night. All this is changed when heavy rains have fallen and torrents rush down the lately dry beds of the rivers, sweeping along uprooted trees and great masses of tangled wrack on their impetuous current, and flooding far and wide the flat lands on either bank. Then what has been for months an arid wilderness is suddenly changed into a vast sheet of water. Soon, however, the rain ceases to fall and the flood subsides rapidly. For a few days the streams run, then dry up, and only the deeper holes here and there retain the water. The sun once more shines down hotly, and in the damp ground seeds which have lain dormant for months sprout and, as if by magic, the desert becomes covered with luxuriant herbage, and gay with the blossoms of endless flowering plants. Birds, frogs, lizards, and insects of all sorts may be seen and heard where lately everything was parched and silent. Plants and animals alike make the most of the brief time in which they can grow and multiply; the struggle for existence is all the keener because it is so short. If a young plant can strike its roots deep enough to reach the cool soil below the heated surface, it may live; if not, it must perish. If a young animal grows fast enough to be able to burrow while the banks of the water-hole in which it lives are still damp, it, too, stands a chance of surviving. Now it is just when there is promise of a good season that the natives of these regions are wont especially to perform their magical ceremonies for the multiplication of the plants and animals

that the Central Australian savage should believe them to be so in earnest.

which they use as food.<sup>1</sup> Can we wonder that the accomplishment of their wishes, which so soon follows, should appear to them a conclusive proof of the efficacy of their incantations? Nature herself seems to conspire to foster the delusion.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 4, 170. I have reproduced the graphic description of these writers almost verbally.

AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY  
OF TOTEMISM



## CHAPTER I

### TOTEMISM IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

#### § 1. *The Social Line of Demarcation in Central Australia*

SINCE the first edition of *Totemism* was published in 1887 a new era in the study of the subject has been opened by the researches of Messrs. Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen among the tribes of Central and North-Central Australia. Through their labours we possess for the first time a detailed and accurate account of Totemism as it exists in full bloom among tribes which have hardly been affected by European influence. There is no other such record in the literature of the subject, and its importance for an insight into the true nature of Totemism can scarcely be over-estimated. Accordingly I shall begin this ethnographical survey of Totemism with the tribes of Central and Northern Australia, basing my account of their totemic system on the two great works of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen.<sup>1</sup> Some of the results of their enquiries have already been noticed in this book,<sup>2</sup> but here it may be convenient to give, even at the cost of certain repetitions, a general view of the facts which these two careful and trustworthy observers have brought to light.

The researches of Spencer and Gillen in Central and Northern Australia.

In regard to the totemic and social system of Central Australia there is a very sharp line of demarcation between the true central and the southern-central tribes which come into contact with each other a little to the north-west of Lake

Division between the true central and southern-central tribes.

<sup>1</sup> Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899); *id.*, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London,

1904). For the sake of brevity these two works will be cited as *Native Tribes* and *Northern Tribes* respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 91 *sqq.*, 154 *sqq.*

Eyre, and it looks as if this were the meeting-place of two sets of tribes which had migrated southwards, following roughly parallel lines, one stream of tribes having traversed the centre of the continent and the other having pursued a more easterly course till it turned westward and joined the other stream at Lake Eyre. In the southern-central tribes, of which the Urabunna may be taken as a type, descent both of the totem and of the exogamous class is reckoned in the maternal line. In the true central tribes, of which the Arunta may be taken as a type, descent of the exogamous class is reckoned in the paternal line, and the totem is derived neither from the father nor from the mother, though as we pass from the centre northwards we find the totem tending more and more to be taken from the father, until among the tribes on the Gulf of Carpentaria the descent of the totem is as strictly paternal as is the descent of the exogamous class.<sup>1</sup> We begin our survey with the southern-central tribes, of which the Urabunna are typical.

### § 2. Totemism in the Urabunna Tribe

The Urabunna tribe divided into two exogamous classes and a number of totem clans.

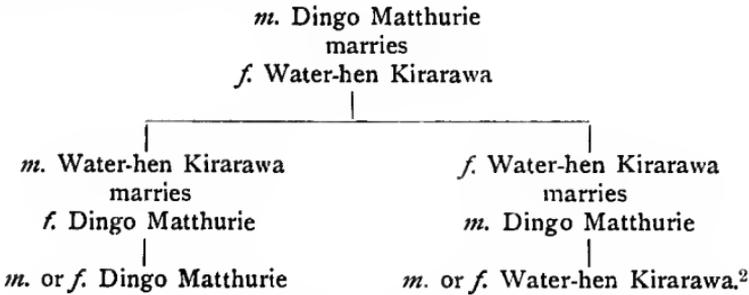
The whole tribe of the Urabunna is divided up into two exogamous intermarrying moieties (classes or phratries), which are respectively called Matthurie and Kirarawa, and the members of these two moieties (classes or phratries) are again subdivided into a series of totemic groups or clans, for which the native name is *thunthunie*. A Matthurie man must marry a Kirarawa woman; and more than that, a man of one totem must marry a woman of another totem, certain totems being confined to one or other of the two exogamous moieties or classes. Thus a dingo man or woman marries a water-hen woman or man; a cicada marries a crow; an emu marries a rat; a wild turkey marries a cloud; a swan marries a pelican; and a wild duck marries a carpet-snake. The tribal organisation may be shown in the following table, in which only a limited number of totems are indicated.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 113-115; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 143 sq.

Class (phratry).	Totem.
Matthurie.	{ Wild duck ( <i>Inyarrie</i> ). Cicada ( <i>Wutnimmera</i> ). Dingo ( <i>Malla</i> ). Emu ( <i>Warraguti</i> ). Wild turkey ( <i>Kalathurra</i> ). Black swan ( <i>Guti</i> ), etc.
Kirarawa.	{ Cloud ( <i>Kurara</i> ). Carpet snake ( <i>Wabma</i> ). Lace lizard ( <i>Capirie</i> ). Pelican ( <i>Urantha</i> ). Water-hen ( <i>Kutnichilli</i> ). Crow ( <i>Wakala</i> ), etc. <sup>1</sup>

Descent is reckoned through the mother both as regards class (phratry) and totem, so that if the mother, for example, is of the Kirarawa class and of the water-hen totem, then all her children will be Kirarawa Water-hens. Hence marriage and descent in the Urabunna tribe can be represented by the following diagram, in which the letter *f* signifies the female and the letter *m* the male.

In the Urabunna tribe descent both of the class and of the totem is in the female line, children taking both class and totem from their mother, not from their father.



These are not the only restrictions to marriage. A man may not marry a woman of the proper totem unless she is a daughter of his mother's *elder* brother or (what comes to the same thing) of his father's *elder* sister, where the terms "father" and "mother," "brother" and "sister" are used in the classificatory sense to denote group relationships, a man giving the name of "father" to all the men whom his

Further, a man may only marry the daughters of his mother's elder brothers or of his father's elder sisters. These terms of relationship being used in the classificatory sense.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 59 sq., 114; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 70 sq., 144. On this organisation of the Urabunna it is observed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen that "the most difficult point to determine is exactly what totems intermarry. Whilst the intermarriage of the totems now described is correct

so far as it goes, further investigation may reveal the fact that, for example, a man of the crow totem may marry women of other totems besides the cicada" (*Native Tribes*, p. 60 note).

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 60 sq.; *Northern Tribes*, p. 71.

mother might have lawfully married, the name of "mother" to all the women whom his father might have lawfully married, and the names of "brothers" and "sisters" to the offspring of all such men and women, whether they are related to him by blood in our sense of the term or not.<sup>1</sup> It follows that in the Urabunna tribe a man may not marry a woman of the right totem if she is a daughter of his mother's *younger* brother or (what comes to the same thing) of his father's *younger* sister. Thus a man's wife must always belong to the senior side of the clan, so far as he is concerned; and a woman's husband must always belong to the junior side of the clan, so far as she is concerned. All the women of a totemic clan into which a man may marry stand to him in one of the four following relationships: (1) *nowillie*, or father's sisters; (2) *biaka*, children or brother's children; (3) *apillia*, daughters of his mother's younger brothers or (what comes to the same thing) of his father's younger sisters; (4) *nupa*, the daughters of his mother's elder brothers or (what comes to the same thing) of his father's elder sisters, where again the terms "father," "mother," "brother," "sister" are used in the classificatory sense. Women in the first of these relationships (*nowillie*) belong to an older generation; women in the second of these relationships (*biaka*) belong to a younger generation; women in the third and fourth relationship (*apillia* and *nupa*) belong to a man's own generation, but even among them he may marry only women who stand to him in the fourth relationship (*nupa*). The term *nupa* is reciprocal, being mutually applied to each other by marriageable men and women; in other words, a man calls a woman whom he may marry *nupa*, and she calls him *nupa* also. But whereas a man's *nupa* is always on the senior side of the clan in reference to him, a woman's *nupa* is always on the junior side of the clan in reference to her. Thus if we were to draw up a genealogical tree in the Urabunna tribe, placing the elder members on the left side and the younger members on the right side, then every woman's *nupa* would lie to the right, and every man's *nupa* would lie to the left side of her or his position in the genealogical tree.

<sup>1</sup> As to the Classificatory System of Relationship, see below, pp. 286 *sqq.*

A simple genealogical tree will illustrate this marriage rule. In the following table the Kirarawa man numbered 8 may only marry a woman who stands to him in the relationship of the one numbered 7. She is his *nupa* and he is hers; whereas the woman numbered 9 is his *apillia*, and he may not have any marital relations with her.

Genealogical tree to illustrate the Urabunna marriage.

1. Matthurie, <i>f.</i>	2. Matthurie, <i>m.</i>	3. Matthurie, <i>f.</i>
4. Kirarawa, <i>m.</i>	5. Kirarawa, <i>f.</i>	6. Kirarawa, <i>m.</i>
7. Matthurie, <i>f.</i>	8. Kirarawa, <i>m.</i>	9. Matthurie, <i>f.</i>
	7. Matthurie, <i>f.</i>	

In this table it will be observed that the wife (Matthurie 7) of the man Kirarawa 8 is the daughter both of his mother's elder brother (Kirarawa 4) and of his father's elder sister (Matthurie 1). This is not an accident; in the Urabunna system a man's wife is always the daughter both of his mother's elder brother and of his father's elder sister, since under that system his mother's elder brother is the proper husband of his father's elder sister.<sup>1</sup>

This sharp distinction in respect of marriageability between the children of elder and younger brothers and sisters occurs not only in tribes like the Urabunna which count descent in the female line, but also in tribes like the Arunta, which reckon descent of the classes and subclasses in the male line.<sup>2</sup> The origin of the rule which obliged a man to marry a woman on the senior side of the appropriate family and forbade him to marry a woman on the junior side, is no doubt to be sought in the nature of the classificatory system of relationship, though the precise reason for it is still obscure. A pregnant hint as to the way in which the distinction may have originated in a social system based on group marriage and the classificatory system of relationship has been given by Dr. Rivers. "In such a state of society," he says, "I suppose that the status of a child would change when he becomes an adult, and that with this change of status there would be associated a change in the relationship in which he would stand to the members of the different groups. The

Dr. Rivers' explanation of the distinction in respect of marriageability between the children of elder and younger brothers and sisters.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 61-65; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 71 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 65.

great difficulty in the acceptance of my scheme is to see how the relationships set up by these age-groups developed into those regulated by generations such as we find among most people of low culture at the present time. I cannot here attempt to follow out such a development in any detail, but I think it is possible to see the general lines on which one almost universal feature of the classificatory system may have evolved, viz. the distinction between elder and younger, especially frequent in the case of brothers and sisters. A man would probably tend to distinguish with some definiteness those who became adults earlier than himself from those who came later to this rank; he would tend to distinguish sharply between those who helped in his initiatory ceremonies and those to whom he was himself one of the initiators, and this distinction between seniors and juniors would probably be carried over into the system of relationships which gradually developed as the group-relations developed into more individual relations between men and women, and as the society became organized into generations in the place of status- or age-groups." <sup>1</sup>

To make this hint of Dr. Rivers explicit I would point out that if after a lad had passed through the initiatory ceremonies at puberty and thereby became a full-grown man, it was deemed essential at once to provide him with a wife, this could only be done by taking her from among those women who had attained to puberty and had been initiated either simultaneously with him or before him; his wife obviously could not be drawn from those girls who were not marriageable because they had not yet reached puberty and had not yet been initiated. Hence might easily arise a rule that no man should marry a woman who had been initiated after him; and this, when society became organised in generations instead of in age-groups, might easily in time be replaced by the rule that a man might only choose a wife from the senior branch of the group or clan into which he was entitled to marry.

It will be observed that under the Urabunna system a

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "On the Origin of the Classificatory System of Relationships," in *Anthropological Essays pre-*

*sent to Edward Burnett Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 320 sq.

Men  
perhaps  
forbidden  
to marry  
women  
who were  
initiated  
after them.

man's proper wife is always one of those whom we should call his first cousins, being the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. On the other hand he is strictly forbidden to marry certain other first cousins, namely the daughter of his mother's sister and the daughter of his father's brother ; and the reason why both these first cousins are prohibited to him is that they belong to the same exogamous class as himself and are therefore barred from him by the fundamental law which forbids a man to marry a woman of his own exogamous class. For example, if he is a Kirarawa, then, descent being in the maternal line, his mother, his mother's sister, and his mother's sister's daughter, his first cousin, must all be Kirarawa ; hence he may not marry that particular first cousin, his mother's sister's daughter. Again, if he is a Kirarawa, his father and his father's brother will be Matthurie, but his father's brother's daughter, his first cousin, descent being in the female line, will be Kirarawa ; hence again he may not marry that particular first cousin, his father's brother's daughter. This distinction between marriageable and non-marriageable cousins is observed, as we shall see, by many totemic peoples. The general rule is that cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively may marry each other or are even expected as a matter of custom to do so ; while cousins who are the children either of two sisters or of two brothers are strictly forbidden to marry each other, their union being barred by the fact that such cousins always belong to the same exogamous group, whether descent is reckoned in the maternal or in the paternal line.

The account which the Urabunna give of the origin of their totems is as follows. In those remote and mythical times which they call *ularaka* and which the Arunta call *alcheringa*, there existed at first a comparatively small number of individuals who were half-human and half-animal or half-plant. How they arose is more than the Urabunna can say. Anyhow they are the exact equivalents of the *alcheringa* ancestors of the Arunta, about whom we shall hear presently. These semi-human creatures were endowed with far greater powers than any living men or women now possess. They could walk about either on the earth or

Marriageable and non-marriageable cousins.

Urabunna account of the origin of their totems.

beneath it and could fly through the air. They were the ancestors of the various totemic clans. Thus a large carpet-snake gave rise to the carpet-snake clan; two jew-lizards gave rise to the jew-lizard clan; one or two rain creatures did the same for the rain clan; and so on.<sup>1</sup>

The wanderings and reincarnations of the totemic ancestors.

These old semi-human ancestors wandered about all over the country now occupied by the Urabunna, performing sacred ceremonies, and when they did so they deposited in the ground or in some natural feature such as a rock or a water-pool, which arose to mark the spot, a number of spirit individuals called *mai-aurli*. After a time some of these became changed into men and women, who formed the first series of totem clans. For example, some of the *mai-aurli* left behind by the carpet-snake ancestor changed into carpet-snake men and women; some of those left behind by the lizards changed into lizard men and women; and so on through the other totemic clans. Since the time long ago when the totemic clans were thus instituted, these spirit individuals or *mai-aurli* have been continually undergoing reincarnation, and their embodiments in the flesh are Urabunna men and women.<sup>2</sup>

The *paltinta*, or places inhabited by totemic spirits awaiting reincarnation.

The places where the spirit-children or *mai-aurli* were left behind by the animal or semi-human ancestors are called *paltinta* by the Urabunna, and the corresponding places are called *oknanikilla* by the Arunta. Some of these places in the Urabunna territory are inhabited by spirits of one particular totem only, others are inhabited by the spirits of two or more different totems. Thus close to a spot where Messrs. Spencer and Gillen encamped there is a large group of granite boulders, which arose to mark the place where in the far-off times the ancestors of the pigeon clan danced and played about. Of these boulders one represents an old male and another a female ancestor. The rocks are supposed to be inhabited only by pigeon spirits which emanated from the bodies of the two ancestors. On the other hand, a quarter of a mile away from these granite rocks there is a pool inhabited by spirits which were left there by emu, rain, and a grub ancestor. Sometimes there seems to be a special bond of relationship

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 145 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 146.

between the totemic clans whose spirits congregate at the same place. For example, there is a pool of water haunted by spirits of people who all belong to the mosquito, the blow-fly, the march-fly, or the sand-fly totem. Whenever a person dies, his or her spirit goes back to the place where it was left long ago by the totemic ancestor in the days of old (the *ularaka* or *alcheringa*). The spirits of pigeon people, for example, go back into the rocks where the pigeon ancestors performed ceremonies and deposited the spirit children of the pigeon clan. The spirits of mosquito people go back into the pool where the mosquito ancestors performed ceremonies and left behind them the spirit children of the mosquito clan, and so forth.<sup>1</sup>

A curious feature of the reincarnation theory of the Urabunna is this: they think that at each successive reincarnation the new-born child changes its sex, its class or phratry (moiety, as Messrs. Spencer and Gillen call it), and its totem. Thus, for instance, if a Kirarawa man of the emu totem dies, his spirit goes back to the place where it was left by the emu ancestor in the olden (*alcheringa*) days. There it remains for some time, but sooner or later it is born again as a girl from the body of a Matthurie woman, who, of necessity, belongs to another totem; and thus at each reincarnation the individual changes his or her class (phratry), sex, and totem. They think that if the spirit of a Kirarawa man were reincarnated in a Kirarawa woman, it would either be born prematurely and die or would cause the death of the mother. Premature births and accidents at child-birth are always attributed by the Urabunna to the entrance of a child-spirit into the body of a wrong woman. In the course of ages any single individual can thus, by a series of rebirths, run through the whole gamut of the totems, alternating from side to side (from Kirarawa to Matthurie) of the tribe, but always returning at death to its original home.<sup>2</sup>

Just as in the Arunta and other central tribes so in the Urabunna, the members of the totem clans are supposed to be responsible for the production of the totem animal or plant from which the clan takes its name, and for this

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 146 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 148 sq.

A child changes its sex, class and totem at each reincarnation.

Magical ceremonies performed by the Urabunna for the multiplication of their totems.

purpose they perform magical ceremonies which they call *pitjinta*. These ceremonies correspond exactly in nature and intention to the *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Arunta.<sup>1</sup> For example, there is a local centre of the rain totem at a water-hole called Tjantjiwanperta, close to Mount Kingston, and here the headman of the rain clan performs ceremonies for the production of rain. While he is engaged in this solemn function he wears a head-dress of hair-string completely coated over with white down, which covers his shoulders and chest. A tuft of cockatoo feathers forms a crest to the head-dress, and bunches of eagle-hawk feathers hang down from his girdle. The costume is perhaps intended to mimick the clouds. Holding a spear-thrower in his hand the rain-maker squats on the ground, while two men strike the earth with stones and chant a charm. Then the performer rises to a stooping position, striking out and moving the spear-thrower backwards and forwards, quivering his body and turning his head from side to side. At intervals he lifts his body and gazes into the sky in imitation of certain cloud men, who according to tradition used to ascend into the sky and make the clouds from which the rain came down.<sup>2</sup> Again, the headman of a snake clan performs a ceremony for the multiplication of snakes by piercing the skin of his arms with sharp bones, his body being streaked with lines of red and yellow ochre, and his head adorned with a sort of banner. When the bones employed in this rite are not in use, they are wrapped in hair cut from the head of a snake man. After the ceremony, when the snakes have become plentiful, men who do not belong to the snake clan go out and catch some of the reptiles and bring them to the headman of the snake clan. A younger tribal brother who does not belong to the clan presents him with some fat taken from one of the snakes. He rubs his arms with the fat and says, "You eat—all of you." They think that if men of other clans were to eat snakes without thus obtaining permission from the headman of the snake clan, he would warn them that by and by they would see no more snakes.<sup>3</sup>

Ceremony  
to make  
rain.

Ceremony  
to multiply  
snakes.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 149, 283 sq.  
As to the *intichiuma* ceremonies, see  
above, pp. 104 sqq., and below, pp.

214 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 284-286.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 286 sq.

Similarly in the Wonkgongaru tribe, which has the same social organisation as the Urabunna, the headman of the fish clan makes fish by going into a pool and piercing his scrotum and the skin round the navel with little pointed bones, till his blood reddens the water, which is supposed to produce fish. Again, in order to produce a crop of lice a man of the louse clan takes mud from a sandbank and rubs it on two trees, one of them an ordinary louse tree and the other a crab louse tree. After that he throws the mud about in all directions and the vermin swarm out in consequence. Similarly a man of the jew lizard clan can make lizards plentiful very simply by knocking chips off the face of a certain rock and throwing them about. The rock, which may be seen on a hill called Coppertop, is supposed to represent an old jew lizard standing up and throwing boomerangs. On the hill there grows a tree, the rough bark of which is thought to be or to resemble the skin of the lizard. The Wonkgongaru natives have no jew lizard man among them, so when they wish to increase the supply of these reptiles they invoke the aid of the jew lizard man of the Urabunna tribe, who obligingly goes to the lizard tree, strips off some of the bark, and sends it to the Wonkgongaru men. They burn the bark in their own country, and by that means ensure a supply of the animal.<sup>1</sup>

Ceremonies to multiply fish, lice, and lizards.

In the Urabunna tribe, as in most Australian tribes, every person is strictly forbidden to eat his or her totem animal or plant, but there is no objection to his killing the animal and handing it over to be eaten by men of other totems.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, as we have just seen, the headman of a totem clan performs magical ceremonies for the very purpose of multiplying his totem animal or plant in order that it

Among the Urabunna a man may not eat his totem, but he may kill his totem animal and hand it over to be eaten by men of other totems.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 287 sq. In regard to the magical production of lice it is to be remembered that these vermin are regularly eaten by many savages.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 467; *Northern Tribes*, p. 149. In the former passage Messrs. Spencer and Gillen add: "For example, an emu man or woman must not in any way injure an emu, nor must he partake of its flesh even when he has not killed it himself."

The rule not to injure the totem animal would naturally include the prohibition to kill it. Yet in their later work (*Northern Tribes, l.c.*) the writers tell us that among the Urabunna there is no objection to a man's killing his totem. We may accept the latter statement as the more correct of the two, since it was written after the authors had paid a special visit to the Urabunna tribe.

may be eaten by men of other clans. In this respect the Urabunna are in agreement with the rest of the central tribes, whatever differences in social organisation there may be between them. "The fundamental idea, common to all of the tribes, is that men of any totemic group are responsible for the maintenance of the supply of the animal or plant which gives its name to the group, and that the one object of increasing the number of the totemic animal or plant is simply that of increasing the general food-supply. If I am a kangaroo man, then I provide kangaroo flesh for emu men, and in return I expect them to provide me with a supply of emu flesh and eggs, and so on right through all of the totems. At the present day this is actually the belief of the Central Australian savage. Further still, no man must do anything which will impair his power to cause the increase of his totem."<sup>1</sup>

### § 3. Totemism in the Arunta and North-Central Tribes<sup>2</sup>

The totemic and social organisation of the Arunta and kindred tribes is sharply distinguished from that of the Urabunna in the following respects:—

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 327.  
<sup>2</sup> Messrs. Spencer and Gillen (*Northern Tribes*, pp. 75 sq.) divide the central and north-central tribes of Australia into five groups or nations, the tribes in each group or nation being more or less akin to each other and distinct from the rest in social organisation and customs. Each nation may be named after the principal or most typical tribe which it includes. The five nations distinguished by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen are as follows: (1) The **DIERI** nation (including the Dieri and Urabunna tribes, etc., in the basin of Lake Eyre); (2) The **ARUNTA** nation (including the Arunta, Ilpirra, Iliaura, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes); (3) The **WAR-RAMUNGA** nation (including the War-ramunga, Worgaia, Tjingilli, Umbaia, Bingongina, Walpari, Wulmala, and Gnanji tribes); (4) The **BINBINGA** nation (including the Binbinga, Allaua, and probably other tribes on the west

side of the Gulf of Carpentaria); (5) The **MARA** nation (including the Mara, Anula, and probably other tribes on the western coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria).

Since the following account of Arunta totemism was written I have received a volume of Arunta myths, traditions, and folk-tales collected by the Rev. C. Strehlow of the German Lutheran Mission at Hermannsburg in South Australia (*Mythen, Sagen und Märchen des Aranda Stammes in Zentral Australien, gesammelt von Carl Strehlow, bearbeitet von Moritz Freiherrn von Leonhardi*, Frankfurt am Main, 1907). As to the work of the Mission to which Mr. Strehlow belongs, Professor Baldwin Spencer writes to me as follows (letter dated Melbourne, 10th March 1908): "For at least twenty years the Lutheran Missions have been teaching the natives that *altjira* means 'god,' and that all their sacred ceremonies, in fact even their ordinary corroborees,

Differences of totemic and social organisation between the Arunta and the Urabunna.

(1) Whereas among the Urabunna the totems are hereditary, children always inheriting the totem of their mother, among the Arunta and kindred tribes the totems are not hereditary, but are determined for each individual by the particular place at which his or her mother first felt her womb quickened.

Arunta totems are not hereditary.

(2) Whereas in the Urabunna the totems regulate marriage, a man being always forbidden to marry women of his own totem and of certain other totems, in the Arunta and kindred tribes the totems have no influence whatever on marriage, a man being free to marry a woman of his own or any other totem, provided that she belongs to the class and subclass (phratry and subphratry) into which he is bound to marry.

and do not regulate marriage.

(3) Whereas the Urabunna are divided into two exogamous sections (classes or phratries), the Arunta and kindred tribes are divided into eight exogamous sections (classes and subclasses, or phratries and subphratries), though in some places only four of these sections bear special names.

The Arunta are divided into eight exogamous classes

(4) Whereas in the Urabunna tribe the descent of the classes or phratries is in the maternal line, the children taking their class or phratry from their mother, in the Arunta and kindred tribes the descent of the classes or phratries is in the paternal line, the children taking their class or phratry from their father.<sup>1</sup>

with descent in the paternal line.

are wicked things. They have prohibited any being performed on the Mission station, and have endeavoured in every way to put a stop to them and to prevent the natives from attending them, and certainly they have never seen one performed. Under these conditions it is not altogether surprising that when S. questions the natives he discovers that *aljira* means god, and gets very doubtful information in regard to all sacred or secret matters. It would be a strange thing if the natives were to talk to him freely and truthfully on these matters. . . . Not only have the missionaries for years past sternly rebuked the members of their flock (whose presence in church and school is an indispensable condition to a participation in the distribution of flour, tobacco, etc.) for any inclination

towards the heathen and devilish beliefs and practices of their parents, but they have actually attempted to break these down to the extent of *marrying individuals of wrong groups*. It is rather late for any one of them, however well he may know the language, to attempt an investigation into sacred beliefs and customs." In these circumstances it seems to me that the sources from which Mr. Strehlow has drawn his accounts are deeply tainted; and as it would be impossible for me, who have no first-hand knowledge of these tribes, to filter the native liquid clear of its alien sediment, I shall abstain from making use of Mr. Strehlow's information.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 59 sq., 70 sqq., 113 sqq.; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 70 sq., 74 sq., 143 sq., 150 sq.

Apparent  
confusion  
of totems  
among the  
Arunta.

The effect of the first two of these rules is at first sight to produce great confusion in the totemic system of the Arunta. For in the first place "no one totem is confined to the members of a particular class or subclass; in the second place the child's totem will sometimes be found to be the same as that of the father, sometimes the same as that of the mother, and not infrequently it will be different from that of either parent; and in the third place there is no definite relationship between the totem of the father and mother, such as exists in the Urabunna and many other Australian tribes—in fact perhaps in the majority of the latter. You may, for example, examine at first a family in which the father is a witchetty grub and the mother a wild cat, and you may find, supposing there be two children, that they are both witchetty grubs. In the next family examined perhaps both parents will be witchetty grubs, and of two children one may belong to the same totem, and the other may be an emu; another family will show the father to be, say, an emu, the mother a plum-tree, and of their children one may be a witchetty grub, another a lizard, and so on, the totem names being apparently mixed up in the greatest confusion possible."<sup>1</sup>

This  
apparent  
confusion  
is reduced  
to order by  
the Arunta  
theory, that  
the spirits  
of the dead  
congregate  
at certain  
spots,  
which may  
be de-  
scribed as  
local totem  
centres,  
the spirits  
of each  
totemic  
clan keep-  
ing to-  
gether and  
not mixing  
with the  
spirits of  
other clans.

The Arunta theory, which reduces this seeming confusion to order, is as follows. In the remote *alcheringa* times there lived ancestors "who, in the native mind, are so intimately associated with the animals or plants the name of which they bear that an *alcheringa* man of, say, the kangaroo totem may sometimes be spoken of either as a man-kangaroo or as a kangaroo-man. The identity of the human individual is often sunk in that of the animal or plant from which he is supposed to have originated."<sup>2</sup> These semi-human ancestors, endowed with powers which are not possessed by their living descendants, roamed about the same country which is still inhabited by the tribe, and in their wanderings they gave rise to many of the most marked features of the landscape, such as the gaps and gorges which cleave the Macdonnell Ranges. Each troop or band of these semi-mythical folk consisted of members of one particular totem clan, whether the totem was the wild cat, the witchetty

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 119.

grub, the kangaroo, the frog, the Hakea flower, or what not. And every man and woman of the band carried about with him or her one or more of the sacred stones which the Arunta call *churinga*, each of which is intimately associated with the spirit part of some individual man or woman. Either where they originated and stayed or else where, during their wanderings, they camped for a time, there were formed what the natives call *oknanikilla*, which we may describe as local totem centres. At each of these spots, which are all well known to the old men, who hand the knowledge down from generation to generation, a certain number of the *alcheringa* ancestors went into the ground, each of them carrying his sacred stone (*churinga*) with him. His body died, but some natural feature, such as a rock or tree, arose to mark the spot, while his spirit part remained in the *churinga*. At the same time many of the *churinga* which they carried with them, and each one of which was associated with a spirit individual, were placed in the ground, and in every such case a natural feature of the landscape was formed to mark the spot. Thus the whole country is now dotted over with *oknanikilla* or local totem centres, at each of which are deposited a number of sacred stones or *churinga*, with spirit individuals associated with them. Each local totem centre (*oknanikilla*) is tenanted by the spirits of one totem only. One spot, for example, is haunted by spirits of the wild cat totem; another by spirits of the emu totem; another by spirits of the frog totem; and so on through all the totems. The totemic districts, as we may call them, which surround these totemic centres vary from a few square yards to many square miles. The whole country of the Arunta, Kaitish, and Ilpirra tribes can be mapped out into a large number of such areas of various sizes.<sup>1</sup>

This idea of spirit individuals associated with *churinga* and resident at certain definite spots lies at the root of the present totemic system of the Arunta and kindred tribes. For the natives believe that every living member of the tribe is the reincarnation of one of these spirits. Each of these disembodied spirits takes up its abode in some natural object, such as a tree or rock, at its own local totem centre ;

From these spots the disembodied spirits of the dead pass into women and are born again as children.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 119-123, 126.

who take  
their totem  
from the  
local totem  
centre near  
which their  
mother first  
felt her  
womb  
quicken.

and this abode of the spirit is called its *nanja*. From time to time, when a woman approaches one of these haunted spots, a spirit passes from it into her body, and in due time is born as a child. The totem of the child thus born is necessarily that of the local totem centre at which the mother first felt her womb quickened; for according to the native belief the child is nothing but a reincarnation of one of the spirits which haunted the spot. Thus, if a woman first becomes aware that she is with child near a place haunted by spirits of the emu totem, then her child will be of the emu totem; if she felt the first premonitions of maternity at a spot haunted by spirits of the kangaroo totem, then her child will be of the kangaroo totem; and so forth.<sup>1</sup>

Examples  
of this  
theory of  
conception.

"We may take the following as a typical example of how each man and woman gains a totem name. Close to Alice Springs is a large and important witchetty grub totem centre or *oknanikilla*. Here there were deposited in the *alcheringa* a large number of *churinga* carried by witchetty grub men and women. A large number of prominent rocks and boulders and certain ancient gum-trees along the sides of a picturesque gap in the ranges, are the *nanja* trees and rocks of these spirits, which, so long as they remain in spirit form, they usually frequent. If a woman conceives a child after having been near to this gap, it is one of these spirit individuals which has entered her body, and therefore, quite irrespective of what the mother's or father's totem may chance to be, that child, when born, must of necessity be of the witchetty grub totem; it is, in fact, nothing else but the reincarnation of one of these witchetty grub people of the *alcheringa*. Suppose, for example, to take a particular and actual instance, an emu woman from another locality comes to Alice Springs, and whilst there becomes aware that she has conceived a child, and then returns to her own locality before the child is born, that child, though it may be born in an emu locality, is an *Udnirringita* or witchetty grub. It must be, the natives say, because it entered the mother at Alice Springs, where there are only witchetty grub spirit

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 123 sq.; *Northern Tribes*, p. 150.

individuals. Had it entered her body within the limits of her own emu locality, it would as inevitably have been an emu. To take another example, quite recently the lubra or wife of a witchetty grub man, she belonging to the same totem, conceived a child while on a visit to a neighbouring *Quatcha* or water locality, which lies away to the east of Alice Springs, that child's totem is water ; or, again, an Alice Springs woman, when asked by us as to why her child was a witchetty grub (in this instance belonging to the same totem as both of its parents), told us that one day she was taking a drink of water near to the gap in the Ranges where the [witchetty grub] spirits dwell when suddenly she heard a child's voice crying out, '*Mia, mia!*'—the native term for relationship which includes that of mother. Not being anxious to have a child, she ran away as fast as she could, but to no purpose ; she was fat and well favoured, and such women the spirit children prefer ; one of them had gone inside her, and of course it was born a witchetty grub."<sup>1</sup>

This theory of conception as a reincarnation of the dead is universally held by all the Central Australian tribes which have been investigated by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen ; every man, woman, and child is supposed by them to be a reïmbodiment of an ancestral spirit. "In the whole of this wide area, the belief that every living member of the tribe is the reincarnation of a spirit ancestor is universal. This belief is just as firmly held by the Urabunna people, who count descent in the female line, as it is by the Arunta and Warramunga, who count descent in the male line."<sup>2</sup> "The natives, one and all in these tribes, believe that the child is the direct result of the entrance into the mother of an ancestral spirit individual. They have no idea of procreation as being directly associated with sexual intercourse, and firmly believe that children can be born without this taking place. There are, for example, in the

The theory of conception as a reincarnation of the dead is universally held by all Central Australian tribes.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 124 *sq.* The writers add that "spirit children are also supposed to be especially fond of travelling in whirlwinds, and, on seeing one of these, which are very frequent at certain times of the year, approaching her, a woman will at once run away."

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. xi. ; compare *id.* pp. 145, 606. Among the tribes which hold this belief are mentioned the Binbinga and Anula, two northern tribes on or near the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria (*op. cit.* p. 145).

Arunta country certain stones which are supposed to be charged with spirit children who can, by magic, be made to enter the bodies of women, or will do so of their own accord.”<sup>1</sup>

Stone where the spirits of dead plum-tree people congregate, waiting to be born again.

Such stones go by the name of *erathipa*, which means “child.” There is one of them, for example, about fifteen miles to the south-south-east of Alice Springs. It is a rounded stone projecting from the ground to a height of about three feet among mulga scrub. The spirits which haunt it are of the plum-tree totem. On one side of the stone there is a round hole through which the spirits of dead plum-tree people look out for women who may chance to pass near; and it is firmly believed that if a woman visits the stone she will conceive a plum-tree child. Should a young woman who does not wish to become a mother be obliged to pass near the stone, she will carefully disguise her youth, distorting her face and hobbling along on a crutch. She will bend double like an old hag, and mimicking the cracked voice of age she will say, “Don’t come to me, I am an old woman.” Not only may women become pregnant by visiting the stone, but it is believed that, by performing a very simple ceremony, a malicious man may cause women and even children to conceive. All that he has to do is to go to the stone by himself and, having cleared a space of ground about it, to rub the stone with his hands and mutter these words, “Plenty of young women, you look and go quickly.”<sup>2</sup> Again, to take another example, the ancestor of the black snake totem in the Warramunga tribe is said to have wandered over the country performing ceremonies, making creeks and hills, and leaving all along his tracks many spirits of black snake children, which now

Trees where the spirits of dead black snake people gather.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 330 sq. In their earlier work, before they had extended their researches from the centre of Australia to the Gulf of Carpentaria, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen expressed themselves as follows on this subject: “We have amongst the Arunta, Luritcha, and Ilpirra tribes, and probably also amongst others such as the Warramunga, the idea firmly held that the child is not the direct result of intercourse,

that it may come without this, which merely, as it were, prepares the mother for the reception and birth also of an already-formed spirit child who inhabits one of the local totem centres. Time after time we have questioned them on this point, and always received the reply that the child was not the direct result of intercourse” (*Native Tribes*, p. 265).

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 335-338.

dwell in the rocks around the pools and in the gum-trees which border a creek. No Warramunga woman at the present day would dare to strike one of these trees with an axe, because she is firmly convinced that to do so would release one of the black snake spirits who would immediately dart into her body. They imagine that the spirit is very minute—about the size of a small grain of sand—and that it enters the woman through the navel and grows within her into a child.<sup>1</sup>

Each spirit individual, as we saw, is supposed to be closely bound up with his sacred stone or *churinga*, which he carried with him when he wandered about his ancestral home (the *oknanikilla*) or rested on the *nanja* tree or stone which he is believed especially to frequent. The natives think that when a spirit child enters a woman to be born, he drops his sacred stone (*churinga*). When the child is born, the mother tells the father the position of the tree or rock near which she supposes the child to have entered her, and he with one or two of the older men goes to the spot and searches for the dropped *churinga*. This precious object is usually, but not always, thought to be a stone marked with a device peculiar to the totem of the spirit child, and therefore of the newly born infant. If it cannot be found, the men cut a wooden one out of the hard wood tree which is nearest to the *nanja* tree or stone, that is, to the tree or stone where the spirit of the new-born child dwelt before its reincarnation. Having cut the wooden *churinga* they carve on it some device peculiar to the totem. Ever afterwards the *nanja* tree or stone of the spirit is the *nanja* of the child, and the *churinga* thus found or made is its *churinga nanja*. A definite relation is supposed to exist between every person and his *nanja* tree or stone. Every animal on the tree is tabooed (*ekerinja*) to him; for instance, if an opossum climbs up it or a bird alights on it, the animal or the bird is sacred and must on no account be molested. A native has been known earnestly to beg a white man not to cut down a particular tree because it was his *nanja* tree, and he feared that if it were felled some evil would befall him.<sup>2</sup>

Every spirit has its *churinga* (birth-stick or birth-stone) and its *nanja* tree or stone, where it lives in its disembodied state.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 162, 330 sq. to the *churinga*, see above, pp. 124-

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 132 sq. As 126.

The *ertnatulunga*, or secret storehouse in which the *churinga* (the sacred birth-stones or birth-sticks) are kept.

In each local totem centre (*oknanikilla*) there is a spot which the natives call the *ertnatulunga*. This is a sacred storehouse, usually a small cave or crevice in some lonely spot among the rugged hills. The entrance is carefully blocked up with stones arranged so naturally as to let no chance passer-by suspect that here lie concealed the most sacred possessions of the tribe. These treasures consist of the sacred stones or sticks (*churinga*), one of which was always found here whenever one of the local totem spirits entered into a woman to be born. Often the precious sticks or stones are carefully tied up in bundles. Every member of the tribe, man, woman, and child, has his or her birth-stone or birth-stick (*churinga nanja*) in one or other of these secret storehouses. The spot at which a child was born and brought up, and at which it will probably spend the greater part of its life, has nothing whatever to do with determining the resting-place of his birth-stone (*churinga nanja*). That necessarily goes to the storehouse of the local totem centre from which his spirit came, that is to the spot where the *churinga* and their accompanying spirits were deposited by the mythical ancestors in the far-off times of the *alcheringa*. For example, a witchetty grub woman, who lives at Alice Springs, conceived a child at an emu locality twelve miles away to the north. She gave birth to the child at her own home, and the child lives there, but its *churinga nanja* was found as usual at the place of conception, and it is now deposited there in the sacred storehouse of the emu clan.<sup>1</sup> Each sacred storehouse is under the charge of the local headman (*alatunja*); indeed, his most important function is to take care of the hallowed spot.<sup>2</sup>

Sanctity of the storehouses in which the birth-stones and birth-sticks (*churinga*) are preserved.

Though women as well as men have their birth-stones or birth-sticks in these sacred storehouses (*ertnatulunga*), the women are never allowed to see them; indeed only the very old women know of the existence of these mysterious objects. Into the mysteries of the sacred storehouse and its contents no woman dare pry at risk of death.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 133 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> "Near to this storehouse, which

is called an *ertnatulunga*, no woman, child, or uninitiated man dares venture on pain of death" (*Native Tribes*, p. 11).

general position, though not the exact spot, of this primitive sanctuary is known to the women, who must go long distances in order to avoid approaching it. For example, a deep ravine some miles long is the only pass through the mountains which lie to the south of Alice Springs, and in the side of the ravine is one of the storehouses. Till the white men came, no woman was ever allowed to traverse the pass; if she wished to cross the mountains, she had laboriously to climb the steep slopes at some distance from the ravine and then to pick her way down on the other side. The immediate neighbourhood of any one of the sacred storehouses is a kind of haven of refuge for wild animals; for once they come near it, they are safe; no pursuer would dare to spear a hunted kangaroo, emu, wallaby, or any other creature which had run, by instinct or by chance, to the holy ground. Even the plants which grow there are never touched or interfered with in any way. The sanctity of such spots will be better understood when it is remembered that they house the birth-stones not only of all the living but also of all the deceased members of the tribe, and that with these birth-stones the spirits of all the people, whether alive or dead, are believed to be closely bound up. Thus the sacred storehouses in the recesses of the solitary hills are in a sense temples or synagogues in which from time to time the living meet to hold solemn communion with the dead. The loss of the birth-stones or birth-sticks, which are thus associated with the spirits of the whole community, is the most serious calamity that can befall a tribe. Robbed of these spiritual treasures the men have been known to weep and wail for a fortnight, plastering themselves with white clay as if they were mourning for the dead.<sup>1</sup>

Before a man is allowed to see one of these sanctuaries he must not only have passed through the ceremonies of circumcision and subincision, but must also have shown himself capable of self-restraint and worthy of being admitted to the tribal mysteries. If he be light and frivolous, a babbler like a woman, many years may elapse before the great secret is revealed to him. When he is at last deemed ripe for the honour, a time is appointed for his initiation by the headman

Introduc-  
tion of  
young men  
to these  
sanctuaries  
and revela-  
tion to  
them of  
their sacred  
names.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 134-136.

of the local group to which he belongs, and he is escorted by the older men to the hallowed spot. There he is shown the sacred sticks and stones; one by one they are examined carefully and reverently, while the old men tell him to whom among the dead or the living they belong. While the revelation is proceeding the men sing in a low voice of the olden times (the *alcheringa*), and at its close the man is told his secret name (*aritna churinga*) and warned that he must never allow any one, except the men of his own group, to hear it uttered. Such secret names are given soon after birth to every member of the tribe. The headman of the particular group in whose sacred storehouse an infant's birth-stone (*churinga nanja*) is deposited, consults with the older men of the group and bestows the name on the child. It may be either a new name or the name of some famous man or woman of the olden time (*alcheringa*), of whom the child is thought to be a reincarnation. This secret name is never uttered except on the most solemn occasions, when the birth-stones or birth-sticks (*churinga*) are being examined, and it is known only to the fully initiated men of the local totem group. To mention it in the hearing of women or of men of another group would be a sort of sacrilege. The native believes that a stranger who knew his secret name would be able to work him ill by magic. After his mystic name has been revealed to him for the first time at the sacred storehouse (*ertnatulunga*), the man is painted on the face and body with the particular device of his totem. This is done by the headman and the older men, who stand to the novice in relationship of tribal or actual father. In one of the local groups of the witchetty grub clan the totemic pattern so painted consists of parallel stripes of pink and red copied from a sacred painting which has existed time out of mind on the smooth face of a rock in the Emily Gap, the totem centre of the Witchetty Grubs. On his return from the holy ground the novice wears the painted device on his body till it wears off with time and weather.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 138-140. On the subject of sacred names and their connection with the theory of reincarna-

tion Professor Baldwin Spencer writes to me as follows (10th March 1908): "This is one of their most sacred beliefs, and

The beliefs and practices of the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes in regard to the sacred birth-stones are similar to those of the Arunta. In the Unmatjera tribe the names both for the things themselves (*churinga*) and for the sacred storehouses (*ertnatulunga*) in which they are kept are the same; but in the Kaitish tribe both names are different. In both tribes the sacred storehouse is under the charge of the headman of the local totem group, and in the Kaitish tribe, as in the Arunta, the immediate neighbourhood of the storehouses is sacred ground, and nothing may be destroyed there, because it is haunted by the spirits associated with the *churinga*. When a Kaitish man wishes a woman to conceive, he will take a *churinga* and carry it to a spot where there is a special stone called *kwerka-punga* or "child-stone." This stone he rubs with the *churinga*, at the same time asking a child spirit (*kurinah*) to go straight into the woman.<sup>1</sup> In the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes, just as in the Arunta, every person has his or her secret or *churinga* name; sometimes the name is that of the *alcheringa* ancestor of whom he or she is supposed to be the reincarnation.<sup>2</sup>

The beliefs and practices of the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes in regard to the sacred birth-stones and storehouses are like those of the Arunta.

The *churinga*, which play so important a part in the customs and beliefs of the Arunta and kindred tribes, are always under the charge of the headman of the local totem group and cannot be touched without his consent.<sup>3</sup> They are rounded, oval, or elongate flattened stones and slabs of wood, varying in length from three or four inches to over five feet. In shape, at least among the Arunta, they are usually oval or tapering at either end into a more or less

Description of the *churinga*.

the one about which they are most secretive. Every individual is a reincarnation of a previously existing individual, or his spirit is one of those carried about in the *alcheringa* by the old ancestors (associated with their stores of *churinga*). The most difficult thing to learn is the 'sacred' name of any individual: this they never mention except in a very subdued tone, and only in the presence of really elder men. I remember that when I had been amongst them only a short time—though I had been watching their sacred ceremonies—Gillen asked an old man something about one of these 'sacred names'—he

just shut up like an oyster. I saw that there was something the matter, and casually moved away, when he told Gillen what the latter wanted to know, only in a whisper. As a matter of fact the men have as their secret names those of ancestors mentioned in their myths simply because they are supposed to be their reincarnations, and, further still, the *churinga* of those ancestors are their *churinga*."

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 269-271. As to the "child-stones" of the Arunta, see above, pp. 191 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 154.

rounded point. But a few old wooden *churinga*, belonging to two lizard totems, have been found in the shape of a curved boomerang. The stone *churinga* are always flat on both sides: the wooden ones have usually one side flat and the other slightly concave. A certain number of the smaller wooden *churinga* have a hole pierced through them at one end, to which is attached a string made of hair. Such *churinga* are used as bull-roarers at certain ceremonies, being whirled rapidly round at the end of the string so as to make a humming or booming noise. A certain number of the stone *churinga* are similarly bored, but they are never used as bull-roarers nor indeed, at the present day, for any purpose which would require them to be thus bored.<sup>1</sup>

By far the most of the Arunta *churinga*, whether made of wood or stone, have patterns incised upon them with the teeth of an opossum. These patterns represent, or at all events have reference to, the totems; but in all cases the design is purely conventional and never attempts to reproduce the true form of the particular object it stands for. The most important feature is almost always indicated by a series of concentric circles or by spiral lines, while tracks of men and animals seem to be represented by dots arranged in circular or straight lines. Individual men and women appear to be uniformly symbolised by semi-circular lines and may be said generally to be regarded as subordinate to the animal or plant in the design, which is represented by complete circles or spirals. But the same pattern will stand for, say, a tree on one *churinga*, a frog on another, a kangaroo on another, and so on. Hence it is difficult or impossible to obtain a true interpretation of the design on any particular *churinga* except from one of the old men of the totemic group to whom it belongs, for it is only the old men who continually see and examine the *churinga* of their group. Time after time these elders visit the sacred storehouse, take out the *churinga*, rub them with powdered red ochre, and explain to the younger men the meaning of the patterns on them. Thus the knowledge of the ancestors to whom the *churinga* belonged, and of the designs incised on them, is handed down from generation to generation.<sup>2</sup> Hence

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 128, 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 143-145, 151.

these carved sticks and stones deposited in secret places of the desolate Australian mountains are a rude kind of historical records: they represent in germ the inscribed monuments of classical antiquity and the national archives of modern Europe.

The exact contents of a sacred storehouse (*ertnatulunga*) naturally vary from group to group; in most of them perhaps the wooden *churinga* are more numerous than the stone ones.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the *churinga* in each storehouse are usually a certain number of larger ones made by *alcheringa* men, or by famous men of old who lived since the *alcheringa*, for the special purpose of being used at totemic ceremonies. These are spoken of as *churinga*, but they differ from the majority in not having a spirit associated with them. Besides these the storehouse will sometimes contain other kinds of *churinga* which represent various objects such as, for example, implements carried by *alcheringa* ancestors or the eggs of the witchetty grub. This last kind of *churinga* consists of small rounded stones and stands for the eggs with which the bodies of the Witchetty Grub people, both men and women, were supposed to be filled in the days of the *alcheringa*. These people laid the eggs at places where they camped, especially at the Emily Gap, a short but narrow gorge hemmed in by precipitous rocks of red quartzite. To this day the disembodied spirits of Witchetty Grub people carry some of these stone eggs about with them, and when one of them enters into a woman and is born again as a child he lays a few of the eggs at the foot of the tree which he haunted before his reincarnation, and they may be found there after his rebirth. The older Witchetty Grub men usually carry some of these eggs about with them; and when a Witchetty Grub man lies dying, if he has no eggs of his own a few are always brought from the sacred storehouse and placed under his head, that he may depart in peace. It is the last sacrament, the *Nunc dimittis*. After his death the eggs are buried with him. Of the origin and meaning of this custom the natives can or will give no explanation.<sup>2</sup> It may perhaps be intended to

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 142 sq., 156 sq., 424 sq., 427 sq.

secure the spiritual resurrection of the dead man in his ancestral form of a witchetty grub.

Sacredness of the *churinga* and their connection with the totems.

So sacred are the *churinga* that they may not be seen by women or uninitiated men under pain of death or very severe punishment, such as blinding with a firestick. Indeed the word *churinga* means something sacred or secret, and is used not only as a substantive to denote a concrete object but also as an adjective to connote its quality of sacredness, as when the natives speak of a man's *churinga* name, that is, his sacred or secret name.<sup>1</sup> One and all of the *churinga* are connected with the totems,<sup>2</sup> and among the Arunta and other tribes in the very centre of the Australian continent they figure prominently in the sacred totemic ceremonies which none but initiated men may witness. Indeed in the Arunta tribe, when a series of sacred ceremonies is about to be performed, the first thing to be done is for one or two of the old men to go to the sacred storehouse and bring thence a large number of *churinga*. These they place on a special platform built on the ceremonial ground, and the spot is regarded as sacred so long as the *churinga* remain there.<sup>3</sup>

The sanctity of the *churinga* is greatest among the central tribes and diminishes as we go northwards to the sea.

It is a significant fact that the sanctity of the *churinga* is greatest and their use most frequent among the tribes in the very heart of Australia, and that the reverence for the implement and the frequency of its employment both diminish as we pass northwards from the centre to the sea. As Messrs. Spencer and Gillen put it: "The very central part of the continent occupied by the Arunta, Ilpirra, Iliaura, and Unmatjera tribes may be described as the home of the *churinga* and of the beliefs which cluster round this sacred object. In all of the tribes with which we are acquainted we meet with *churinga* or their equivalents, but it is in the central area only that we find them intimately associated with the spirit parts of the different individual members, and carefully treasured up and hidden away from view in the *ertnatulunga* or sacred storehouses of the various local totemic groups."<sup>4</sup> On the other hand in the more northerly

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 128-132, 648; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 258 sq. On very rare occasions the *churinga* may be seen by women and uninitiated men, but then only at a distance and

indistinctly (*Native Tribes*, pp. 130, 132).

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 257.

tribes of the Warramunga, Wulmalla, Walpari, Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Gnanji the *churinga* are indeed intimately associated with the totems, but they are practically not used in the sacred totemic ceremonies, nor is there any idea of the association of spirit individuals with them. Still further to the north, on or near the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, in the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes the *churinga* are very few in number; there is not the intimate connection between them and the totems which exists in the other tribes, nor are spirit individuals supposed to be associated with them. "The only conclusion which it seems possible to arrive at is that in the more northern tribes the *churinga* represent the surviving relics of a time when the beliefs amongst these tribes were similar to those which now exist in the Arunta."<sup>1</sup>

Some of the ceremonies observed by these tribes on the occasion of a death seem to be designed to facilitate the return of the liberated spirit to its old home, the *nanja* spot, where it will tarry with its spiritual comrades of the same totem till its time shall come to be again born of a woman. With this intention the Arunta, who bury their dead doubled up in the ground and raise a low mound over the grave, regularly leave a depression on one side of the mound to allow the spirit easy egress from the narrow house. The depression is always made on that side of the mound which looks towards the place where the dead man or woman camped in the olden time. But until the ceremonies of mourning have been accomplished, the soul of the departed is thought to spend part of its time in the grave watching over its near relatives, and part of its time away with its spiritual double at its old home. So the depression in the mound allows the spirit to flit freely to and fro between the grave and its home all the days of mourning.<sup>2</sup>

In the Unmatjera, Kaitish, Warramunga, Tjingilli, and other tribes to the north of the Macdonnell Ranges the bodies of the dead are usually left for some time on a platform in the branches of trees; afterwards the bones, now stript of flesh, are taken down and buried in the earth.<sup>3</sup> When this final

Burial customs designed apparently to allow the soul of the dead to return to its old home (the *nanja* spot), where it tarries in the intervals between its incarnations.

Tree-burial in some tribes.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 281.

*Tribes*, p. 506.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 497; *Northern*

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 506 *sqq.*

Ceremony performed by the Warramunga over an arm-bone of the dead.

burial takes place, the Warramunga perform a curious ceremony with one of the arm-bones, which is not buried with the rest. It is very carefully wrapt up in bark, wound about with fur-strings, and a tuft of feathers is added; if the deceased was a man, the feathers are those of an owl, but if the deceased was a woman, the feathers are those of an emu. The final rite performed over the arm-bone always takes place towards the close of a long series of totemic ceremonies, in connection with which certain designs, emblematic of some totem, are drawn upon the ground. In the two rites of this sort witnessed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen these drawings referred to snake totems of the tribal moiety to which the dead person belonged; in one of the two rites the totem was that of the deceased, but it need not be so. A small pit was dug beside the totemic design on the ground, and a few yards off a shallow trench, some fifteen feet long, was cut in the soil. Over this trench ten men, their bodies elaborately decorated with totemic designs in red, white, and yellow, stood straddle-legged, and the women crept in single file through the trench on hands and feet under the legs of the men. The last of the women carried the arm-bone, and as she emerged from the trench it was snatched from her and at once carried across to a man who stood ready with a stone axe uplifted beside the little pit. With one blow of the axe he smashed the bone and thrust it hastily out of sight into the pit beside the totemic emblem of the deceased. Then he closed the opening with a large flat stone to indicate that the days of mourning were over, and that their departed sister (for in this case she was a woman) had been gathered to her totem. When once this ceremony of breaking the bone and burying it beside the totemic design has been performed, the spirit of the dead, which is no larger than a grain of sand, returns to the place where it camped in ancient days, there to dwell with the spirits of other men and women of its totem until such time as it undergoes reincarnation.<sup>1</sup>

Burial ceremony among the Binbinga.

The close association between a man and his totem comes out very clearly also in the burial rites observed by the Binbinga tribe. On such occasions the natives assemble

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 168 sq., 537-542.

from various districts, and ceremonies relating to the ancestor of the totemic clan of which the deceased was a member are performed under the superintendence of the dead person's father. Finally, a hollow log is brought on to the ceremonial ground, decorated with some design characteristic of the totem, and in this the bones are deposited. Then the totemic coffin with the bones is placed in the boughs of a tree beside a pool, where the beautiful blue water-lilies grow, the coffin being so fixed that, if possible, it overhangs the water. There it is left untouched, and there it may remain for years, till the log with its totemic design rots and falls with a splash among the blue lilies, or is swept far away by some rising flood and buried deep in the ooze and sludge of the river. So the dead man in the coffin is gathered to his totem.<sup>1</sup>

The great majority of the sacred ceremonies which may not be witnessed by women and children are connected with the totems and refer to episodes in the lives of totemic ancestors. Ceremonies of this sort are celebrated by all the central and north-central tribes of Australia studied by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, and probably at one time or another they have been celebrated by all other Australian tribes,<sup>2</sup> though in these, unhappily, they have seldom been observed and described. It is astonishing, we are told, how large a part of a native's life is occupied with these ceremonies. The older he grows, the greater is the share he takes in them, until finally they absorb most of his thoughts. The rites which seem so trivial to us are most serious matters to him. For they have all to do with the great forefathers of the tribe, and he is firmly convinced that at death his spirit will join theirs in the old home and remain there in communion with them till the time comes for him to be born again into the world.<sup>3</sup>

Importance  
of the  
totemic  
ceremonies  
in the eyes  
of the  
natives.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 173 sq., 552-554. As to the blue water-lilies, which deck the surface of the pools in countless thousands, see *ib.* p. 9. The flowers are eaten by the natives, who think that the bones of the dead promote the growth of the lilies (*ib.* p. 546). The natives of North Queensland eat the seeds of the splendid pink water-lily and the seeds, seed-stalks, and large

rough tubers of the blue water-lily. See E. Palmer, "On Plants used by the Natives of North Queensland, Flinders and Mitchell Rivers," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xvii. (Sydney, 1884) p. 101; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 177, 224.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 33 sq., 177.

Often the totemic ceremonies last for months, and are connected with the rites of initiation.

Often these ceremonies last for two or three months together, during the whole of which time one or more ceremonies will be performed daily. They are often, though by no means always, associated with the rites of initiation through which lads have to pass at puberty, and in regard to their general features there is a remarkable similarity between those of all the central and northern tribes. In the Arunta tribe, when a lad is circumcised or subincised, he is always shown a few of these ceremonies for the first time. At a later time he goes through the elaborate rites of the Engwura, when natives congregate from various places and a very large number of ceremonies are performed. The Engwura rites which Messrs. Spencer and Gillen witnessed began in the middle of September and lasted with hardly a break till the middle of January. During that time there was a constant succession of ceremonies, from one to five or six ceremonies being usually performed daily.<sup>1</sup>

In the totemic ceremonies the ancestors of the tribes are personated as they are supposed to have been and to have acted in life; thus the rites are historical dramas,

In these solemn ceremonies the novice sees with awe and wonder the ancestors of the tribe personated as they are supposed to have been and to have acted in life. The actors are disguised in quaint costumes which for the most part represent those totemic animals or plants, of which the ancestors are believed to have been the direct transformations or descendants. A stranger who witnessed these little plays or pantomimes for the first time might easily imagine that they mimicked nothing but the uncouth gambols of animals, the growth of plants, and so forth. But to the native these dramas are fraught with a far deeper significance, since they set forth the doings of his semi-animal or semi-plant forefathers, whose immortal spirits still haunt the rocks, the trees, the gay flowers, the solitary pools, the wild gorges of his native land, or are incarnate in himself and in all the living members of the tribe. It is thus that the past history, or what he believes to be the past history, of his people is stamped upon every young man's imagination and memory for life. He does not read it in books: he sees it acted before his eyes.<sup>2</sup> Nor are these dramas purely historical, that is, intended to preserve and hand down from generation to generation the traditions of the past. They are also magical,

and amongst the Warra-munga they are also magical, being thought to increase the supply of food.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 177 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 227-230.

being believed, at least by the Warramunga, to contribute directly to the maintenance of the food supply; for among the central tribes every totemic clan is held responsible for the maintenance of the material object which is its totem,<sup>1</sup> and every clan has to perform magical ceremonies to multiply that object, generally an edible animal or plant, for the good of the community. Thus not merely the memory of the past but the present and future existence of the people is thought to turn on the proper performance of the totemic rites. No wonder that the natives take them seriously.

The magical ceremonies which aim directly and simply at the multiplication of the totems have already been touched upon and we shall recur to them presently.<sup>2</sup> Here we are concerned with those ceremonies which on the surface appear to be purely historical and dramatic, although amongst the Warramunga, and perhaps other tribes, they have also a practical significance. For the most part these historical or perhaps rather miracle plays are short and simple, lasting only a few minutes, though the preparation for them may have occupied hours; for the decoration of the actors is often elaborate. A few examples will illustrate their nature.

The bulbs of the *Cyperus rotundus* are a favourite food of the Arunta and form the totem of a clan who call themselves Irriakura after the native name of the bulb (*irriakura*). A ceremony of this totem was witnessed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen at a place called Soda Creek. One man only was decorated for the performance, but the design was very quaint and striking. A ring of grass-stalks measuring about two feet across was made and covered with white down. The shoulders, stomach and arms of the performer were striped with broad bands of a light pearl colour, made by rubbing on some blue grey wad, and each band was edged with white down. His hair was done up into a head-dress, and all the front of it as well as the whole of his face was covered with down. Then the ring was put over his head and slanting forwards rested on his shoulders. A great

Arunta  
ceremony  
of a bulb  
(*irriakura*)  
totem.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> As to the *intichiuma* or magical ceremonies for the multiplication of

the totems, see above, pp. 104-115, and below, pp. 214 *sqq.*

many little bunches, not less than a hundred, of the red-barred tail feathers of the black cockatoo had been prepared, half of them tipped with white and half with red down, and these were stuck into the ring so as to radiate outwards all round it, while many more were inserted in his head-dress and beard. The dark chocolate hue of the man's skin, the black and red feathers, the pearly-grey bands on his body, the pink and white down, together with the light yellow sand on which he sat, made up a gay and not inharmonious blend of colours. Thus arrayed the actor sat down in front of a dozen bunches of cockatoo tail feathers, decorated with down, which were arranged in a row on the sand. Then swaying slightly from side to side he scooped the bunches up, one after the other, with his hands, pausing now and then to look about him as if he heard a sound that startled him but could not tell what it was. The tufts of feathers represented the growing *irriakura* bulbs, which the performer was supposed to be gathering. Meantime the other men sat to one side watching the performance and singing about the dead man whom the actor was personating. When the last tuft of feathers had been grubbed up, the ceremony came to an end. Then the ring of grass-stalks was taken off the performer's head and put in turn on the heads of all the other men of the bulb totem who were present. The tradition which the little drama set forth ran thus. In the far off days of the *alcheringa* a man of the bulb totem was eating these bulbs, when he heard the ring-necked parrots, which are the mates of the bulb men, scream out to warn him that a mob of strange men was coming that way. So he dropped the bulbs and hurried off. However, the strangers were also of the bulb totem and they left two of their number on the spot, whose reincarnations are still living, at least they were living a few years ago. Then the Bulb men went on to the other side of the Jay River, and there they founded a local centre (*oknanikilla*) of the bulb totem, from which a number of Bulb people have sprung.<sup>1</sup>

In this ceremony it is interesting to note that a man of the bulb totem is represented gathering the bulbs, and that

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 318-320.

in the corresponding tradition the man whom the actor personated is said to have eaten the bulbs, his totem. Similarly in an Arunta ceremony of the plum-tree totem Plum-tree men are represented knocking down plums from a tree and eating them ;<sup>1</sup> in another Arunta ceremony of the fish totem a Fish man is seen not only mimicking the movements of a fish but also pretending to catch it ;<sup>2</sup> in a ceremony of the *chankuna*-berry totem a man of the totem is represented eating his totem berries which he plucks from his beard ;<sup>3</sup> and in Warramunga ceremonies of the ant totem men make believe to search for and gather ants because two ancestresses of the ant clan are said to have fed on ants all day long when they were not performing ceremonies. In these ceremonies of the ant totem the upper part of the performer's body, together with his face and a sort of helmet which he wears, is often covered with a dense mass of little specks of red down, which stand for the living ants.<sup>4</sup> All such ceremonies point clearly to a time in the past history of the tribe when, contrary to the present practice, people were allowed to partake freely of their totem animals and plants.<sup>5</sup>

In the totemic ceremonies men are often represented eating their totems, which is contrary to the present practice of the tribes.

As another example of these totemic dramas we may take an Arunta ceremony of the white bat totem, which was performed at midnight by the flickering light of a camp fire. Eleven men took part in it. Ten of them, decorated with pipe-clay and red and white down, stood in a row, being joined together by a rope made of human hair and ornamented with pink and white down which passed through the girdle of each man. Four of them had *churinga* on their heads and were supposed to represent certain gum-trees, the roots of which were indicated by the rope. The other six men in the row stood for bats perched on the trees. The eleventh man was free of the rope and his decoration differed from that of the rest ; for he had a long band of charcoal, edged with red down, on each side of his body. He danced up and down in front of the others, stooping and

Arunta ceremony of the white bat totem.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 320, with fig. 51, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 316 s;.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 199-202, with fig. 65, p. 209.

<sup>5</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 320, compare pp. 207-210.

making a shrill whistling sound like that emitted by a small bat as it flits to and fro. At the same time the roped men moved in unison first to the right and then to the left, presenting with the dancer in front of them a curious spectacle in the fitful light of the fire.<sup>1</sup>

Arunta  
ceremony  
of the frog  
totem.

Another illustration of these totemic ceremonies may be drawn from the ritual of the Frog clan among the Arunta. At Imanda, which is known to white men as the Bad Crossing on the Hugh River, there is an important centre of the frog totem. The following ceremony of that totem was witnessed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. The performer came from the neighbourhood of Imanda and, though he did not himself belong to the frog totem, had inherited many frog ceremonies from his father. During the performance he wore on his head a sort of flat helmet completely covered with concentric circles of alternate pink and white down. These represented the roots of a particular gum-tree at Imanda. The whole of his back and chest down to his waist was one mass of white spots, each of them encircled by white down. These spots were of various sizes and stood for frogs of various ages. On the inner sides of the performer's thighs were white lines representing the legs of fully-grown frogs. On his head he wore a large frog *churinga*, five feet long, decorated with bands of down and tipped with a bunch of owl feathers. All around the base of this were arranged tufts of black eagle-hawk feathers, each fastened to a stick, so that they radiated from the head-dress. Many strings of opossum fur, covered with pink and white down and decked at one end with tufts of the black and white tail tips of the rabbit-kangaroo, hung down from the head as a sort of veil hiding the face, which was itself enveloped in a mass of down. The *churinga* represented a celebrated tree at Imanda and the pendant strings were its roots. When all was ready a shallow pit about three feet across was scooped out in the sand, and in this the performer squatted with a short stick in his hands. Except for the hands holding the stick, there was little to show that the elaborate and towering structure, with its gay decorations, concealed from view a man. Slightly swaying

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 352, 354.

his body from side to side, the performer dug up the sand with his stick, while two old men, swinging bull-roarers, drove the novices who were being initiated towards him. Round and round him they raced with loud shouts, the old men with the bull-roarers driving them in upon him as close as possible. This lasted for about three minutes and the ceremony then came to an end.<sup>1</sup>

Another little drama exhibited to an Arunta novice at initiation illustrated a tradition that a wild Dog man had attacked and been killed by a Kangaroo man. One man, decorated with a sacred object emblematic of a kangaroo, stood with his legs wide apart moving his head from side to side and mimicking the cry of the kangaroo. Another man, who acted a dog, barked at the pretended kangaroo and ran between his legs. But when he repeated this manoeuvre, the Kangaroo man caught him, shook him, and made believe to bump his head against the ground, at which the pretended dog howled with pain. When at last the dog was supposed to be killed by the kangaroo, the man who played the dog ran along on all fours to where the novice sat and laid himself down on the top of him; after which the old kangaroo man came hopping along and got on the top of both of them, so that the lad had to bear the weight of the two men for about two minutes. When the performers got up, the novice, still lying down, was instructed by the old men in the meaning of the ceremony which he had just seen and felt.<sup>2</sup>

Again, another Arunta ceremony of the *unchalka* grub totem was performed by a man whose body was decorated with lines of white and red down in imitation of the *unchalka* bush on which the grub lives first of all; and a shield was ornamented with concentric circles of down representative of the *udniringa* bush on which the adult insect lays its eggs. This emblematic shield was laid on the ground, and the performer, kneeling before it, alternately bent his body double and lifted it up, quivering his extended arms, which represented the wings of the insect. Every now and then he stooped forward, swaying up and down and from side to side over the shield, in imitation of the insect hovering over

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 341-344.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 224-226.

the bushes where it lays its eggs.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, in an Arunta ceremony of the witchetty grub totem, a performer who personated a celebrated Witchetty Grub ancestor wriggled his body to represent the fluttering of the insect when it first sloughs off its chrysalis case and attempts to fly.<sup>2</sup> Again, in an Arunta ceremony of the emu totem the actor wears a tall head-dress tipped with emu feathers to look like the long neck and head of an emu, while he stalks backwards and forwards in the aimless fashion of the bird.<sup>3</sup>

Arunta  
ceremony  
of the  
eagle-hawk  
totem.

Again, we may describe an Arunta ceremony of the eagle-hawk totem which was witnessed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. The drama, which represented two eagle-hawks quarrelling for a piece of meat, was cleverly acted by two men. Their hair was bunched up and they wore conical crowns of cassia twigs. Human blood, which is very commonly used in these ceremonies to make the down adhere to the skin of the performer or to the decorated object, was smeared over the front part of the head-dress and across the body in the form of a broad band round the waist and a band over each shoulder, the two bands uniting back and front. Each band was about six inches wide, and each, when the decoration was complete, was a solid mass of pink down edged with a line of white. Into the hair girdle behind was fixed a large bunch of the black feathers of the eagle-hawk, and into the top of each man's head-dress were fastened three *churinga*. Each of these *churinga* was about three feet long, tipped with a tuft of eagle-hawk feathers and adorned with close rows of down coloured alternately red and white. They made a very heavy head-dress. In his mouth one of the actors carried a small cylindrical mass of grass tied up with hair-string and covered with lines of down. Thus equipped, the two performers squatted opposite to each other on the ground. They acted two eagle-hawks quarrelling for a piece of flesh, which was represented by the downy mass in one man's mouth. First they waved their arms up and down to mimic the flapping of the eagle-hawks' wings; then they jumped up and with bodies bent and arms flapping

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 179 sq., with fig. 45, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 358 sq., with fig. 73, p. 343.

they circled round and round each other, as if each were afraid of coming to grips. At last they grappled and fought, butting at each other with their heads for the possession of the meat. This went on for some time till two men stepped out from among the audience and relieved the performers of the weight of the *churinga*, which must have placed a considerable strain on their heads and necks in the great heat of the summer afternoon. Thus lightened, the two actors began once more prowling round and round each other, flapping their arms, jumping up and falling back, just like eagle-hawks fighting, until finally they again closed, and the assailant, seizing the piece of meat with his teeth, wrenched it from the other's mouth. The acting in this ceremony was particularly good, the movements of the birds being admirably represented.<sup>1</sup>

As the great majority of Central Australian totems consist of animals and plants,<sup>2</sup> it is natural that in the totemic ceremonies the actors should generally personate animals or plants or the semi-human ancestors who are supposed to have been in one way or other developed out of them. But there are some totems which are neither plants nor animals, and these also have their appropriate ceremonies. For example, in an Arunta ceremony of the sun totem a performer carried a small disc made of grass-stalks and covered with down, of which the alternate red and white lines represented the sun's rays;<sup>3</sup> and in a ceremony of the water totem of the same tribe there figured an elaborate structure like a screen or banner, on which clouds, rain, thunder and lightning were represented by strings, plain or coloured, and by patches and bands of white down; while red feathers and blood-smearred chips of wood on the performers' heads stood for the masses of dirty brown froth which often float on the top of waters in flood.<sup>4</sup>

In the totemic ceremonies the actors generally personate animals or plants, but sometimes inanimate objects are represented.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 294-297.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 306-308. The totemic emblem described in the text is called a *waninga*. Its structure varies, but commonly it consists of a long spear with one, two, or three cross-bars lashed to it and connected

with each other by strings made of human hair or fur. Sometimes the vertical support is only a stick little more than a foot long. The implement may stand for any totem. For example, in a ceremony of the rat totem, witnessed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, the *waninga* represented the body of a rat, the main part was supposed to be

Among the Arunta each totemic ceremony belongs to an individual, who has either inherited it or received it from the ancestral spirits.

Each totem has its own special ceremonies, and in the Arunta tribe each ceremony may be regarded as the property of an individual man, who has either inherited it from its previous owner, such as a father or elder brother, or received it as a gift directly from the *iruntarinia* or disembodied spirits of his forefathers.<sup>1</sup> For some men are credited with the faculty of seeing and conversing with these spirits, and such a man will sometimes tell his fellows that the spirits have revealed to him a ceremony and made him a present of it. These announcements perhaps sometimes originate in dreams, for what a savage sees in a dream is just as real to him as what he sees in his waking hours. The thoughts of the natives are at times so much taken up with the performance of sacred ceremonies that it is quite natural they should dream of them and take the visionary images of sleep for revelations of those spirits with whom their own spirit has been communing during the lethargy of the body. Or men of a more original and ingenious turn of mind than the rest, and such the Australian magicians generally are, may have simply invented some of the ceremonies and then palmed them off as inspirations of the higher powers upon their credulous fellows.<sup>2</sup> Whether inherited or invented, a totemic ceremony need not necessarily be either owned or performed by a man of the particular totem to which it refers. And the owner of a ceremony may, and frequently does, invite some one else to perform it, the invitation being looked upon as a compliment.<sup>3</sup> For example, a man of the snake totem may own a ceremony of the fish totem and may perform it himself;<sup>4</sup> or a Grass-seed man may possess a grass-seed ceremony and invite an Emu man and a Witchetty Grub man to perform it.<sup>5</sup> But if a man has received a ceremony

the trunk of the animal, the point was the tail, the handle the head, and the cross-bars the limbs. The use of the *wananga* extends south from the Arunta to the sea at Port Lincoln. In the northern part of the Arunta territory the place of the *wananga* is taken by a sacred pole called a *nurtunja*, which also represents the particular totem with which any given ceremony is con-

cerned. See *Native Tribes*, pp. 231 sq., 306-309, 627-629, 653.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 278. As to the *iruntarinia*, see *ib.* pp. 512 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 278; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 450 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 279.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 316 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 311.

as a revelation from a spirit and hands it over as a gift to another man, that man must be of the totem with which the ceremony is concerned. For instance, a celebrated medicine-man, who was a Witchetty Grub, received from a spirit the revelation of an eagle-hawk ceremony, and instead of keeping it for himself he generously passed it on to his own father, who was an Eagle-hawk.<sup>1</sup> Again, the totem of the novice has no influence on the nature of the ceremonies which are performed for him at initiation: these ceremonies may be of any totem.<sup>2</sup>

In regard to these totemic ceremonies, or sacred dramas as we may call them, the practice of the Warramunga differs in some respects from that of the Arunta. Thus whereas among the Arunta each separate ceremony is the property of a particular individual, who alone has the right of performing it or of requesting some one else to do so, among the Warramunga the ceremonies are each and all of them the property, not of an individual, but of the whole totemic group, and they are under the charge of the headman of the group. They are not strictly his property, but he acts in a vague sort of way as the representative of the totemic group or clan. Even he, however, cannot enact them of his own initiative; he can only perform them or have them performed at the request of members of that half of the tribe to which he himself does not belong. Further, whereas among the Arunta the totemic ceremonies are performed in no definite order, and without any reference to those which have preceded or will follow, among the Warramunga on the other hand all of the ceremonies connected with a given totem are performed in a regular sequence. The history of every ancestor is well known, and if, say, he arose at a spot A and walked on successively to spots B, C, D, E, F, and so forth, halting at them and performing ceremonies, as these first ancestors always did, then whenever his descendants perform these ceremonies at the present day, it is incumbent on them to begin at the beginning and go steadily through the series. To a Warramunga the performance of ceremony F without the previous performance in regular order of A, B, C, D, and E would

The totemic ceremonies of the Warramunga differ in some respects from those of the Arunta; for they belong to the whole totemic clan, not to individuals, they are performed in definite series, and they are supposed magically to increase the supply of the totems.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226.

seem a very strange proceeding, whilst in the Arunta tribe one or all of them would be performed in any order. Lastly, whereas the Arunta distinguish these commemorative or dramatic ceremonies from those magical ceremonies (*intichiuma*) which are intended to multiply the totems, in the Warramunga tribe the commemorative or dramatic ceremonies are intimately associated with, and are performed at certain times as, *intichiuma* ceremonies, in other words as magical rites for the multiplication of the totems.<sup>1</sup>

Essential features of the *intichiuma* ceremonies among the Arunta.

The magical rites for the multiplication of the totems which are performed by the Arunta and Urabunna have already been described.<sup>2</sup> In the Arunta tribe the essential features of these rites (*intichiuma*) are as follows:—

(1) The men of each totem perform a definite ceremony, the sole object of which is to ensure the continuance and increase of the totemic animal, plant, or whatever it may be.

(2) Except on these special occasions, the members of a totem clan eat only very sparingly of their totemic animal or plant. A very strict man will not eat of it even sparingly.

(3) But the headman (*alatunja*), who presides over and conducts the *intichiuma* ceremony, is obliged by custom to eat a little of his totemic animal or plant, otherwise it is thought that he could not perform the ceremony with success.

(4) After the men of the totem have eaten a little of their totemic animal or plant at the *intichiuma* ceremony, they hand on the rest to the men of other totems and give them leave to eat it freely.

(5) Only men of the totem and of the right moiety (class or phratry) of the tribe are allowed, except in very rare cases, to share in the ceremony of *intichiuma*.<sup>3</sup>

Kaitish ceremonies to promote the growth of grass-seed.

In the Kaitish tribe, to the north of the Arunta, the magical ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems are called *ilkitnainga*, not *intichiuma*; but just as among the Arunta they are conducted by the headman (*ulqua*) of the

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 192, 193.

<sup>2</sup> The *intichiuma* of the Arunta tribe are described and discussed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in their *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 167-

211. See above, pp. 104-120. As to the *intichiuma* of the Urabunna, see above, pp. 183-185.

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 291.

totem. The ceremony for the propagation of grass-seed is as follows. When the headman of the grass-seed totem decides that it is time to perform the rite, he goes to the sacred storehouse, clears the ground all about it, and taking out the *churinga* greases them well, chanting certain traditional words of which the meaning is forgotten. Then he takes two of the *churinga*, smears them with red ochre, and decorates them with lines and dots of down, of which the dots represent the grass-seed. After that he rubs the *churinga* together so that the dust flies off in all directions. Then he replaces them in the sacred storehouse (*ertnatulunga*) and returns quietly to his camp. Next day he goes to the ground where sacred ceremonies are performed, and there he is decorated by the men who belong to the other moiety of the tribe. Then in the presence of all the men he performs a ceremony which refers to an incident in the ancient history of the grass-seed clan.<sup>1</sup> In the Arunta tribe no such historical drama forms any part of the magical ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems, nor among the Arunta is the headman decorated by members of the other moiety of the tribe; indeed with the Arunta it is a general rule that men of the other moiety may not come near the place where the ceremony is being prepared. This Kaitish ceremony is therefore an intermediate stage between the practice of the Arunta and that of the Warramunga. For among the Warramunga the ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems consist for the most part simply of dramatic representations of scenes in the life of the totemic ancestors, and among them these ceremonies may only be performed at the invitation of men of the other moiety of the tribe.<sup>2</sup> After the headman of the grass-seed totem has acted his little historical drama about his Grass-seed ancestors, he walks about for days in the scrub "singing" the grass-seed, that is, enchanting it in the literal sense of the word, and carrying one of the *churinga* with him. At night he hides the *churinga* in the bush and, returning to the camp, sleeps on one side of the fire, while his wife sleeps on the other; for so long as he is performing these sacred

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 291 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 292, 297, 298.

ceremonies to make the grass-seed grow, he may not come at his wife. During the whole of that time he is supposed to be so full of magical power derived from the *churinga*, that were he to have intercourse with his wife, the grass-seed would be spoiled and his own body would swell up when he tasted of it.<sup>1</sup>

Further  
Kaitish  
ceremonies  
to make  
grass-seed  
grow.

When the seed begins to sprout, the headman still goes on chanting and enchanting it to make it grow more till at length, when it is fully grown, he brings his *churinga* hidden in bark to his camp. Then he and his wife go out and gather a store of the grass-seed and bring it to the camp, where his wife grinds it up with stones. The man himself takes some to the men's private camp (*ungunja*) and grinds it there, and while he does so, the men of one of the four subclasses (subphratries) in the other moiety of the tribe catch the grass-seed in their hands as it falls from the edge of the grinding-stone. One of these men puts a little of the seed in the Grass-seed man's mouth and he blows it away in all directions, which is supposed to make the grass grow plentifully everywhere. After this he leaves the seed with the men of the other moiety of the tribe, saying: "You eat the grass-seed in plenty; it is very good and grows in my country." The only men who are allowed to be present are the men of three out of the four subclasses in the other moiety of the tribe; the men of the fourth of these subclasses are excluded. Any old men of the Grass-seed man's own subclass who happen to be in camp will accompany the headman, but they may not receive any of the seed. When he returns to his ordinary camp, he gives some of the seed to his wife, bidding her to eat of it and to tell the other women to eat of it also, unless they belong to the grass-seed totem. Thereupon the woman makes four cakes out of the grass-seed, and at sundown her husband returns to the men's private camp with three cakes, and gives three of them to the men of three out of the four subclasses in the other moiety of the tribe, but the fourth cake he tells his wife to give to the men of the fourth subclass. A woman of his own moiety, but not of his own subclass, then gives him some seed which he takes to his

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 293.

own camp and hands over to his wife to make into another cake. Of this he eats a little and gives the rest to the men who are his tribal fathers, saying, "I am glad to give you this." These men belong to his own moiety of the tribe, but the grass-seed is not tabooed to them unless they are of the grass-seed totem. Then he tells his wife to instruct the women of all classes to go out and gather the seed in plenty. He himself sits down quietly at his own camp and watches the women as they return with the seed, all of which they carry to the men of the other moiety of the tribe except a little which his own wife and other women of her subclass bring in to him. After a time the men of the other moiety of the tribe again come to the headman of the grass-seed totem bringing a little seed with them, but leaving the greater part of it in their own camp. He eats what they bring, and gives them in exchange the supply which the women brought him, and then he tells the men that all is now over, and that they may eat grass-seed freely. He himself and the other Grass-seed men eat of it only sparingly. If a man of any totemic clan eats too much of his own totem, he will be, as the natives say, "boned," that is, killed by means of a charmed bone by men who belong to the other moiety of the tribe, because by partaking too freely of his totem he loses the power of magically multiplying it for the public benefit.<sup>1</sup>

In these magical ceremonies for the growth of grass-seed a particularly interesting feature is the scattering of the seed in all directions by the headman of the grass-seed totem,<sup>2</sup> because such a procedure might really have the intended effect of propagating the seed, and if the natives observed, as they might very well, the success of the ceremony, they might in time come to sow the seed without the accompaniment of those chants or spells to which at first they ascribed a great part of the efficacy of the rite. In other words, a purely rational agriculture might spring by a natural course of development directly out of what was in origin a purely magical ceremony. May not this, or something like it, have

Out of these magical ceremonies for the growth of grass-seed a rational agriculture might in time be developed.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 293 sq. The wife of the Grass-seed man is not of the grass-seed totem, and she necessarily belongs to the other moiety of the tribe.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Arunta mode of multiplying manna (above, p. 107).

been in more advanced communities the real origin of agriculture?

Kaitish  
ceremony  
for the  
making of  
rain.

When rain is wanted, the headman of the water totem in the Kaitish tribe makes it as follows. Accompanied by the old men of the totem he repairs to a sacred totemic storehouse (*ertnatulunga*) of the Water clan, where in the olden time two aged men sat down and drew water from their whiskers. These whiskers are now represented by stones, out of which the rainbow arose. First of all the headman of the water totem paints these stones with red ochre, and then close to them he paints on the ground a curved band to represent a rainbow. Also he paints one or more rainbows on his own body and another on a shield, which he also decorates with zigzag lines of white pipe-clay in imitation of lightning. While he sings incantations over the stones he pours water from a vessel on them and on himself. Then he returns to camp, carrying with him the shield, which may not be seen by men of the other moiety of the tribe; for were they to see it the rain would not fall. They think that the rainbow is a son of the rain, and that with filial solicitude he is always trying to prevent his father from falling down. Hence when the shield with its scutcheon of lightning and rainbow has been brought back to the camp, it is carefully hidden away until rain enough has fallen, after which the shield is brought forth and the device of the rainbow is rubbed out. Meanwhile the headman of the water totem keeps a vessel full of water beside him in the camp, and from time to time he scatters bits of white down, which stand for clouds, in various directions to make the rain descend. At the same time the Water men who went with him to the sacred storehouse go away and camp by themselves; for neither they nor the headman of the water totem may have any intercourse with women while the rain is brewing. So when the leader returns to his camp from the hallowed spot, his wife arranges to be absent, and when she comes back at a later time he mimics the call of the plover, a cry which in these parts is always associated with the rainy season. As yet, however, the head Water man may not even speak to his wife, and early next morning he returns to the sacred storehouse of the water totem and covers up

the stones with bushes. After another silent night in his own camp he and the other men and women go out in different directions, the women in search of vegetable food and honey ants, and the men in quest of game. When the two parties meet on their return to camp they all raise the cry of the plover. Then the leader's mouth is touched with some of the food which has been brought in, and so the ban of silence is removed. If rain soon follows, it is attributed to the efficacy of the ceremony; if it does not, it only means that some more powerful magician has held it up.<sup>1</sup>

These ceremonies for the making of rain are clearly based on the principle of imitative or homœopathic magic. The pouring of water on the rainbow stones, the painting of rainbows and lightning, the scattering of white down to represent clouds, the imitation of the cry of the plover, are all so many transparent examples of this logical fallacy, and unlike the parallel ceremonies for the multiplication of grass-seed they offer no hope of ever developing into really efficacious means of producing the desired end. Magical rites may be compared to shots discharged at random in the dark, some of which by accident hit the mark. If the gunner learns to distinguish between his hits and his misses, he will concentrate his hitherto scattered fire in the right direction and accomplish his purpose. If he fails to make the distinction, he will continue his random discharges with as little result as before. A scientific farmer is an artilleryman of the former sort; an Australian headman of the grass-seed totem is an artilleryman of the latter sort. It is the distinction between magic and science, between savagery and civilisation.

Another example of unscientific farming is furnished by the magical ceremonies which the headman of the yam totem in the Worgaia tribe performs for the purpose of making yams grow. He first of all takes a *churinga* wrapt in bark and leaves it on the ground at a spot where yams grow. Then he is decorated by men of the other moiety of the tribe and performs ceremonies of the yam totem. After that the men ask him to go about in the bush and "sing" or enchant the yams, as they wish them to grow. He does

The rain-making ceremonies are based on the principle of imitative magic.

Worgaia ceremony to make yams grow.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 294-296.

this every day for about two weeks, going about and chanting with his *churinga* under his arm. At last, when he sees the plants growing well, he tells the men of the other moiety to go out and gather some. They do so, and leaving the main supply in their own camps bring a few of the yams to the headman of the yam totem with a request that he will make the yams grow big and sweet. He bites a small one and throws the bits in all directions, which, like the scattering of the grass-seed, is supposed to produce the desired effect. After that he eats no more of his totem the yam, nor may his children touch it, whatever their totems may be. Finally, he says to the men of the other moiety of the tribe, "I have made plenty of yams for you to eat. Go and get them and eat them, and you make plenty of sugar-bags for me to eat." When he is a very old man he will be allowed to eat yams if they are given to him by a man of the other moiety.<sup>1</sup> In this ceremony the request of the Yam man that the other men should make honeycomb for him to eat, in return for the yams which he makes for them, clearly illustrates the co-operative aspect of these magical ceremonies: men of any totem multiply it for the good of their fellows who belong to other totems, but at the same time they expect the men thus benefited to return the benefit in kind. The whole system is based, not on a philanthropic impulse, but on a cool though erroneous calculation of economic interest.<sup>2</sup>

Warramunga ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems consist for the most part in dramatic scenes representing the history of the totemic ancestor.

In the Warramunga tribe, whose territory lies immediately to the north of that of the Kaitish and to the west of that of the Worgaia, the magical ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems consist for the most part, as we have seen, simply in the performance of a series of scenes representing dramatically the ancient history of the totemic ancestor. For in this tribe each totemic clan usually traces itself up to one great ancestor, who arose in some particular spot and walked across the country, making on his journey various natural features, such as creeks, plains, mountains,

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 296 sq. "Sugar-bags" is a name for the honeycomb of a species of bee which builds in trees. This honeycomb

(*kulpu*) is eaten by the natives and is a totem in several tribes. See *Northern Tribes*, p. 772.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 108 sq.

and pools, and leaving behind him spirit individuals who have since been reincarnated. The *intichiuma* or, as the Warramunga call it, the *thalammintá*, that is, the magical ceremony for the multiplication of the totem, consists in tracking the journeys of the totemic ancestor and repeating, one after the other, ceremonies commemorative of the spots where he left the spirit children behind him.<sup>1</sup> Hence ceremonies of this sort in the Warramunga tribe occupy a considerable amount of time. For example, some sets of totemic ceremonies which were witnessed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen began on July 26 and were not yet finished on September 18: in the interval more than eighty of them had been performed.<sup>2</sup>

The Warramunga tribe is divided into two exogamous moieties (classes or phratries), which are called Uluuru and Kingilli respectively. All the totems are divided up between these moieties, and though the members of a totem clan perform their own ceremonies, or ask some one else of the same moiety to perform them or to assist in the performance, they may not do so of their own initiative: they must be requested to perform the ceremony by a member of the other moiety of the tribe. Thus the Uluuru men only perform their ceremonies when they are invited to do so by the Kingilli; nay, more than that, no Uluuru men, except the actual performers, may be present on the ground during the preparations for the ceremony. Everything used in the ceremony, such as the down, the blood, and all the materials used in the decorations, must be provided and made up for the Uluuru performers by the Kingilli men, to whom the Uluuru afterwards make presents. In exactly the same way the Uluuru men take charge of the Kingilli ceremonies and receive presents from the Kingilli performers.<sup>3</sup> This responsibility of the one moiety of the tribe for the totemic ceremonies performed by the other moiety may be based on the idea that, as the members of a totem clan multiply their totem not for their own good but for the good of the rest of the community, the expenses of the ceremonies ought, in

Among the Warramunga the members of a totemic clan may only perform their ceremonies at the request of men of the other moiety of the tribe, who provide all the decorations for the ceremonies and receive presents from the performers.

<sup>1</sup> These spots are called *mungai* by the Warramunga and *oknanikilla* by the Arunta. See above, pp. 189 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 297, 298 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 298.

fairness, to be borne by the persons whom they are intended to benefit, and not by the performers who reap no personal profit from them.

Warra-  
munga  
ceremonies  
for the  
multiplica-  
tion of  
black  
snakes.

As an illustration of the historical dramas which the Warramunga act for the purpose of multiplying their totemic animals and plants we may take the ceremonies of the black snake totem. The black snake, Thalaualla, arose first at a rocky water-hole called Tjinqurokora in the bed of Tennant Creek. This water-hole is now a sacred spot, at which no men of the black snake totem and no women at all may drink.<sup>1</sup> As the black snake belongs to the Uluuru moiety of the tribe, whenever it is desired to increase the number of these snakes, which are used as food, the Kingilli men must ask the Uluuru men to perform their ceremonies. These ceremonies were witnessed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen.<sup>2</sup> The first ceremony represented the snake at the water-hole. It was acted by two men, each of whom had a curved black band, edged with masses of white down, to represent the black snake. When the little scene was over, the other men stroked the drawing of the snake on the backs of the performers, an action which is supposed to please the snake. Tradition says that, after coming up out of the earth, the snake made Tennant Creek and then travelled on to the Macdouall Range, which he also created. As he went along he performed sacred ceremonies (*thuthu*) just like those which the natives still perform, and wherever he did so he left spirit children behind him. At such times and places he always shook himself, so that the spirit children emanated from his body. Hence at these spots the natives who perform the ceremonies shake themselves in like manner, so that the white down with which their bodies are decorated flies off in all directions. This, for example, they do at a place called Lantalantalki, at the foot of the Macdouall Range. From this place, where there are some small rock-holes, the black snake travelled on to another water-hole called Orpa. In the ceremony here performed the two actors had each a small red disc of down on the stomach

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 299. For a more exact account of the rules observed as to drinking at this sacred pool, see below, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 300, 770.

and back to indicate the water-hole, and a curved red band to represent the snake. From Orpa the snake travelled up towards the source of the creek, performing sacred ceremonies and leaving spirit children behind him at Pittimulla. In the second of two ceremonies connected with this spot a special drawing was made upon the ground. A small space a few feet square was smoothed down, its surface damped, and coated with red ochre. A curved branching line, about three inches wide, was first of all outlined in white dots on the red ochre, and then all the rest of the space was filled in with similar dots. The red line thus left curving about on the white background represented the creek and its branches.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, when the old snake had finished making the Maccoull Ranges and the creeks running out from them as far as Mount Cleland on the east, he returned to his original home, the water-hole at Tjinguokora, and the remaining ceremonies had to do with incidents which happened there. In the olden time some women of the yam totem arose not far from the black snake's water-hole at Tjinguokora. He thought that they wished to watch him at his mystic rites, so he bade them begone. They went away, dropping yams as they went, mainly in Worgaia country. The yams which the women thus left behind them turned into stones; and it is over one of these stones that the Worgaia man sings his magic song when he goes out into the bush to make the yams grow. On that occasion the stone is decorated with

More  
Warra-  
munga  
ceremonies  
for the  
multiplica-  
tion of  
black  
snakes.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 300-302. For the ground-drawings made at the black snake ceremonies, see *ib.* pp. 741-743, figures 313, 314, 315. These ground-drawings of the Warra-munga are a very interesting feature of the ceremonies designed to multiply the totems. The drawings seen by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen were painted in red or black on a hard crust of yellow or red ochre, and covered a space of from seven to eighteen feet in length. The bands and circles which formed the main feature of the design were traced by the leading man with his finger, and the background was patiently filled in by younger men with close-set dots of pipe-clay, while they continually sang of the journeys of the

totemic ancestor. The patterns were a curious mixture of purely conventional and, to a certain extent, imitative designs. See *Northern Tribes*, pp. 737 *sqq.* As to a similar ground-drawing of the emu totem in the Arunta tribe, see above, p. 106. M. Salomon Reinach has made the interesting suggestion that the prehistoric paintings of animals found in caves of South-Western France may in like manner have been intended to multiply by magic the game on which the cave-men subsisted. He observes that all the animals so depicted are edible, not beasts of prey. See his *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, i. (Paris, 1905) pp. 125-136.

red ochre, and a long dark line down the middle represents the roots of the yam. The last three ceremonies of the black snake totem all referred to these Yam women, and the decorations of the men consisted merely of red lines and ovals or circles, the ovals representing the yams and the lines the strings with which the women used to tie them up. In the last ceremony eight men took part, all of them representing the Yam women. On the ground a design was painted which, by means of concentric circles and connecting lines, was supposed to portray the women sitting down, tired out, with their legs drawn up, after they had been sent away by the black snake. Four of the men wore head-dresses with pendants, the head-dresses representing yams and the pendants representing the witchetty grubs on which the women fed. During the same night the men all assembled at the ceremonial ground, painted with black, and sang about the walking of the black snake and the Yam women. This ended the series of dramatic ceremonies for the multiplication of black snakes. The old original black snake is said to have perished in single combat with a white snake. He went down into the ground at the water-hole of Tjinqurokora, from which he had first emerged; and his adversary the white snake went down into another water-hole close by.<sup>1</sup>

Warramunga rules as to the eating of black snakes.

When the black snake ceremonies have been performed, and the marching of the black snake ancestor has been sung, it is supposed that black snakes will multiply in numbers. But there is no ceremony, as among the Arunta and Kaitish in similar cases, of bringing in the snakes to men of the snake totem. It is the men of the snake totem who are supposed to cause the increase of the reptile, but they can only do so at the request of men of the other moiety (class or phratry) of the tribe. It is these men of the other moiety of the tribe who make all the preparations for the ceremony, and who alone benefit by it. The men of the snake totem are absolutely forbidden to eat snakes under any circumstances, except when they are grown very old, and then in the Warramunga tribe restrictions as to food are practically removed, save that any special food must be given

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 302-308.

by some one who has not got that food for his totem. Apart from this exceptional case it is believed that were the men of a totemic clan to eat of their totem animal it would cause their death, and at the same time prevent the animal from multiplying. Nor is the prohibition to eat snakes confined to men of the snake totem; it applies also to every member of the particular subclass or subphratry (to wit Thapungunga) to which the snake totem belongs; and it extends further to every member of another subclass or subphratry (the Thapungarti) in the same moiety (the Uluuru) of the tribe. Men of the other two subclasses or subphratries (namely the Tjunguri and the Tjapeltjeri) of the same moiety (the Uluuru) may eat the snake if it be given them by men of the other moiety (the Kingilli); and the men of the latter moiety (Kingilli) may eat snakes freely at any time. There is, however, no restriction as to killing snakes. The reptiles may be killed by all Uluuru men, even by men of the snake totem; but whenever any of these men do kill a snake they must hand it over to the men of the Kingilli moiety.<sup>1</sup>

The principle that men multiply their totemic animals and plants for the benefit of other people, but not for their own, may be called the self-denying ordinance of Central Australian totemism. It is illustrated by the words spoken by Warramunga headmen after they have performed their ceremonies for the increase of their totems. Thus when the headman of the ant totem has performed his ceremonies for the multiplication of ants, and these insects, which are eaten as food, have begun to increase, he tells the others to go and gather the ants which he has made for them, but they do not bring any to him. Again, when the headman of the carpet-snake totem has performed his ceremonies for the increase of carpet-snakes, and the reptiles appear, men of the other moiety of the tribe bring him one of the carpet-snakes and say to him, "Do you want to eat this?" But he replies, "No, I have made it for you. If I were to eat it, then it might go away. All of you go and eat it." Again, when a man of the honey totem has performed ceremonies for the increase of honey, some of the honey is brought to him, but he refuses to eat it, and tells the others

Self-denying ordinance of Central Australian totemism: men multiply their totems for the benefit of others, not for their own.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 308.

that he has made it for them, and that they may go out and gather and eat it. They believe that to eat of their own totem would cause their death and prevent the animal from multiplying.<sup>1</sup>

Warramunga ceremony for the multiplication of white cockatoos.

Though the ceremonies performed by the Warramunga for the increase of their totems are for the most part historical dramas rather than magical rites in the strict sense of the word, yet the purely magical element crops up occasionally in them. Thus men of the white cockatoo totem perform ceremonies of the usual dramatic sort for the multiplication of white cockatoos, which are eaten. But in addition they perform another, which is believed to increase the birds to a wonderful extent. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen were privileged to see but especially to hear the miracle. It consisted simply in an imitation of the harsh cry of the cockatoo, which the old headman of the white cockatoo totem, aided and abetted by his son, kept up with exasperating monotony the whole night long. The performance began at ten o'clock one evening, and lasted till after sunrise next morning. Holding in his hands a conventional representation of the bird, the old man screeched like a cockatoo till he could screech no more, whereupon his son took up his parable and continued the screech till his aged parent, like a giant refreshed, was able to resume his excruciating labours. This went on without a break for between eight and nine hours, and it is not surprising to learn that when the sun had risen on the two performers after a night made truly hideous by their exertions, there was hardly a squeak left in them.<sup>2</sup>

Warramunga ceremony for the multiplication of euros.

Another magical ceremony observed by the Warramunga for the multiplication of game is as follows. There is a species of kangaroo called a euro (*Macropus robustus*) which is eaten by the natives, and is a totem in several tribes. Near the water-hole in which the great mythical water-snake Wollunqua is supposed to live<sup>3</sup> may be seen a number of round water-worn stones of various sizes from which euros are thought to emanate, because a wild dog caught and killed a euro here in days of old. The larger stones

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 308 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 309 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 144 sq.

represent male euros, the smaller represent female euros, and the smallest stand for the young of the animal. They are carefully hidden under little heaps of rocky debris, but old men who pass by, whatever their totem may be, will take the stones out, renew the red ochre with which they are covered, and rub them well. This proceeding is believed to increase the number of euros which emanate from the stones.<sup>1</sup> In this case the power of magically increasing euros is not limited to Euro men but is exercised by old men of any totem. The extension seems to show that totemism, regarded as a system of magical functions distributed between strictly limited departments, is breaking down among the Warramunga and merging into a more centralised or tribal system, which ignores the old departmental limits of the totem clans. So too in the matter of the prohibition to eat the totemic animal, the extension of that taboo beyond the limits of the totem clan<sup>2</sup> points in like manner to a decay of totemism proper; and as the new and extended limits assigned to these food prohibitions coincide with the exogamous subdivisions of the tribe, it looks as if the old organisation in totem clans, whose main function among the central tribes at the present day is to regulate the food supply, were being gradually superseded even for economic purposes by the newer organisation in classes and subclasses, which was originally instituted purely for the purpose of regulating marriage.<sup>3</sup>

This decay of totemism as an organised system of magic is more and more marked the further we proceed from the centre of Australia northwards in the direction of the sea. The Tjingilli and Umbaia tribes, immediately to the north of the Warramunga, perform ceremonies like those of their southern neighbours for the multiplication of their totemic animals and plants; that is to say, the ceremonies consist in the performance of a long series of dramatic scenes representing incidents in the life of their totemic ancestors. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen do not describe these scenes, but in regard to a ceremony of rain-making among the Tjingilli they mention the significant fact that it may be performed

Totemism as an organised system of magic seems to decay as we proceed from the centre of Australia towards the sea.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 162 *sq.*, and below, pp. 256 *sqq.*

only by men of one moiety (class or phratry of the tribe).<sup>1</sup> In other words, the ceremony for the making of rain, which among the strictly central tribes is only performed by men of the rain or water totem,<sup>2</sup> may be performed among the Tjingilli by all the men of one half of the tribe, and therefore by men of many totems. Here also, accordingly, it appears that the totemic organisation is breaking down under the weight of the social or exogamous organisation.

Among the tribes on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems have almost disappeared.

When we leave the interior of Australia and pass to the tribes who inhabit the comparatively well-watered and wooded shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, we find that magical ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems have nearly, though not quite, disappeared. These tribes do indeed, like their inland brethren, perform dramatic ceremonies commemorative of the traditional history of their remote ancestors, but none of these ceremonies are intended, as among the Kaitish, Warramunga, and Tjingilli, to increase the food supply by multiplying the totemic animals and plants. Further, there is not, as among the central tribes any obligation on the headman of a totem to perform ceremonies for the increase of his totemic animal or plant; for the natives here are sufficiently enlightened to recognise that the increase will take place without the intervention of their magic.<sup>3</sup> Still they may, if they choose, resort to magic for the purpose of assisting nature in the great process of reproduction. For example, the men of the Mara tribe can increase the supply of honey, which is one of their totems, by the following simple means. On the banks of the Barramunda Creek, near the Limmen River, there is a big heavy stone, which is believed to represent a large honeycomb carried about by the old ancestor of the honey totem, and left by him on the spot where he finally went down into the ground. The men who form that half of the tribe to which the honey totem belongs can increase the supply of bees, and therefore of honey, by scraping the big stone and blowing the powder about in all directions; for this powder is supposed to turn into bees.<sup>4</sup> Here again it is to be observed that the ceremony for the increase of the totem need not be

Mara ceremony for the increase of honey.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 113, 184, 218 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 311 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 312.

performed by men of the totem ; it may be performed by any men of that half of the tribe to which the totem belongs. Here also, therefore, the totemic organisation is being superseded by the social or exogamous organisation.

In the Anula tribe the sea-fish called dugong is a favourite article of food. Near the mouth of the Limmen River some white stones, which can be seen at low tide, represent dugongs of the olden time. Numbers of dugongs are believed to emanate from these stones without any help of the natives ; but Dugong men can, if they please, facilitate the process by singing magical songs and throwing sticks at the rocks.<sup>1</sup> Again, in days of old a crocodile is said to have roamed about the country, making what is now called Batten Creek, and also various water-holes, in which he deposited crocodile spirits. Finally, he went down into the ground, at a place called Wankilli, where there is a large pool with a stone in the middle of it. Crocodiles still issue from that stone ; and if Crocodile men wish to make them come out in larger numbers, they can do so by singing or enchanting the rock and throwing sticks of mangrove at it.<sup>2</sup> Two species of crocodiles are found in the northern parts of Central Australia. Both species are eaten by the natives, who accordingly have a sufficient motive for multiplying these dangerous reptiles.<sup>3</sup> While these Anula ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems are performed by men of the totem (Dugong men and Crocodile men respectively), we meet in this coastal tribe with clear evidence that the supersession of the totem clans by the exogamous classes or phratries is here also in progress. For the Anula have a tradition that a snake named Bobbi-bobbi founded local centres occupied by spirit individuals of exogamous classes, whose totems are not mentioned. This is the only case known to Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in which a local centre is haunted by spirits of exogamous classes, instead of by spirits of totem clans.<sup>4</sup>

Anula ceremonies for the increase of dugongs and crocodiles.

Thus whereas among the central tribes members of a totem clan are obliged to multiply their totems for the benefit of the rest of the community, there is no such

The decay of totemic magic on the coast as

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 313.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 770.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 437.

compared to the centre of Australia is an effect of the more regular rainfall and more assured supply of food.

obligation laid on the totemic clans of the coastal tribes. Among the latter tribes there are only traces of those magical ceremonies which are universally prevalent among the former. In other words, totemic magic for the multiplication of totems flourishes in the centre of Australia and is decadent on the sea coast. The difference, as Messrs. Spencer and Gillen justly observe, is no doubt to be attributed to the difference in climate between the two regions, the more regular rainfall of the coast ensuring a more regular supply of food, and thereby superseding the supposed necessity of increasing it by magic.<sup>1</sup>

The custom with regard to eating the totemic animal also changes as we pass from Central Australia to the sea. Among the Arunta people may eat a little of their totems; indeed they are obliged to do so, as otherwise it is thought that they would lose their power of magically multiplying their totems.

The custom with regard to eating the totemic animal and plant similarly changes as we pass from Central Australia northward to the sea. In the Arunta tribe, at the heart of the continent, a man will only eat very sparingly of his totem, and even if he does eat a little of it, which he may do, he is careful not to eat the best part of it. For example, men of the emu totem very seldom eat the eggs of the bird. But if an Emu man is very hungry and finds a nest of emu eggs, he may cook one, but he will take the rest into camp and distribute them. If he were not very hungry, he would give all the eggs away. He may eat sparingly of the flesh of the emu, but only a very little of the fat; for the fat and the eggs are more tabooed than the flesh to him. The same holds good for all the totems; for instance, a Carpet-snake man will eat sparingly of a thin snake, but will scarcely touch a fat one.<sup>2</sup> Similarly Witchetty Grub men and women may eat only a very little of witchetty grubs; for it is believed that if they ate too much the power of performing magical ceremonies for the multiplication of the grubs would depart from them, and there would be very few grubs.<sup>3</sup> But, on the other hand, it is positively incumbent on the men, especially on the headman of the clan, to eat a little of the totemic animal, for to eat none would have the same effect as to eat too much; that is to say, if the men of a totem did not eat a little of it, they would lose the power of multiplying their totem, and the animal or plant would consequently be

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 173, 318.  
See above, pp. 167 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 204.

scarce.<sup>1</sup> We have seen how in the Arunta tribe, after the men of a totem have performed the *intichiuma* ceremonies for multiplying the totemic animal or plant, they have solemnly to partake of a little of it, which is ceremonially brought to them by men of other totems.<sup>2</sup> The custom seems to be a formal acknowledgment by the rest of the tribe that the totemic animal or plant properly belongs to the men of the totem, though these men have almost abnegated in favour of their fellows the right to eat the particular animal or plant.

In the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes, to the north of the Arunta, this public acknowledgment of the proprietary rights possessed by a totem clan in its totemic animal, plant, or thing is still more conspicuous and more frequent; for it is not made only after the performance of *intichiuma* ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems, but on every occasion of daily life when a man wishes to eat or drink the totem of somebody else. In all such cases he is bound, wherever it is practicable, to obtain the permission of the men of the totem before he consumes the animal or plant or whatever the object may be to which they have in strictness an exclusive right. For example, if an Emu man comes into the district of a Grass-seed clan, he will gather some of the seed and take it to the headman of the Grass-seed clan, saying, "I have been getting grass-seed in your country." The Grass-seed man will reply, "That is right; you eat it." They think that if an Emu man were to eat grass-seed without the leave of the Grass-seed men, he would be very ill and probably die.<sup>3</sup> When any animal is killed by a man whose totem it is not, it is first brought into the camp and cooked, and then, if any man of that totem happens to be in camp, it is taken to him by the men of the other moiety of the tribe, and he eats a little of it. After that, but not before, the animal may be eaten by the men of other totems.<sup>4</sup> The same restriction applies to the use even of water. If a stranger who is not of the water totem comes to Anira, the central spot of the water totem in the Kaitish tribe, he must ask leave of the headman of

In the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes people may not eat or drink other people's totems without their leave.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 109-111, where the descriptions are based on *Native*

*Tribes*, pp. 203-206.

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 159, 323.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 159 sq., 324.

the Water clan before he may drink. The headman tells the men of the other moiety to give the stranger water. Were permission not thus obtained, the natives say that the headman of the water totem would kill the transgressor by means of a magic bone.<sup>1</sup>

But Kaitish people rarely partake of their own totems, except ceremonially at the *intichiuma* rites; for it is thought that otherwise they would lose the power of magically multiplying them.

But while Kaitish men of any totem are thus publicly acknowledged by the rest of the tribe to possess the exclusive right to that particular totem, they rarely avail themselves of that privilege of eating or drinking it which they freely grant to others. Under normal conditions a Kaitish man does not eat his totem except ceremonially at the time of the *intichiuma* rites, when the headman of the totem is bound to eat a little of it. Were he to partake too freely of his totem, the men of the other moiety of the tribe would kill him by means of a magic bone, because such conduct would, they believe, incapacitate him for performing the *intichiuma* ceremonies successfully, and so the rest of the community would consequently suffer through the diminution of the totemic animal or plant, and hence of the food supply.<sup>2</sup> Even in regard to such an absolute necessity of life as water, though the men of the water totem cannot, of course, deny themselves it altogether, they are subject to certain irksome restrictions in the use of it. If a man of the water totem be quite alone, he may draw it and drink it without offence; but if he be in the company of men belonging to other totems, he may not obtain it for himself, but must receive it from a member of the other moiety of the tribe. As a general rule, when a man of the water totem is in camp, he receives water from a man of the same subclass from which he, the Water man, takes his wife, in other words he receives water from one who is his tribal brother-in-law (*umbirna*). But if no man of that subclass happens to be in camp, the Water man may be provided with water by any member of the other moiety of the tribe.<sup>3</sup> To take another illustration of these self-denying ordinances of totemism among the Kaitish, if an Emu man be out hunting by himself in the scrub and sees an

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 160, 325 sq. According

to the latter passage he receives water from his tribal father-in-law (*ikuntera*).

emu, he will not touch it. But if he be in the company of men of other totems, he is free to kill the bird, but he must hand over its dead body to the other men.<sup>1</sup>

In the Unmatjera tribe, whose territory lies immediately to the north of the Arunta and immediately to the south of the Kaitish, the restrictions as to eating the totem are fundamentally similar to those of the Arunta. At the *intichiuma* ceremonies for the multiplication of the totem, a little of the totemic animal or plant is eaten by the members of the clan; and the remainder, which has been brought to the headman, is handed over by him to men who belong to the other half of the tribe. The Unmatjera believe that if a man were to eat his own totemic animal or plant, except during the performance of the *intichiuma* ceremonies, he would swell up and die. In this tribe, as in the Kaitish, whenever a man of the water totem is in the company of other men, he may not help himself to water, but must receive it from some one who has not got water for his totem.<sup>2</sup>

While thus among the really central tribes, the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish, men are not absolutely forbidden, nay, are on certain solemn occasions obliged, to eat of their totemic animal or plant, the prohibition to partake of it is absolute among all the more northern tribes from the Kaitish to the sea. In other words, among these northern tribes the totemic animal or plant is strictly tabooed to members of the totem clan; they may not even eat it ceremonially at rites observed for the purpose of multiplying the totem.<sup>3</sup> Nay further, in some of these tribes a man is debarred, either absolutely or in certain circumstances, from eating the totems of his father, his mother, and his father's father, whenever these totems differ from his own. In these tribes, say Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, the relationship between a man and his totem in regard to eating it is very simple, but at the same time very strict.

In the Unmatjera tribe also people as a rule only eat of their totems at the *intichiuma* ceremonies for multiplying them.

But in the northern tribes the prohibition to partake of the totem is absolute; and in some of the tribes a man is further debarred from eating the totems of his father, his mother, and his father's father, whenever these totems differ from his own.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 326. To this rule water is doubtless an exception. In many Australian tribes old men enjoy an exemption from many restrictions in regard

to food which are imposed on younger men. But it does not appear that this exemption extends to their totems. See *Native Tribes*, pp. 168, 468, 471; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 609-613; G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 16.

He may neither kill nor eat it, and the same prohibition applies to the totem of his father and the totem of his father's father, whenever these totems, one or both of them, differ from his own. As a rule a man's totem is identical with that of his father and his father's father in these northern tribes, because with them the totem is generally hereditary in the male line. But if the totems should all differ, then a man is forbidden to kill and eat three different totems, to wit his own, his father's, and his father's father's. With regard to the relationship between a man and his mother's totem there is some difference of usage between the tribes. In the Worgaia tribe, at all events in the western section of it, the mother's totem is strictly tabooed and may not be eaten; but in the Walpari and Warramunga tribes a man may eat of his mother's totem, provided it be given him by a member of that half of the tribe to which the particular totem belongs. For instance, in the Walpari tribe if a Curlew man is the son of a Honey woman, he may eat honeycomb on condition that it is given him by a member of that moiety (the Kingilli) with which the honey totem is associated. Similar restrictions apply to the maternal totem when it happens not to be an edible object. Thus when the mother of a Walpari man has fire for her totem, then her son must obtain a fire-stick, when he wants one, from a member of that half of the tribe to which the fire totem belongs. Again, in the Warramunga tribe, if a Wild Cat man has an Emu mother, he will not kill the bird and will only eat it if it be given him by a member of the other moiety of the tribe to which the emu totem is reckoned. Similarly if a Warramunga man has a mother of the water totem, he ought in strictness to have water given him by a man of the other half of the tribe to which the water totem belongs; but if he happens to be alone and thirsty, the rigidity of the rule is relaxed so far as to allow him to get the water for himself.<sup>1</sup>

The black snake totem of the Warramunga may serve

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 166 sq. In regard to a man's own totem Messrs. Spencer and Gillen elsewhere observe that "a Warramunga man, for example, will not hesitate, under certain con-

ditions, to kill his totem animal, but he hands it over to men who do not belong to the same totemic group, and will not think of eating it himself" (*Northern Tribes*, p. 327).

as an illustration of these rules. That totem belongs to the Uluuru moiety of the tribe and to the subclasses Thapanunga and Thapungarti of that moiety. As we have seen,<sup>1</sup> it has its centre at the water-hole called Tjinguokora on the Tennant Creek. Black Snake men and women, and those whose fathers or fathers' fathers were Black Snakes, may not eat the reptile at all. Any person whose mother was a Black Snake may only eat it if it be given to him or her by Uluuru men, that is, by men of the moiety who claim the black snake among their totems. The men of the other two subclasses of the Uluuru moiety, namely, the Tjunguri and Tjapeltjeri men, and those men of the Thapanunga and Thapungarti subclasses who do not belong to the black snake totem, may eat a black snake only if it be given to them by Kingilli men, that is, by the men of the other moiety of the tribe, who may eat it freely at all times.<sup>2</sup> No woman may go anywhere near the sacred pool to draw water: all initiated men may go there, but Black Snake men may not drink at the spot: all Uluuru men who are not Black Snakes may drink of the water only if it be given them by Kingilli men: finally, the Kingilli men, that is, the men of the tribal moiety to which the black snake totem does not belong, may drink freely of the water of the holy pool where the old original black snake was born and died.<sup>3</sup>

Warramunga rules as to eating black snakes.

Thus it appears that in the Warramunga tribe the totemic prohibitions with regard to eating are much more extensive and numerous than among the more central tribes. For, in the first place, the prohibition to eat the totem is

In the Warramunga tribe the prohibitions with regard to eating the totems are much more extensive and numerous than in the more central tribes.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 167. The two

moieties or classes (phratries) and the eight subclasses (subphratries) of the Warramunga tribe are as follows:—

Class.	Subclasses.	Class.	Subclasses.
Uluuru {	Thapanunga Tjunguri Tjapeltjeri Thapungarti	Kingilli {	Tjupila Thungalla Thakomara Tjambin

See below, pp. 265 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 167. As to

the mythical history of the Black Snake ancestor, see above, pp. 222 sqq.

not confined to members of the totem clan, but is conditionally extended to all members of that moiety of the tribe in which the particular totem clan is included, for no member of that moiety may eat of the totem, even though it is not his own, unless it is given him by a man of the other moiety. As the same rule applies to every totem, it follows that all the totems of his own half of the tribe are tabooed to every man unless he receives them as a gift from men of the other half. In the second place, a man is prohibited from eating not only his own totem, but also the totems of his father and his father's father whenever these differ from his own, and, further, he is forbidden to eat his mother's totem unless it be given him by a member of his mother's tribal moiety. In the third place, not only are all these totems tabooed either absolutely or conditionally to every man and woman, but, further, the sacred birth-place or death-place of any one of these totems may also be tabooed to him or her. In short, in the Warramunga and kindred tribes, men and women live immeshed in a network of totemic taboos which must considerably restrict their eating, and from most of which the Arunta and other central tribes are entirely free. Totemism has apparently either tightened its hold on the northern tribes or relaxed it on the central tribes. Which of these two things has happened, we shall inquire presently. Meantime I will only again ask the reader to observe the significant fact, to which I have already called his attention,<sup>1</sup> that in these tribes the totemic prohibitions have been in a large measure extended beyond the limits of the totemic clans and now embrace those much wider kinship groups which we call classes or phratries, subclasses or subphratries. Here, therefore, the newer organisation of the tribe in exogamous divisions (classes or phratries) seems to be superseding the older organisation in totem clans.<sup>2</sup>

Among the Mara and Anula, two tribes situated on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, a man may not eat his totem, and he only eats very sparingly the totem of his

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 225, 227.

<sup>2</sup> For evidence that the classes or phratries are newer than the totem

clans, see above, pp. 162 *sq.*, and below, pp. 251 *sq.*, 351 *sq.*

mother. For example, a Fish-hawk man whose mother is a Shark will not eat fish-hawks at all and only very small sharks. This last exception to the general taboo is very common among these tribes. A man will usually not eat of the full-grown animals which are the totems of his mother's clan, but he has no objection to eat the half-grown animals, and sometimes he will eat just a little of an adult one.<sup>1</sup>

In the Mara and Anula tribes a man will not eat his own totem, and will eat his mother's totem only very sparingly.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 173. In these two tribes, the Mara and the Anula, the totems are distributed as follows among the exogamous sub-classes or subphratries (see *Northern Tribes*, p. 172):—

## THE MARA TRIBE

Subclasses (Sub-phratries).	Totems.
{ Murungun Mumbali	Eagle-hawk, yellow snake, hill kangaroo, large crocodile, parrot, galah, stone, salt water. Whirlwind, a poisonous snake, white hawk, crow, opossum, salt-water mullet, stingaree.
{ Purdal Kuial	Blue-headed snake, big kangaroo, crane, wallaby, little fish-hawk, dingo, barramunda (a fresh-water fish), rain, sand-hill snake, little crocodile. Emu, turkey, goanna, white cockatoo, grasshopper, water snake, kite, jabiru, groper, turtle.

## THE ANULA TRIBE

Subclasses (Sub-phratries).	Totems.
{ Awukaria Roumburia	Dugong, two salt-water turtles, called respectively <i>murulauka</i> and <i>thuriutu</i> , a snake called <i>gnurwa</i> , native companion, euro, ground sugar-bag [honeycomb], large eagle-hawk, pearl oyster, small crocodile, small shark. Large shark, snake called <i>napintipinti</i> , large crane, small crane, dollar bird, curlew, stingaree, mullet, whirlwind, opossum.
{ Wialia Urtalia	Fish called <i>runutji</i> , sugar-bag [honeycomb], cold weather, wild fowl called <i>taluthalpuna</i> , emu, and a hawk called <i>mularakaka</i> . A fish-hawk called <i>tjutjuju</i> , a snake called <i>rapupuna</i> , lightning, water-snake called <i>arrikarika</i> , barramunda, a fresh-water fish called <i>wurr-wurr</i> , and three salt-water fishes, called respectively <i>amukarra</i> , <i>warranunga</i> , <i>oaria</i> , and two turtles called <i>undiniuka</i> and <i>gnoalia</i> .

The custom of the central tribes, which allows and requires a man to eat a little of his totem, seems to be older than the custom of the northern tribes, which absolutely forbids him to do so; for in the native traditions the ancestors are represented eating their totems freely, as if that were the natural thing for them to do.

We have seen that the prohibitions to eat the totemic animals and plants are both more stringent and more extensive among the northern and coastal tribes than among the tribes of the centre, in which men are allowed to eat a little of their totem, nay, are even at certain times compelled as a public duty to do so. Which of these two usages is the older? in other words, which of them is more in harmony with ancient custom? the usage which absolutely forbids a man to eat his totem, or that which allows and even compels him to do so? If we can trust the traditions of the natives, the answer is not doubtful. The custom which allows and compels a man to partake of his totem is certainly older than that which taboos it to him entirely. For the native traditions relating to the remote *alcheringa* times constantly speak of men and women eating their totems freely and habitually as if it were the most natural thing in the world for them to do so. Such traditions cannot have been invented to explain the modern practice, for they flatly contradict it. We seem, therefore, driven to conclude that these traditions, carefully handed down from generation to generation, and stamped on the memory by being represented dramatically to the eyes of all initiated men, do faithfully preserve a recollection of a time when the ancestors of the present natives freely and habitually partook of their totems, whenever the animal or the plant was in season and accessible to them.<sup>1</sup> A few examples will illustrate these traditions.

Arunta traditions of people eating their totems.

The Arunta tell how a party of Wild Cat met some men of the plum-tree totem, and how the Wild Cat men were changed into Plum-tree men, and thereafter went on eating plums. Again, they say that a Bandicoot woman started out with a Hakea Flower woman and turned her companion into a Bandicoot woman like herself by performing a sacred ceremony and painting the Hakea Flower woman with down used in the bandicoot ceremony. After her transformation the new Bandicoot woman went on feeding on

<sup>1</sup> On this subject see the judicious remarks of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, pp. 207-210; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 320 sq. With the con-

clusion which these eminent authorities draw from their observations I am entirely at one.

bandicoots. Again, an Arunta man of the euro totem is said to have pursued a euro which carried fire in its body. He came up with it, killed it, and cooking the carcass with fire taken from its inside he ate it. Another Euro man started out in pursuit of a kangaroo which he was anxious to kill and eat, but in order to do so he first of all changed himself into a Kangaroo man. Arunta traditions also tell of a Fish man who was seen fishing in a pool for the fish on which he subsisted; of a Beetle Grub (*idnimita*) man who fed on beetle grubs; of a Plum-tree woman who was out gathering plums when a man came and stole a valuable implement which she had left in camp; and, lastly, of an Opossum man who on his nocturnal wanderings carried the moon about with him as a lantern to help him to catch opossums.<sup>1</sup>

In the Kaitish tribe similar traditions are current. For example, it is said that an Emu man found some Emu men eating emu and said, "Why do you not give me some emu?" They were angry, and killed him, and broke his back, and Central Mount Stuart arose to mark the spot where he perished. Again, we are told that some women of an edible bulb totem walked about digging up and eating their totemic bulbs, which indeed formed their staple food. The husks which they threw away made a heap, and the heap is now represented by a hill called Pulina.<sup>2</sup> Again, it is said that a young Rabbit Kangaroo (*atnunga*) man met an old Rabbit Kangaroo man, who being too infirm to hunt for himself gave the young Rabbit Kangaroo man a rabbit kangaroo *churinga* and told him to go and hunt for rabbit kangaroos all day, and dig them out of their burrows with the *churinga*. The young man did so, and brought the dead rabbit kangaroos to the old Rabbit Kangaroo man, who cooked and ate them. Lastly, we hear of a Grass-seed man who, after wandering about the country, sat down and spent all his time gathering and eating grass-seed.<sup>3</sup>

Again, the Unmatjera tell of a Wild Dog man who used to feed on wild dogs,<sup>4</sup> and of a celebrated Beetle Grub

Kaitish traditions of people eating their totems.

Unmatjera traditions of people eating their totems.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 208 sq.; *Northern Tribes*, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 321 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 321, 394 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 405.

(*idnimita*) man, who habitually dug up beetle grubs with a nose-bone and ate them. Indeed there was little else for him to eat, for in those days we are told that there was nothing at all in the country but beetle grubs and a little bird called *thippathippa*. So the Beetle Grub man used to think within himself, "What shall I eat to-day? I have got no brother or son to collect beetle grubs for me: I will gather them for myself. If I do not eat beetle grubs I shall die." Spurred by this painful reflection he would rush out and collect the grubs and devour them. One day he observed to another Beetle Grub man, "I have been eating beetle grubs." At that up jumped another old Beetle Grub man and said, "I have been eating beetle grubs also; if I eat them always they might all die." Nevertheless the other old Beetle Grub man continued to perform ceremonies for the multiplication of the grubs, and then when the grubs swarmed out he would go and gather them himself or send a man to gather them for him. But one day when he had been out in pursuit of his daily bread, or, to be more precise, of his daily beetle grubs, boils appeared on his legs. Undeterred by this ominous symptom he went and gathered more grubs, and then he grew so ill that he could not walk, and had to lie down in his camp all that day. The hand of death was on him. He wasted visibly away, his throat closed up, and before the morning broke next day he burst open and died.<sup>1</sup>

The last of these traditions hints at doubts as to the propriety of a man's eating his own totem.

In this last narrative, though a Beetle Grub man is represented as subsisting on beetle grubs, it seems clear that the narrator had serious misgivings as to the propriety of such conduct. The statement that in those days there was nothing at all in the country except beetle grubs and *thippathippa* birds, is a manifest attempt to excuse a Beetle Grub man for eating beetle grubs by making out that he had really no choice in the matter. Beetle grubs or nothing, that was the alternative he had to face, and naturally he decided for beetle grubs. Further, the observation of the other old Beetle Grub man, "If I eat beetle grubs always, they might all die," shows that he also felt twinges of conscience in the matter; and the miserable end of the Beetle Grub man who

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 324 sq.

ate beetle grubs might serve as an awful warning of what will happen to people who persist in devouring their totems even after boils have burst out on their legs.<sup>1</sup>

A very similar tale is told by the Kaitish of a Beetle Grub (*idnimita*) man who used to perform magical rites and chant spells for the multiplication of the grubs, and then, when he saw them rising out of the ground, he would gather, cook, and eat them. Yet he is said to have reflected, "Suppose I eat more grubs, then perhaps they might all die," and again, "Suppose I go on eating too much, they might be frightened and go away to another country."<sup>2</sup> Such reflections appear to be put in the mouth of the speaker by men of a later age, who had ceased to eat their totems freely, though they preserved a tradition of a contrary practice among their forefathers. The reason, too, alleged for the ancestor's hesitation to eat much of his totem is highly instructive. It is a fear that were he to eat too many grubs the other grubs would be frightened and go away to another country, so that all his charms and spells for the multiplication of the insect would be fruitless. Such a reason is perfectly in keeping with savage modes of thought, and may very well, as I have already indicated,<sup>3</sup> be the very reason which has led so many Australian tribes to abandon what appears to have been the original practice of freely eating their totems. If that is so, the motive at the bottom of totem taboos observed by men of the totem is nothing more or less than an attempt to conciliate the game which are killed and eaten. That attempt, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> is very commonly made by savage hunters and fishers who habitually kill and eat the animals and the fish which they flatter and appease. The only difference between the two cases is that whereas ordinary hunters and fishers themselves partake of their bag, the totemic magician

There are indications in tradition that the motive for abandoning the old custom of eating the totem was a desire to conciliate the totem animal and so to ensure a supply of it.

<sup>1</sup> Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe (*Northern Tribes*, p. 325) that, "so far as we could ascertain, the old man's miserable ending had nothing to do with the fact that he ate *idnimita* [beetle grubs]." But taken along with other features of the tale the moral seems too pointed to be missed. It should be observed that the breaking

out of sores on the body and other forms of skin disease are penalties often supposed to be incurred by those who eat their totems or other sacred food. See above, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 322 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 121-123.

<sup>4</sup> *The Golan Bough*,<sup>2</sup> ii. 387 sqq.

does not: he contents himself with providing the rest of the community with his totemic animal or plant, and expects his fellows in return to provide him with theirs.

Thus in regard to eating their totems the central tribes have remained truer than the northern tribes to the primitive practice.

Thus the traditions of the Arunta, the Kaitish, and the Unmatjera point clearly to a time when their ancestors habitually ate of their totems whenever they had a chance of doing so; and among the very same tribes these traditions are reflected in those totemic ceremonies in which to this day men solemnly partake of their totems not only without the least indication that such conduct is blameworthy, but with the avowed intention of thereby ensuring the supply of food.<sup>1</sup> We may fairly, therefore, conclude that the ancient custom among all these tribes was for every man regularly to eat his totem animal or plant whenever he could, and that in so far as the central tribes have partially preserved that custom and the northern tribes have abandoned it entirely, to that extent the central tribes have remained truer than the northern tribes to the primitive practice.

The rules of marriage and descent of the totem also change as we pass from the centre northwards; for whereas among the central tribes men and women of the same totem are free to marry each other, and the totems are not hereditary, among the northern tribes men and women of the same

Thus we have seen that in several respects the totemic beliefs and customs of the tribes under consideration change as we pass northward from the centre to the sea. The use of *churinga* and their association with the totems,<sup>2</sup> the practice of magical ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems,<sup>3</sup> and the old freedom of eating the totemic animals and plants, all these things dwindle away or disappear entirely as we recede from the central to the coastal tribes. A great change also takes place in the customs with regard to marriage and the descent of the totems. Among the central tribes of the Arunta nation, as we saw, the totemic system has nothing to do with marriage, since a man is free to marry a woman of his own or any other totem; and further, the totem descends neither in the paternal nor in the maternal line, but is determined purely by the accident of the place where the mother happened first to feel the child in her womb.<sup>4</sup> All this changes gradually as we pass from the Arunta nation northward till among the coastal tribes we find that a man never marries a woman of his own

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 109-111, 120, 217, 220, 230 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 200 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 228-230.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 187 *sqq.*

totem, and that a child invariably inherits the totem of its father.<sup>1</sup> In this last respect it can hardly be disputed that the central tribes have preserved the more primitive beliefs and customs, and that the gradual transition from a purely fortuitous determination of the totem to a strict inheritance of it in the paternal line marks a social and intellectual advance in culture. To imagine that the change had taken place in the opposite direction, in other words, that tribes which had once derived their totems invariably from their fathers afterwards abandoned the hereditary principle in favour of one which left the determination of their totems to the sick fancies of pregnant women—this would be a theory too preposterous to be worthy of serious attention.

totem are forbidden to marry each other, and the totems are strictly hereditary in the paternal line.

In this very interesting and important transition from promiscuous marriages between the totem clans and fortuitous determination of the totems to strict exogamy of the totem clans and strict heredity of the totems in the paternal line the principal stages are in brief as follows:—"In the Arunta, as a general rule, the great majority of the members of any one totemic group belong to one moiety of the tribe, but this is by no means universal, and in different totemic groups certain of the ancestors are supposed to have belonged to one moiety and others to the other, with the result that of course their living descendants also follow their example. In this respect the Unmatjera, Ipirra, and Iliaura are in accord with the Arunta, but amongst the Kaitish the totems are more strictly divided between the two moieties, though the division is not so absolute as it is amongst the Urabunna in the south and the tribes further north, such as the Warramunga. As the totems are thus distributed it follows that in the Kaitish tribe a man does not usually marry a woman of the same totem as himself, but, provided she be of the right class, she is not actually forbidden to him as a wife because of this identity of totem as she would be in the Warramunga tribe. Two families will serve as an example of what takes place in this matter in the Kaitish. In the first the father was a Kangaroo man and his wife Emu; their children were a Grass-seed son and daughter and a Wild Cat son. In the second the father was Rain, the

Stages in the transition from promiscuous marriage and fortuitous determination of the totems to strict exogamy of the totem clans and strict heredity of the totems in the paternal line.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 151 sq., 163 sq., 165 sq., 169-173, 175 sq.

mother Emu; there were two Rain sons and one Yam daughter. It will be seen from this that, as in the Arunta, the descent of the totem follows neither in the paternal nor in the maternal line."<sup>1</sup> Thus among the Kaitish, one of the two most northerly tribes of the Arunta nation, we may detect the first stage in the transition from promiscuous marriage and fortuitous descent of the totems to strict exogamy of the totem clans and strict heredity of the totems in the paternal line. For among the Kaitish "we find the totems divided to a large extent between the two moieties of the tribe, so that it is a very rare thing for a man to marry a woman of the same totem as himself; but there is very little indication of paternal descent so far as the totem is concerned. It may follow either that of the father or that of the mother, but there is no necessity, any more than there is in the Arunta, for it to follow either."<sup>2</sup>

Further to the north, "in the Warramunga, Wulmala, Walpari, Tjingilli, and Umbaia tribes the division of the totems between the two moieties is complete, and, with very few exceptions indeed, the children follow the father. They always pass into a totemic group belonging to the father's moiety, and a man may not marry a woman of his own totem."<sup>3</sup>

Still further to the north, in the Gnanji tribe, the totemic beliefs are fundamentally the same.<sup>4</sup> Among the Gnanji and the Umbaia "the totems are strictly divided up between the two moieties of the tribe. It therefore follows that a woman of the same totem as himself is forbidden as wife to a man of that totem. With only the very rarest exceptions the children follow the father."<sup>5</sup> Lastly, when we pass yet further to the north and reach the Binbinga, Mara, and Anula tribes, of which the two latter inhabit the coast, we find that "the totems are strictly divided up between the moieties or classes, so that a man is forbidden to marry a woman of his own totem. The totems of the children very strictly follow that of the father."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 151 sq. By "totemic group" the writers mean what I call a totemic clan.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 175, compare pp. 163-166. Of the tribes here mentioned a single

one (the Wulmala) lies to the west of the Kaitish; all the others lie to the north.

<sup>4</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 176.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 176, compare pp. 170-173.

It may naturally be asked, How is this strict descent of the totem in the paternal line among these northern tribes and in the maternal line among the Urabunna<sup>1</sup> consistent with the theory held by all these tribes that every individual is the reincarnation of an ancestral spirit which entered into the woman at the moment she first felt her womb quickened and not at all at the moment when she was really impregnated by her husband?<sup>2</sup> On this theory of conception the simplest and probably most primitive view seems to be that of the Arunta and other strictly central tribes that the child takes its totem neither from its father nor from its mother, but from the particular totemic spirit which darted into her at the first inward premonition of maternity, and that whatever the totem of that spirit was, such must of necessity be the totem of the child, without any regard to the totem either of the father or of the mother. How then can this theory be maintained along with strict paternal or maternal descent of the totem? These savages have found an ingenious and theoretically quite consistent and logical explanation of this seeming discrepancy. They say it is true that the child is not the offspring of its father, but simply the reincarnation of an ancestral spirit, but that at the same time only a spirit of the right totem will enter into the mother, and as among the Urabunna the right totem is the mother's, and among the northern tribes it is the father's, it follows quite naturally and necessarily that among the Urabunna the child is always of the same totem as its mother, and that among the northern tribes it is always of the same totem as its father. The disembodied spirit is believed to choose deliberately the woman into whom it will enter and to refuse as a matter of principle to enter into a woman of the wrong totem.<sup>3</sup> Thus "the Gnanji belief is that certain of the spirit individuals belonging to a man's totem follow him about if he travels into a part of the country not associated with his own totem. For example, we were speaking amongst others to a Snake man, close by the side of two water-holes in Gnanji country, one of which was

The tribes which have hereditary totemism reconcile it with their theory of conception by supposing that only a spirit of the right totem will enter into a woman to be born.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 188 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 148, 174 *sq.*

associated with, and had been made in, the *alcheringa* by a goshawk and the other by a bee. Certain trees and stones on their banks are supposed to be full of bee and goshawk spirits. The snake belongs to one moiety of the tribe and the bee and goshawk to the other, and the natives told us that the Snake man's wife could not possibly conceive a bee or goshawk child there, because no such spirit would think of going inside the wife of a Snake man. If she were to conceive a child at that spot it would simply mean that a snake spirit had followed the father up from his own place and had gone inside the woman. It is, they say, possible—but the cases in which it occurs are very rare—for a child not to belong to its father's totem, but in such instances it always belongs to one which is associated with his own moiety of the tribe.”<sup>1</sup>

In the Warramunga tribe the heredity of the totem is made easier by the local distribution of the two exogamous moieties of the tribe, each with its totem clans, into two separate districts, a northern and a southern, the Kingilli moiety occupying the northern district and the Uluuru moiety the southern district.

Thus the disembodied totemic spirit in choosing a woman from whom to be born again, seldom makes a mistake as to her totem clan, never as to her exogamous moiety (class or phratry); it is always born in the right half of the tribe, though occasionally in the wrong clan. The moiety or half of the tribe is, so to say, a larger target for the spirit to hit than the totemic clan, which is always merely a part, and often only a small part, of the moiety. We need scarcely wonder, therefore, that the spirit in projecting itself into a woman should sometimes miss the smaller mark but never the larger. And its entrance into the right moiety, if not into the right clan, is greatly facilitated in the Warramunga nation or group of tribes by a convenient local arrangement of the moieties and clans. For in each of these tribes the two exogamous moieties occupy separate territories, the Uluuru moiety inhabiting the southern territory, and the Kingilli moiety inhabiting the northern territory, with a more or less sharply marked boundary-line dividing them. And the totemic clans in like manner are locally divided between the two districts, all the clans that belong to the Uluuru moiety being found in the Uluuru district, and all the clans that belong to the Kingilli moiety being found in the Kingilli district. From this geographical distribution of

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 169 sq.

the moieties it follows that in any camp within the southern area of the tribe, apart from visitors, all the males will be Uluuru men, who have been born in this part of the country, and their wives will be Kingilli women who were born and lived till puberty in the northern area. The daughters of these Uluuru men and Kingilli women will be Uluuru, since in all these tribes the children belong to the moiety of their father; and when these Uluuru girls are grown up they will quit the land of their birth and take up their permanent home in the north country with their Kingilli husbands. Conversely in any camp of the northern territory all the men are Kingilli who have been born in this part of the country, and their wives are Uluuru women who were born and bred in the south; and the daughters will be Kingilli girls, who at marriage will quit the land of their birth and go away to live with their Uluuru husbands in the south. In this way all the men of the tribe are stationary from birth to death in their native land; and all the women are migratory, spending their early years in their native land and all their later years from marriage onwards in the foreign land of their husbands.<sup>1</sup> If children belonged to the moiety of their mother instead of to that of the father, in other words, if the exogamous divisions descended in the maternal line instead of in the paternal, the foregoing conditions would just be reversed. The women would be stationary all their lives in their native land, and the men would be migratory, living up to the date of their marriage in the land of their birth and ever afterwards in the land of their wives.

It is obvious that this local separation of the exogamous groups, by simplifying the distinction between them, must greatly help the natives to observe correctly their somewhat complex marriage laws. For if we take as an illustration the simplest marriage organisation of an Australian tribe, to wit, the bisection into two exogamous moieties (classes or phratries), and suppose that these two moieties occupy separate territories with a clearly marked boundary-line between them, then every grown man on one side of that line will know that every grown woman on the same side

This local separation of the exogamous groups must help the natives to observe their complex marriage laws, and we may suppose that the

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 28-30.

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was made  
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introduced.

of the line may be his wife. The possibility of confusion and mistake is almost completely avoided, since every adult female whom an adult male may not marry is separated from him and lives in a different country. And this holds good whether children belong to the moiety of their father or to that of their mother, in other words, whether descent is in the male or in the female line. With the arrival of puberty the separation between the persons who may not marry is carried out by sending away either the mature girls or the mature boys, according as descent is paternal or maternal, to the other district, there to find their proper husbands or wives as the case may be. Thus the temptation to break the stringent rule of exogamy, which forbids men and women of the same moiety to marry each other, is to a great extent removed. We may conjecture that when exogamy was first introduced in its simplest form as a bisection of the whole community into two exogamous moieties,<sup>1</sup> the working of the new rule was made easy by segregating the two moieties locally from each other, in order to secure that the men and women who were forbidden to each other should not normally meet. We need not suppose that from the outset the whole country of the tribe was parcelled out into two great areas, of which one was assigned to one half of the tribe, and the other to the other half, as is now done in the Warramunga nation. It would be enough that every local group should split into two sections, each of which should have its own camping and hunting grounds. A trace of this probably older practice seems to survive in the Arunta custom, according to which people of the same exogamous moiety always camp together and apart from the people of the other moiety, the two camps being regularly separated by some natural feature, such as a creek.<sup>2</sup>

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It is clear that such a segregation of the two exogamous moieties in separate districts would lend itself with equal ease to paternal or to maternal descent of the moiety. If paternal descent were adopted, the men would only have to remain stationary and treat as members of their own moiety all the children born on their side of the boundary-

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 162 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 31 *sq.*, 70, 276 *sq.*

line, of whom all the girls at puberty would cross the line and find husbands on the other side. On the contrary, if maternal descent were adopted, all the women would remain stationary and treat as members of their own moiety all the children to whom they gave birth, of whom all the boys at puberty would cross the line and find wives on the other side. In this way, even if group marriage prevailed, that is, even if all the men of each moiety had free access to all the women of the other moiety, the group fatherhood of all the children would be just as certain as the group motherhood. It would be quite as easy to trace group relationship in the male as in the female line. Hence if, as is probable, the present marital customs of the Australian tribes have been everywhere preceded by group marriage, there is no reason why the practice of transmitting the exogamous prohibitions in the paternal line should not be quite as ancient as the other practice of transmitting them in the maternal line. When any tribe first divided itself into two exogamous and locally separate groups, it could choose for itself with perfect freedom whether the children should belong to the group of the fathers or to the group of the mothers, even although individual fatherhood might be unknown and individual motherhood forgotten.<sup>1</sup> The kinship terms under such a social system would be expressive of group relations, like the terms of the classificatory system of relationship, which in all probability sprang from just such a system of group marriage. But to that point we shall return later on.

Now to revert to the totems. In the Warramunga nation the totemic groups with their local totem centres are sharply divided up between the two geographical areas into which the territory of each tribe is parcelled out. One set of totems is confined to the northern or Kingilli area, and the other set is confined to the southern or Uluuru area.

<sup>1</sup> That with group marriage descent is reckoned just as easily in the paternal as in the maternal line has already been pointed out by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. See their *Native Tribes*, p. 36 note<sup>1</sup>. As to the possibility of forgetting individual motherhood with

a system of group marriage, see Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, "On the Origin of the Classificatory System of Relationships," in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 316-318.

the paternal as in the maternal line; hence if we start from group marriage we need not suppose that maternal descent is more primitive than paternal.

Further, the exogamy of the totem clans seems to be a direct consequence of their local segregation in separate areas.

The traditional explanation of this territorial division is that the ancestors of the one set of totems limited their wanderings almost exclusively to the north country, while the ancestors of the other set roamed the south country alone.<sup>1</sup> Whatever may be the origin of this local segregation of the two sets of totems in the Warramunga nation, it is clear that the separation must have materially co-operated to ensure that a child's totem should always belong to its father's tribal moiety, since the child's mother would, under the system described above, always after marriage reside in the territory of her husband's moiety, and could therefore, under normal conditions, only be impregnated by the totemic spirits who had their abode in that territory. We can thus easily understand why the irregular descent of the totems among the tribes of the Arunta nation should be suddenly exchanged for an almost perfectly regular paternal descent of the totems in the adjoining Warramunga nation. The local segregation of the totems in two separate territories supplies the key to the seeming mystery. And the same segregation of the totems equally explains the change from the promiscuous totemic marriages of the Arunta to the exogamous totemic marriages of the Warramunga. Among the Arunta, as we have seen,<sup>2</sup> the totems have no influence whatever on marriage. A man may marry a woman of his own or of another totem just as he pleases, whereas among the Warramunga, as among all the other northern tribes down to the sea, a man never marries a woman of his own totem.<sup>3</sup> The reason for the latter practice appears to be simply that, since in these tribes a man has always to take a wife from another local district (namely, the territory of the other tribal moiety) in which his own totem is not found at all, it is impossible that his wife should be of the same totem as himself. The exogamy of the totemic clans is thus a direct consequence of their local segregation in two separate areas. Whereas among the Arunta, among whom the local segregation of the two moieties is far less fully carried out,<sup>4</sup> it is always possible that a man's wife, though she must always

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 28 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 243, 244.

<sup>4</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 27 sq.;  
*Native Tribes*, p. 120.

be of the other tribal moiety, may yet be of his own totem clan.

In regard to these totemic marriage customs, as in regard to the descent of the totem and the practice of eating it or abstaining from it, we may ask which is the more primitive? the custom of the central tribes, which allows a man to marry a woman of his own totem? or the custom of the northern tribes, which strictly forbids him to do so? Again, as in regard to the practice of eating the totem, the voice of tradition is altogether in favour of the view that the custom of the central tribes is the more primitive. On this subject Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe with regard to the Arunta traditions: "One thing appears to be quite clear, and that is, that we see in these early traditions no trace whatever of a time when the totems regulated marriage in the way now characteristic of many of the Australian tribes. There is not a solitary fact which indicates that a man of one totem must marry a woman of another; on the contrary we meet constantly, and only, with groups of men and women of the same totem living together; and, in these early traditions, it appears to be the normal condition for a man to have as wife a woman of the same totem as himself. At the same time there is nothing to show definitely that marital relations were prohibited between individuals of different totems, though, in regard to this, it must be remembered that the instances recorded in the traditions, in which intercourse took place between men and women of different totems, are all concerned with the men of special groups, such as the Achilpa [Wild Cat totem]; further still, it may be pointed out that these were powerful groups who are represented as marching across country, imposing certain rites and ceremonies upon other people with whom they come in contact. The intercourse of the Achilpa [Wild Cat] men with women of other totems may possibly have been simply a right, forcibly exercised by what may be regarded as a conquering group, and may have been subject to no restrictions of any kind. As to the people with whom the Achilpa [Wild Cat people] came into contact, and whom they found settled upon the land, the one most striking and at the same time most interesting fact is,

The custom of the central tribes, which allows a man to marry a woman of his own totem, seems to be more primitive than the custom of the northern tribes, which forbids him to do so; for the native traditions point back to a time when men regularly, if not always, married women of their own totems.

as just stated, that a man was free to marry a woman of his own totem (as he is at the present day), and further still we may even say that the evidence seems to point back to a time when a man always married a woman of his own totem. The references to men and women of one totem always living together in groups would appear to be too frequent and explicit to admit of any other satisfactory explanation. We never meet with an instance of a man living with a woman who was not of his own totem<sup>1</sup> as we surely might expect to do if the form of the traditions were simply due to their having grown up amongst a people with the present organisation of the Arunta tribe. It is only, during these early times, when we come into contact with a group of men marching across strange country that we meet, as we might expect to do, with evidence of men having intercourse with women other than those of their own totem."<sup>2</sup>

Thus in respect of marriage with a woman of the same totem, as well as in respect of the determination of the totem, and the practice of eating the totemic animal or plant, the central tribes appear to have retained more primitive usages than the northern tribes.

With regard to the nature and number of the totems, they seem to be only limited by the knowledge or imagination of the natives. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen give a long list of those totems with which they personally came in contact, but they expressly warn us that it is far from complete, since to make out a full catalogue would necessitate a residence of years among the various tribes. As to the number and geographical distribution of the totems they observe: "Speaking generally, it may be said that almost every material object gives its name to some totemic group. If an animal, such as a kangaroo or emu, is widely distributed, then we find totemic groups of the same name widely distributed. There is naturally no such thing as a pearl oyster or a dugong totemic group in Central Australia,

<sup>1</sup> "That is in connection with those groups with whom the various wandering parties came in contact. The members of all wandering parties

appear to have had intercourse more or less freely with women of other totems."

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 419 sq.

Thus the totemic customs of the central tribes are more primitive than those of the northern tribes. With regard to the nature and number of the Central Australian totems we do not possess a complete list of them, but they seem to include almost every material object.

nor is there a porcupine-grass resin group on the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. At the same time there is nothing which would really give colour to the theory that the natives of any one district feed exclusively upon any one animal or plant. No native tribe, or group of tribes, for example, feeds exclusively, or even principally, upon kangaroos, emus, grass-seed, acacia-seed, dugongs, crocodiles, lilies, witchetty grubs, or pearl oysters. Every tribe, and every local group of a tribe, utilises as food, and apparently always has done so, every edible thing which grows in its district. The Anula people on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria feed upon the kangaroo just in the same way as the Arunta do, but at the same time are not able to feed upon the *munyaeru* seed, for the simple reason that it does not grow in their country, and the Arunta are not able to feed upon crocodiles and dugongs, because they do not exist in the central area. In accordance with this distribution of animals and plants, we find a corresponding distribution of totemic groups.”<sup>1</sup>

The list of totems which Messrs. Spencer and Gillen themselves met with comprises thirty-one different kinds of mammals, forty-six different kinds of birds, thirty different kinds of snakes (of which one, the *Wollunqua*, is mythical<sup>2</sup>), two different kinds of crocodiles, eighteen different kinds of lizards, three different kinds of turtles, one kind of frog, eight different kinds of fish, twenty-four different kinds of insects (including the honeycomb of two different kinds of bees), one kind of mollusc (the pearl oyster), twenty-two different kinds of plants, sixteen different kinds of inanimate objects, and two different kinds of human beings (Laughing Boys and Full-grown Men). Altogether, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen met with two hundred and four different sorts of totems, of which all but sixteen were animals and plants; and of these one hundred and eighty-eight kinds of plants and animals (among which I reckon the two kinds of human beings) one hundred and fifty-six kinds are eaten.<sup>3</sup> This large preponderance of edible objects in the totems is remarkable. I have already suggested an explanation of it.<sup>4</sup>

In a list of two hundred and four totems given by Spencer and Gillen no less than a hundred and fifty-six are edible animals and plants.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 767 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 144 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 768-773.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 159, where in the note I have inadvertently overstated the number of edible totems.

The inanimate totems are as follows: boomerang, cold weather, darkness, fire, hailstone, lightning, the moon, red ochre, resin, salt water, the Evening Star, stone, the sun, water, whirlwind, and wind. Thus among the totems noticed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen there is only one artificial object (boomerang). Of these inanimate totems the most widely spread is water, for it gives a name to totemic clans in all of the tribes. Next to water in popularity among inanimate objects come fire and the Evening Star, each of which was found in three tribes. The sun, the moon, stone, and whirlwind were found as totems only in two tribes each; and all the other inanimate objects only in one.<sup>1</sup>

In the Arunta tribe the members of some totem clans have also certain birds as their mates.

In the Arunta tribe the members of some totem clans have, in addition to their totems, sundry birds which they regard as their mates. Thus there are certain birds which abound at the season when the witchetty grub is plentiful and are very rarely seen at other times. The natives call them *chantunga* and the Witchetty Grub people consider them as their mates. They think that the birds sing joyously when the witchetty grub is in season, and that they hop about the bushes all day long watching with delight the insect laying its eggs. The Witchetty Grub men will not eat the bird; for they say it would make their heart, or rather their stomach, ache to do so, and they explain their relation to the creature by alleging that in days of old some of the fully-grown witchetty grubs were transformed into the birds.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly men of the kangaroo totem have as mates certain grass parrots (called *atnalchulpira*) which are always hovering about kangaroos in the dry country. The natives think that these parrots bring water to the animals, and that in the olden time they stood in the relation of father's sisters (*uwinna*) to the Kangaroo men. Other little birds which may often be seen playing about on the backs of kangaroos are also mates of the Kangaroo men, who call them *kartwungawunga* and say that the birds are descended from certain ancient Kangaroo men who used always to kill and eat kangaroos, and were finally turned into these fowls.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 773.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 447 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 448.

The men of the euro totem have also two sets of bird mates. One of them is the rock pigeon, which is supposed to bring water to the euros in the dry and thirsty mountains of this desert land. The natives say that in the days of old these rock pigeons were the fathers' sisters of the Euro men, and brought them water, just as their descendants still do to the euro animals. The other mate of the Euro men is the painted finch (*Emblema picta*), a beautifully coloured little bird, which in the far-off time was a Euro man. These Euro men used to devour so much euro that their bodies quite dripped with the blood of the beasts; and that is the reason why the painted finch is splashed with red.<sup>1</sup>

The Honey-ant people have also two bird mates. One of them is a little bird called *alatipa*, which like the honey-ant itself (*Camponotus inflatus*) only haunts the scrub country, where the mulga bushes grow. The other bird mate is a small "magpie," which the natives call *alpirtaka*. It also frequents the mulga scrub. Both birds were once Honey-ant people.<sup>2</sup>

The people of the water totem have water-fowl for their mates: the Emu people have for their mate the little striated wren (*Amytis striata*), which they call *lirra-lirra*; and two Big Lizard clans (the Echunpa and the Urliwatchera) have two smaller lizards (*Varanus punctatus* and *Varanus gouldii*) for their mates respectively.<sup>3</sup>

All these bird or lizard mates are held in affectionate regard by their human companions of the corresponding totems, though the Witchetty Grub people appear to be alone in refusing to eat their feathered comrades, who hop about and sing so merrily at sight of the witchetty grub laying its eggs. Men of some totems, such as the Wild Cat, the Hakea flower, and the Crow people, seem to have no bird mates of this kind at all.<sup>4</sup>

Besides those birds which are regarded as mates of various existing totem clans, others are thought to represent men of extinct totems. Thus certain little scarlet-breasted birds (*Ephithanura tricolor*) were men of old who painted themselves with red ochre till at last they changed into the

Some birds are thought to represent men of extinct totems.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 448.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 448 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 449.

red-fronted birds. Again, the Princess Alexandra parakeet has an odd habit of completely disappearing out of a district for years together and then suddenly reappearing in large numbers. The natives say that a wandering group of Lizard men once met with a group of men who had the Princess Alexandra parakeet for their totem, and that somehow they all changed into the birds. This happened at Simpson's Gap in the Macdonnell Ranges, since when the parakeets have lived far underground and only come up from time to time near their old camping-ground to look for grass-seed.<sup>1</sup>

Associated with the Lizard people is a small bird called *thippathippa*, which hovers about lizards so much that it often guides the natives to the animals.<sup>2</sup> These birds were once men of that totem who came and danced round the Lizard men when they were performing ceremonies. That is why at the great *Engwura* ceremonies they are sometimes still represented by two men who dance around a Lizard man.<sup>3</sup>

#### § 4. *Exogamous Classes in the Arunta Nation and Northern Tribes*

The promiscuous marriage of the totem clans, which prevails among the central tribes, is replaced by strict exogamy among the coastal tribes.

We have seen that among the Arunta and other central tribes the totems have no influence on marriage, a man being free to marry a woman of his own or any other totem, but that as we pass northward from the Arunta to the Gulf of Carpentaria it becomes rarer and rarer for a man to marry a woman of his own totem, until, finally, among the coastal tribes such marriages appear never to occur. In other words, the totem clans are strictly exogamous on the coast, but not at all exogamous in the centre, while in the intermediate region between the coast and the centre, the totem clans are in what seems to be a transitional state between strict exogamy on the one side and unrestricted freedom of marriage on the other. Further, we have seen reason to believe that unrestricted freedom of marriage between the totem clans is the older phase of social evolution, which has gradually been replaced by a

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 449.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 449.

more and more strict rule of exogamy the further we advance from the central to the coastal tribes.<sup>1</sup>

But though the Arunta and kindred tribes in the centre do not apply the rule of exogamy to their totem clans, they do apply it strictly to other subdivisions of the tribe, namely to the classes and subclasses. As these exogamous subdivisions of the tribe are not totemic, a notice of them in a work dealing with totemism might seem to be impertinent, and so indeed it would be, if our survey of totemism were limited to the system of the Arunta nation. But in point of fact exogamous subdivisions (classes and subclasses) of the same sort exist among the more northerly tribes, and have there carried with them as a direct consequence the exogamy of the totem clans. Hence among these northerly tribes totemism and exogamy, which in origin were probably quite distinct from each other, have become inseparably inter-tangled, so that it is not possible to consider the one adequately without the other. And since the same association of totemism with exogamy meets us almost universally everywhere else, in other words, since totem clans appear to be exogamous almost everywhere except in Central Australia, it follows that no view of totemism can be complete which does not take account also of exogamy. In Central Australia we are in a peculiarly favourable position for studying these two ancient institutions both in themselves and in their relations to each other, because there the two exist entirely distinct from each other, whereas almost everywhere else they have become fused together in a mass which, until the fortunate discovery of the separate existence of the two components in Central Australia, had baffled all the tests of our anthropological analysis; in other words, it had commonly been supposed that exogamy was an essential part of totemism. So people who had never met with copper and tin might easily mistake bronze for a single pure metal until they discovered it to be an alloy by finding its two components separately.

Originally exogamy seems to have been entirely independent of totemism.

In the Australian tribes with which we are at present concerned, wherever exogamy of the totem clans prevails, it

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 242 *seq.*

It would appear that in Australia, and perhaps elsewhere, totemism existed before exogamy, and that the exogamy of the totem clans, where it prevails, is a direct result of the subdivision of the tribe into two or more exogamous classes.

appears, as I have indicated, to be a direct consequence of the subdivision of the tribe into two or more exogamous classes; and we may surmise, though we cannot prove, that the same cause has produced the same effect wherever totem clans are exogamous. In other words, we may conjecture that the totem clans existed before the introduction of exogamy, as they apparently did in Central Australia,<sup>1</sup> and that they only became exogamous through the subdivision of the whole tribe into two or more exogamous classes, between which the totem clans were distributed in such a way that the whole of any one totem clan fell within a single exogamous class. In this way, given the existence of the exogamous classes and the inclusion of the totem clans each in one but not more than one of them, the exogamy of the totem clans would follow as a necessary consequence.<sup>2</sup> Hence we may suspect that wherever we find exogamous totem clans we should find, if we could trace their history far enough back, that they had once been grouped in two or more exogamous classes, and that the exogamy of the totem clans was only an effect of that grouping. In many totemic tribes we cannot do this: the clans indeed remain exogamous, but the grouping of them into classes has disappeared, or at least has not been reported in our imperfect records. Still the bisection of a community into two exogamous classes is sufficiently common to suggest not only that it may once have existed in many places where it now no longer survives, but also that it may have been a widespread, if not universal, stage in the evolution of society, forming, indeed, the first step in the advance from sexual promiscuity to individual marriage.<sup>3</sup>

The reason why the Arunta do not apply

Thus in a treatise on totemism we seem to be justified in paying attention to exogamy even among tribes like the Arunta, where the exogamous prohibitions do not affect the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> This has already been pointed out by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. See their article "Some Remarks on Totemism as applied to Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> This is the view which, so far as concerns the Australian aborigines, has long been held by Dr. A. W. Howitt. See his article "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1883) pp. 496-504.

totem clans. The reason why the Arunta, though they have adopted a system of exogamy, do not apply it to their totem clans has already been indicated.<sup>1</sup> As their totem clans are not hereditary either in the male or in the female line, it would have been useless to make them exogamous, since to do so would not have prevented those marriages of brothers with sisters and of parents with children which it was apparently the intention of exogamy to put an end to. For instance, suppose that with the Arunta totemic system it had been enacted that no Emu man should marry an Emu woman, an Emu man would still have been at liberty to marry his sister, his mother, or his daughter whenever they were, as they often would be, of other totems than the emu. Similarly, given the strict exogamy of the totem clans, an Arunta man of the kangaroo totem might still marry his mother if she were, say, of the gum-tree totem, his sister if she were of the fish totem, and his daughter if she were of the fire totem. And so on through all the totems. Therefore the application of the exogamous rule to the Arunta totem clans would have been powerless to effect the object of exogamy; hence, so far as we know, the Arunta have never attempted to apply it to them. The totems must be hereditary before the application of exogamy to them can prevent the marriage of near relations who are of the same totem. The Arunta and kindred tribes have adopted exogamy, but with their mode of determining the totem they have been obliged to keep their exogamous organisation quite distinct from their totemic.

In the Arunta and all the other tribes between them and the Gulf of Carpentaria the whole community is distributed in eight exogamous sections (subclasses or subphratries), although in some of the tribes only four of the exogamous sections have separate names. The tribes in which the nomenclature is thus defective are the Southern Arunta in the south and the Mara and Anula tribes in the extreme north.<sup>2</sup> In the southern part of the Arunta tribe the four names of the exogamous sections (subclasses or

the rule of exogamy to their totem clans is that in their case the application would not effect the purpose which exogamy was instituted to effect, viz. the prevention of the marriage of brothers with sisters and of parents with children.

All the tribes from the Arunta northward are divided into eight exogamous subclasses.

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 165 sq.

*Northern Tribes*, pp. 74, 96-98,

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 70-72; 116-120.

Names of the exogamous subclasses in the Southern Arunta, with the rules of marriage and descent.

subphratries) are Panunga, Bulthara, Purula, and Kumara. Of these four subclasses the first two (Panunga and Bulthara) form one exogamous moiety (class or phratry) of the tribe; and the other two (Purula and Kumara) form the other exogamous moiety (class or phratry). In camp, for example, as we have seen, the Panunga and Bulthara always encamp together, and are separated from the Purula and Kumara by some natural feature, such as a creek.<sup>1</sup> The marriage system, in broad outline, is this. A Panunga man marries a Purula woman and their children are Bulthara: a Bulthara man marries a Kumara woman and their children are Panunga: a Purula man marries a Panunga woman and their children are Kumara: a Kumara man marries a Bulthara woman and their children are Purula.<sup>2</sup> To put this in tabular form:—

<i>Husband.</i>	<i>Wife.</i>	<i>Children.</i>
{ Panunga . . . . .	Purula	} . . . . . Bulthara } } . . . . . Panunga }
{ Bulthara . . . . .	Kumara	
{ Purula . . . . .	Panunga	} . . . . . Kumara } } . . . . . Purula }
{ Kumara . . . . .	Bulthara	

The rule of descent is indirect in the male line, since children belong to their father's class, but not to his subclass.

Hence it appears that a man always marries a woman of a different subclass (subphratry) from his own, and that the children belong to the subclass neither of their father nor of their mother, but to the other subclass of their father's moiety. For example, children of a Panunga man are Bulthara, which is the complementary or twin subclass of their father's subclass, since the two subclasses Panunga and Bulthara together make up one moiety of the tribe. Similarly the children of Purula men are Kumara, which is the complementary or twin subclass of their father's subclass, since the two subclasses Purula and Kumara together make up one moiety of the tribe. Thus we have here what I have called indirect male descent,<sup>3</sup> since the children belong to their father's moiety (class) of the tribe, though not to his subclass (subphratry). It seems evident that such a rule of descent, at once so complex and so regular, cannot be a result of accident, but must have been deliberately devised

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 70; *Northern Tribes*, p. 96. See above, p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 68.

in order to effect a definite purpose. What that purpose was, I have already indicated.<sup>1</sup> It was to prevent the marriage of parents with children, and that object was attained effectually by arranging that children should always belong to a subclass into which neither their father nor their mother might marry.<sup>2</sup> If that simple rule was observed, the marriage of parents with children was henceforth impossible.

So far it would seem as if the marriage system of the Southern Arunta conformed to that common type of social organisation in Australia, whereby the whole tribe is divided into two exogamous moieties (classes), and each of the two moieties is again subdivided into two exogamous subclasses,<sup>3</sup> so that the total number of subclasses in the tribe is four. But a closer inspection of the system shews that each of the four nominal subclasses of the Southern Arunta really comprises two separate exogamous subclasses, so that the total number of subclasses in that part of the tribe is not four but eight. The two separate subclasses thus comprised under each of the four nominal subclasses Panunga, Bulthara, Purula, and Kumara, have no native names, so that we must indicate them merely by symbols, such as Panunga *a* and Panunga *b*, Bulthara *a* and Bulthara *b*, Purula *a* and Purula *b*, Kumara *a* and Kumara *b*.<sup>4</sup>

Adopting these symbols for the eight actual, though not nominal, subclasses of the Southern Arunta, we may tabulate as follows the rules of marriage and descent in this part of the tribe :—<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> That the effect and intention of this rule of descent were such as I have said was pointed out long ago by Dr. A. W. Howitt. See his article, "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1883) pp. 498 *sq.*, 504. When I wrote the article, "The Beginnings of Totemism" (reprinted above, see p. 163), this passage in Dr. Howitt's writings had escaped my memory as well as the memory of its writer. See A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp.

284-286; my note, "The Australian Marriage Laws," *Man*, February 1908, pp. 21 *sq.*; and my article, "Howitt and Fison," *Folk-lore*, xx. (1909) pp. 166 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 61 *sq.* Following the example of Dr. Howitt, I now use the terms class and subclass as equivalent and preferable to phratry and subphratry.

<sup>4</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 71; *Northern Tribes*, p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Native Tribes*, p. 71; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 97, 118.

Though the subclasses of the Southern Arunta are nominally four, they are actually eight in number.

Table shewing the rules of marriage and descent in the Southern Arunta.

## SOUTHERN ARUNTA TRIBE

	<i>Husband.</i>	<i>Wife.</i>	<i>Children.</i>	
Class or Moiety A	{	Panunga <i>a</i>	Purula <i>a</i>	Bulthara <i>b</i>
		Panunga <i>b</i>	Purula <i>b</i>	Bulthara <i>a</i>
	{	Bulthara <i>a</i>	Kumara <i>a</i>	Panunga <i>b</i>
		Bulthara <i>b</i>	Kumara <i>b</i>	Panunga <i>a</i>
Class or Moiety B	{	Purula <i>a</i>	Panunga <i>a</i>	Kumara <i>a</i>
		Purula <i>b</i>	Panunga <i>b</i>	Kumara <i>b</i>
	{	Kumara <i>a</i>	Bulthara <i>a</i>	Purula <i>a</i>
		Kumara <i>b</i>	Bulthara <i>b</i>	Purula <i>b</i>

Names of the eight exogamous subclasses in the Northern Arunta.

In the northern part of the Arunta tribe precisely the same rules of marriage and descent prevail, but in practice they are facilitated by the adoption of eight distinct names for the eight subclasses. The following are the names of the eight subclasses, arranged under the two classes or moieties to which they respectively belong. It will be observed that the four original names (Panunga, Bulthara, Purula, Kumara) are retained and four new names (Uknaria, Appungerta, Ungalla, and Umbitchana) have been adopted.<sup>1</sup>

Class or Moiety A	{	Panunga		Class or Moiety B	{	Purula
		Uknaria				Ungalla
{	Bulthara		{	Kumara		
	Appungerta			Umbitchana		

Rules of marriage and descent in the Northern Arunta.

Thus it appears that Panunga *b* of the Southern Arunta is replaced by Uknaria; Bulthara *b* by Appungerta; Purula *b* by Ungalla; and Kumara *b* by Umbitchana. Substituting these four new names in the table of marriage and descent given above for the Southern Arunta, we get the following as the scheme of marriage and descent in the northern part of the tribe:—

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 72; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 77, 90.

## NORTHERN ARUNTA TRIBE

	<i>Husband.</i>	<i>Wife.</i>	<i>Children.</i>
Class or Moiety A	{ Panunga	Purula	Appungerta
	{ Uknaria	Ungalla	Bulthara
Class or Moiety B	{ Bulthara	Kumara	Uknaria
	{ Appungerta	Umbitchana	Panunga
Class or Moiety B	{ Purula	Panunga	Kumara
	{ Ungalla	Uknaria	Umbitchana
Class or Moiety B	{ Kumara	Bulthara	Purula
	{ Umbitchana	Appungerta	Ungalla

The same relationships may be tabulated in a more condensed form as follows :—

<i>Parents.</i>		<i>Children.</i>	
1	2	3	4
Panunga	Purula	Appungerta	Kumara
Uknaria	Ungalla	Bulthara	Umbitchana
Bulthara	Kumara	Uknaria	Purula
Appungerta	Umbitchana	Panunga	Ungalla

Here in each vertical column the four subclasses constituting a moiety (class) of the tribe are grouped together. In columns 1 and 2 the intermarrying subclasses are arranged on the same horizontal line; in columns 3 and 4 the subclasses of the children are arranged on the same horizontal line as their parents, column 3 containing the children born of male 1 and female 2, and column 4 containing the children born of male 2 and female 1. Thus to take examples, a Panunga man (column 1) marries a Purula woman (column 2) and the children are Appungerta (column 3). A Purula man (column 2) marries a Panunga woman (column 1) and the children are Kumara (column 4). In the same way an Uknaria man marries an Ungalla woman and the children are Bulthara; an Ungalla man marries an Uknaria woman

Explanation of the table.

and the children are Umbitchana. And similarly with the other subclasses.<sup>1</sup>

Four names of the subclasses have been adopted in recent times by the Arunta from the Ilpirra, and the use of them is now spreading southward.

With regard to the four new names (Uknaria, Appungerta, Ungalla, Umbitchana) of the subclasses in the Northern Arunta, it is very important to observe that they have been adopted in recent times by the Arunta from the Ilpirra tribe which adjoins them on the north, and that the use of them is at the present time spreading southwards.<sup>2</sup> This agrees with the evidence of many other facts,<sup>3</sup> all of which tend to shew that, to use a meteorological metaphor, in the tribes we are now considering the centre of social disturbance lies in the north, and that the waves of social change are propagated from there southward and not in the reverse direction. The ultimate source of the disturbance is the sea, which by increasing the rainfall on the coast increases the food supply of the tribes, and thereby facilitates their advance in culture, since every check imposed on the food supply of a community is an impediment to progress.<sup>4</sup>

Thus the natives can work their marriage system without names for the exogamous divisions. We need not therefore suppose that where no names are known for the exogamous divisions, the names must once have existed and been forgotten.

It is very significant that the Southern Arunta should have four exogamous subclasses for which they have as yet no distinctive names, while their brethren in the north have only recently borrowed names for these subclasses from a neighbouring tribe. This seems to shew that the natives are quite able to work their marriage system without names for their exogamous divisions. Now throughout the whole of the Arunta tribe, both north and south, there are no names for the two exogamous moieties (classes) under which the subclasses are grouped. It appears to be commonly supposed that names for the two moieties (classes) must formerly have existed and have afterwards been forgotten, from which again it has been inferred that the marriage system of the Arunta is late and decadent. The analogy of the subclasses points to the opposite conclusion, namely, that the marriage system of the Arunta is developing, not decaying; for if four of the eight subclasses among them are only receiving (not losing) names at the present time and in some places are still nameless, we seem bound in consistency to suppose

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 72 sq.; *Northern Tribes*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 227 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 167 sqq.

that similarly the two classes or moieties have not lost their names, but on the contrary have not yet received them. At least this is more logical than, admitting that the subclasses are gaining their names, to argue that the classes have lost them.

The inference that the two classes or moieties of the Arunta have never yet received names but might one day do so if the natives were left to themselves, is confirmed by the observation that most of the tribes to the north of the Arunta nation who possess complete names for the eight subclasses possess also names for the two classes or moieties. But if the names for the as yet nameless subclasses are at present spreading southward among the Arunta, it is reasonable to suppose that names for their as yet nameless classes or moieties might in time reach them from the same direction.

Immediately to the north of the Arunta nation lies the Warramunga nation, which possesses a complete nomenclature for its two exogamous classes or moieties and its eight subclasses. In the Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes of this nation the names for the two classes or moieties are Uluuru and Kingilli; in the Worgaia tribe they are Uluuru and Biingararu; in the Tjingilli they are Willitji and Liaritji; in the Umbaia and Gnanji they are Illitji and Liaritji; in the Bingongina tribe they are Wiliuku and Liaraku.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the names of the subclasses Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe: "We have been quite unable to discover the meaning of these names in any of the central tribes, or to obtain the slightest clue as to their origin, which must date very far back. They do not appear to be associated in any way with the totemic system."<sup>2</sup>

The following tables exhibit the classes and subclasses in the various tribes of the Warramunga nation together with the rules of marriage and descent. The arrangement is the same as in the table exhibiting concisely the similar subdivisions, marriages, and descents in the Arunta tribe.<sup>3</sup> That is to say, in each vertical column the four subclasses constituting one of the two classes (moieties) of the tribe are grouped together. In columns 1 and 2 the intermarrying

Names of the exogamous classes and subclasses in the Warramunga nation.

Tables exhibiting the rules of marriage and descent in the various tribes of the Warramunga nation.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 102. In *Northern Tribes*, p. 101, the class names of the Bingongina are given, probably by mistake, as Uluuru and

Liaritji.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 263.

subclasses are arranged on the same horizontal line; in columns 3 and 4 the subclasses of the children are arranged on the same horizontal line as their parents, column 3 containing the children born of male 1 and female 2, and column 4 containing the children born of male 2 and female 1. Thus to take examples, in the first table a Thapanunga man (column 1) marries a Tjupila woman (column 2) and their children are Thapungarti (column 3). A Tjupila man (column 2) marries a Thapanunga woman (column 1) and their children are Thakomara (column 4). Similarly, a Tjunguri man marries a Thungalla woman and their children are Tjapeltjeri. A Thungalla man marries a Tjunguri woman and their children are Tjambin. And so on with all the other subclasses of all the tribes in the following tables.<sup>1</sup>

## WARRAMUNGA, WALPARI, AND WULMALA TRIBES

<i>Parents.</i>		<i>Children.</i>	
1	2	3	4
<i>Uluuru</i> Thapanunga Tjunguri	<i>Kingilli</i> Tjupila Thungalla	<i>Uluuru</i> Thapungarti Tjapeltjeri	<i>Kingilli</i> Thakomara Tjambin
Tjapeltjeri Thapungarti	Thakomara Tjambin	Tjunguri Thapanunga	Tjupila Thungalla

## TJINGILLI TRIBE

<i>Parents.</i>		<i>Children.</i>	
1	2	3	4
<i>Willitji</i> Thamininja Tjimininja	<i>Liaritji</i> Tjurulinginja Thungallininja	<i>Willitji</i> Thungarininta Thalaringinja	<i>Liaritji</i> Thamaringinja Tjapatjinginja
Thalaringinja Thungarininta	Thamaringinja Tjapatjinginja	Tjimininja Thamininja	Tjurulinginja Thungallininja

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 99-101.

## UMBAIA TRIBE

<i>Parents.</i>		<i>Children.</i>	
1	2	3	4
<i>Illitji</i> Tjinum Tjulum  Paliarinji Pungarinji	<i>Liaritji</i> Tjurulum Thungallum  Tjamerum Yakomari	<i>Illitji</i> Pungarinji Paliarinji  Tjulum Tjinum	<i>Liaritji</i> Tjamerum Yakomari  Tjurulum Thungallum

## GNANJI TRIBE

<i>Parents.</i>		<i>Children.</i>	
1	2	3	4
<i>Illitji</i> Uanaku Tjulantjuka  Paliarinja Pungarinji	<i>Liaritji</i> Uralaku Thungallaku  Tjamuraku Yakomari	<i>Illitji</i> Pungarinji Paliarinja  Tjulantjuka Uanaku	<i>Liaritji</i> Tjamuraku Yakomari  Uralaku Thungallaku

## BINGONGINA TRIBE

<i>Parents.</i>		<i>Children.</i>	
1	2	3	4
<i>Wiliuku</i> Thama Tjimita  Thalirri Thungari	<i>Liaraku</i> Tjurla Thungalla  Tjimara Tjambitjina	<i>Wiliuku</i> Thungari Thalirri  Tjimita Thama	<i>Liaraku</i> Tjimara Tjambitjina  Tjurla Thungalla

## WORGAI A TRIBE

<i>Parents.</i>		<i>Children.</i>	
1	2	3	4
<i>Uluuru</i> Pungarinju Biliarinthu	<i>Biingaru</i> Ikamaru Tjamerameru	<i>Uluuru</i> Wairgu Blaingu	<i>Biingaru</i> Kingelu Warrithu
Blaingu Wairgu	Kingelu Warrithu	Biliarinthu Pungarinju	Ikamaru Tjamerameru

Different names for the men and women of the subclasses.

In all but the last of the tribes whose marriage system is represented in the foregoing tables the women of a subclass bear a different name from the men. For example, in the Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes the men of one subclass are called Thapanunga and the women of that subclass are called Napanunga; the men of another subclass are called Thapungarti and the women Napungerta; the men of another subclass are called Thungalla and the women Nungalla; the men of another subclass are called Thakomara and the women Nakomara; the men of another subclass are called Tjambin and the women Nambin. Generally, as in these examples, the feminine names are clearly derivatives from the masculine; but in some cases the two names appear to be distinct. For instance, in the Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes the men of one subclass are called Tjupila and the women Naralu.<sup>1</sup> The existence of distinct names for the women of the subclasses adds considerably to the complexity of the nomenclature without modifying the system; hence for the sake of simplicity and clearness I have omitted the feminine names from the tables.

Names of the exogamous subclasses in the Binbinga nation, together with the

To the north of the Warramunga nation lies the Binbinga nation, of which the Binbinga tribe may serve as a type. Its social organisation resembles that of the Arunta and Warramunga nations. Like the Arunta, but unlike the Warramunga, it has no names for its two classes (moieties), whether it has lost them or has never had them. Its sub-

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 100-102.

classes, with the rules of marriage and descent within them, are exhibited in the following table,<sup>1</sup> which is arranged on the same principles as the foregoing tables; that is to say, parents and children are arranged in the same horizontal line, the children of men of column 1 and women of column 2 being contained in column 3, while the children of men of column 2 and women of column 1 are contained in column 4. For example, a Tjuanaku man marries a Tjurulum woman and their children are Pugarinji: a Tjurulum man marries a Tjuanaku woman and their children Tjamerum. And so with the rest.

rules of marriage and descent.

THE BINBINGA TRIBE

<i>Parents.</i>		<i>Children.</i>	
1	2	3	4
<i>Moiety A</i> Tjuanaku Tjulantjuka	<i>Moiety B</i> Tjurulum Thungallum	<i>Moiety A</i> Pugarinji Paliarinji	<i>Moiety B</i> Tjamerum Yakomari
Paliarinji Pungarinji	Tjamerum Yakomari	Tjulantjuka Tjuanaku	Tjurulum Thungallum

In this tribe also the women of each subclass have a name distinct from that of the men. Thus in one subclass the men are called Paliarinji and the women Paliarina; in another the men are Pungarinji and the women Pungarina; in another the men are called Tjurulum and the women Nurulum; in another the men are called Thungallum and the women Nungallum; in another the men are called Tjamerum and the women Niamerum; and in another the men are called Yakomari and the women Yakomarina. In all these six cases the feminine names are clearly derived from, or at any rate akin to, the masculine names. But in the remaining two subclasses the masculine and feminine names appear to be quite distinct. For in one of these two subclasses the men are called Tjuanaku and the women Niriuma; in the other the men are called Tjulantjuka and the women Nurlum.<sup>2</sup>

Different names for the men and women of the subclasses.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

Names of the classes and subclasses in the Mara and Anula tribes, together with the rules of marriage and descent.

To the north of the Binbinga nation lie the Mara and Anula tribes on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria. At first sight these tribes, like the Southern Arunta, appear to be divided, not like the rest, into eight, but only into four exogamous subclasses, since they have only names for four, not for eight, of these subclasses. But in practice, just as among the Southern Arunta, these four nominal subclasses are split each into two, so that the total number of subclasses is really eight, and the rules of marriage and descent are just the same as in all the tribes from the Arunta northward. In the Mara tribe the four names of the subclasses are Murungun, Mumbali, Purdal, and Kuial, of which the two former compose one class or moiety of the tribe and the two latter compose the other. The names of these two classes or moieties are Urku and Ua, and the subclasses, are arranged under them as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

URKU { Murungun.  
          Mumbali.

UA { Purdal.  
      Kuial.

In the following table<sup>2</sup> the rules of marriage and descent are exhibited on the principles adopted in the preceding tables, and for the sake of clearness the two actual subclasses into which each nominal subclass falls are distinguished by the letters *a* and *b*. For example, a Murungun *a* man marries a Purdal *a* woman and the children are Murungun *b*; a Purdal *a* man marries a Murungun *a* woman and the children are Purdal *b*.

#### MARA TRIBE

<i>Parents.</i>		<i>Children.</i>	
1	2	3	4
<i>Urku</i> Murungun <i>a</i> Mumbali <i>a</i>	<i>Ua</i> Purdal <i>a</i> Kuial <i>a</i>	<i>Urku</i> Murungun <i>b</i> Mumbali <i>b</i>	<i>Ua</i> Purdal <i>b</i> Kuial <i>b</i>
Mumbali <i>b</i> Murungun <i>b</i>	Purdal <i>b</i> Kuial <i>b</i>	Mumbali <i>a</i> Murungun <i>a</i>	Purdal <i>a</i> Kuial <i>a</i>

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 116 sq., 118 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 120, 124.

Lastly, in the Anula tribe the four nominal subclasses are Awukaria, Roumburia, Urtalia, and Wialia, of which the two former compose one class or moiety of the tribe and the two latter compose the other. In this tribe no names for the two classes or moieties exist, whether it be that they have not yet been adopted or have been lost. The rules of marriage and descent are exhibited as before in the following table,<sup>1</sup> in which again for the sake of clearness the two actual subclasses into which each nominal subclass is divided are distinguished by the letters *a* and *b*.

THE ANULA TRIBE

<i>Parents.</i>		<i>Children.</i>	
1	2	3	4
<i>Moiety A</i> Awukaria <i>a</i> Roumburia <i>a</i>	<i>Moiety B</i> Urtalia <i>a</i> Wialia <i>a</i>	<i>Moiety A</i> Awukaria <i>b</i> Roumburia <i>b</i>	<i>Moiety B</i> Urtalia <i>b</i> Wialia <i>b</i>
Roumburia <i>b</i> Awukaria <i>b</i>	Urtalia <i>b</i> Wialia <i>b</i>	Roumburia <i>a</i> Awukaria <i>a</i>	Urtalia <i>a</i> Wialia <i>a</i>

Neither in the Mara nor in the Anula tribe are there distinct names for the men and women of a subclass.

From the preceding survey it appears that in all the tribes from the Arunta at the centre of Australia to the Mara and Anula on the Gulf of Carpentaria the system of marriage and descent is, under different names, one and the same. Every tribe is divided into two exogamous classes or moieties and into eight actual exogamous subclasses; and in every tribe descent, so far as the rules of marriage are concerned, is in the male line, since a child always belongs to its father's class or moiety, though never to his subclass.

All the tribes from the Arunta northwards have the same social organisation.

§ 5. *On the Exogamous Organisation of Australian Tribes*

We have now briefly surveyed the marriage systems of the Australian tribes which occupy a vast area of territory

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 118-120.

The marriage system of the Australian tribes in general.

from the Urabunna near Lake Eyre in the south to the Anula and Mara on the Gulf of Carpentaria in the north. We have seen that the systems conform to one or other of two very different types, the Urabunna being divided into two exogamous classes with female descent, while all the other tribes are divided into eight exogamous classes (subclasses) with male descent. Before we proceed further with our survey of Australian totemism and exogamy, it may be well to pause and consider generally these remarkable exogamous divisions in order if possible to form some idea of their origin and meaning. For such an idea, if we can attain to it, will be very useful in clarifying our conceptions of the whole complex system, and so enabling us to fit the many details, which are still to follow, into their proper places.

The great majority of Australian tribes are organised in two, four, or eight exogamous classes.

Leaving out of sight, as we may conveniently do for the present, exceptional or abnormal tribes, the great majority of Australian tribes about whom we possess accurate information are organised for purposes of marriage on one of three patterns, which may be called respectively the two-class system, the four-class system, and the eight-class system; that is, they are divided into two, four, or eight exogamous classes or subclasses, the members of each of which are bound to seek their husbands or wives in a class or subclass different from their own. Thus far in our survey of the central tribes we have met with examples only of the two extremes of this series, namely, with the two-class system and the eight-class system. Some, indeed, of the tribes, as we have seen, simulate the four-class system by having names for only four out of their eight subclasses. But for examples of a true four-class system we must go to other parts of Australia. Thus in Eastern Australia the large group of tribes known as the Kamilaroi is organised in four exogamous subclasses, and so is another group of tribes of which the Kaiabara may be taken as typical; but whereas descent in the Kamilaroi is maternal, descent in the Kaiabara is paternal.<sup>1</sup> Interpolating such four-class systems between the two-class system and the eight-class system we obtain a regular series into which every normally organised Australian tribe

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 396 *sqq.*, 442 *sqq.*

will be found to fall. The systems increase in complexity as we pass from one end of the series to the other, beginning with the two-class system, which is the simplest, and ending with the eight-class system, which is the most complex.

In contemplating the series the first thing that strikes us is that the number of exogamous classes in a normal Australian tribe is always either two or a multiple of two ; it is never an odd number. This raises a presumption that the organisation throughout is artificial and has been produced by successive and deliberate dichotomies of a previously undivided community, which was first divided into two, then in some cases by a second dichotomy into four, and lastly in other cases by a third dichotomy into eight. For had the origin of these exogamous divisions within a tribe been accidental, it is very unlikely that their number in all normal tribes should be either two or a multiple of two, never an odd number nor an even number indivisible by two. But if for the sake of argument we may assume for a moment that the organisation of Australian tribes in exogamous classes has been purposeful, not fortuitous, we must ask, What was the purpose which these savages had in view when they thus subdivided themselves and thereby imposed, with each successive dichotomy, ever-increasing restrictions on the freedom of marriage? In order to discover the intention of the dichotomies the first step is to ascertain their effect ; for if they are artificial, as they appear to be, they must have been devised to produce a certain effect, and if we can find out the effect which they do actually produce we may legitimately argue back from it to the intention of the founders. The argument, though legitimate, is not by itself conclusive, since in human affairs it too often happens that the effects which an institution really brings about are by no means those which it was designed to accomplish. Still in such enquiries the discovery of effects is essential to the ascertainment of motives, and furnishes a valuable, though not infallible, clew to guide us to the object of our search. With this caution let us try to see what are the actual results of dividing a community into two, four, and eight exogamous classes

The regular division of a tribe into two or multiples of two suggests that the division is artificial and intentional. In order to discover its intention, we must ask, What is its effect ?

of the Australian pattern with the concomitant rules of descent.

The effect of the successive subdivision into two, four, and eight, with the characteristic rules of descent, is to bar the marriage of brothers with sisters, of parents with children, and of a man's children with his sister's children.

If we may assume that in these successive subdivisions all the children of the same parents are arranged in the same exogamous class, then the effect of dividing a community into two exogamous classes is to prevent brothers from marrying their sisters; the effect of dividing a community into four exogamous classes, with the characteristic rule of descent, is to prevent parents from marrying their children; and the effect of dividing a community into eight exogamous classes, with the characteristic rule of descent, is to prevent a man's children from marrying his sister's children, in other words, it is to prevent the marriage of some, though not all, of those whom we call first cousins. That these are the actual effects of the successive dichotomies will appear from the following explanations and examples.

The division into two classes bars the marriage of brothers with sisters, but not all marriages of parents with children.

Let us begin with the simplest system of the series, that is, with the bisection of the community into two exogamous classes, which we will call A and B. On this system every member of the class A, whether male or female, is forbidden to marry a member of that class and is bound, if he or she marries at all, to marry only a member of the class B. Conversely every member of the class B, whether male or female, is forbidden to marry a member of that class and is bound, if he or she marries at all, to marry only a member of the class A. Further, so far as the organisation in classes is concerned, any member of the class A is free to marry any member of class B, and any member of class B is free to marry any member of class A. Hence if all the children of the same parents are arranged, as we have assumed them to be, in the same exogamous class, it follows that under the two-class system no brother may marry his sister; for if he is an A, his sisters are also As, and therefore forbidden to him; and if he is a B, they are also Bs, and therefore forbidden to him; since according to the fundamental law of the community a married couple must always be composed of an A and a B, never of an A and an A, or of a B and a B. But what happens with regard to the children under this system? If maternal descent is the

rule, then the children of a male A and a female B are Bs, and the children of a male B and a female A are As. Conversely if paternal descent prevails, the children of a male A and a female B are As, and the children of a male B and a female A are Bs. Hence if any A may marry any B, it will follow that with maternal descent the two-class system permits a father to marry his daughter, and that with male descent it permits a mother to marry her son. For with maternal descent the daughter of a man A is a B and therefore marriageable to him; and with paternal descent the son of a woman A is a B and therefore marriageable to her. On the other hand it is to be observed that the two-class system with paternal descent prevents a man from marrying his daughter, since she is of his own class; and that the two-class system with maternal descent prevents a woman from marrying her son, since he is of her own class. Thus the two-class system with paternal or maternal descent prevents some, but not all, cases of marriage between a parent and a child.

Let us next examine the four-class system with its characteristic rule of descent. Under this system the two exogamous classes A and B are each subdivided into two exogamous subclasses, which we will call respectively  $a^1$ ,  $a^2$ , and  $b^1$ ,  $b^2$ . Under this system the rule of the two-class system still prevails so far that an A must still marry a B, but instead of being free to marry any B, his or her choice is now restricted to one half of the Bs; and conversely while a B is still bound to marry an A, his or her choice is now restricted to one half of the As. Thus  $Aa^1$  is bound to marry  $Bb^1$ , but is forbidden to marry  $Bb^2$ ; and  $Aa^2$  is bound to marry  $Bb^2$ , but is forbidden to marry  $Bb^1$ . Hence under the four-class system, just as under the two-class system, a brother cannot marry his sister, since if he, for example, is  $Aa^1$ , she will be  $Aa^1$  also and therefore forbidden to him, because his wife must be  $Bb^1$ . But what happens with regard to the children? Here we are brought face to face with a most remarkable difference between the two-class system and the four-class system. Whereas under the two-class system, children always belong to the class either of their father or of their mother, under the four-class system

The division into four exogamous classes, with the characteristic rule of descent, bars the marriage both of brothers with sisters and of parents with children.

children never belong to the subclass of their father or of their mother, but always to a subclass which differs both from the subclass of their father and from the subclass of their mother. From this it at once follows that under the four-class system, contrary to what may happen under the two-class system, a father may never marry his daughter and a mother may never marry her son, whether descent be reckoned in the maternal or in the paternal line. For example, if maternal descent is the rule, then the children of a man  $Aa^1$  and a woman  $Bb^1$  are  $Bb^2$ , that is, they belong to their mother's class B but not to her subclass  $b^1$ ; hence the man  $Aa^1$  may not marry his daughter  $Bb^2$ , since she is not of the subclass  $b^1$ , from which alone he may take a wife. And the woman  $Bb^1$  may not marry her son  $Bb^2$ , because he is of her own class B. Conversely, if paternal descent is the rule, then the children of a man  $Aa^1$  and a woman  $Bb^1$  are  $Aa^2$ , that is, they belong to their father's class A but not to his subclass  $a^1$ ; hence the woman  $Bb^1$  may not marry her son  $Aa^2$ , since he is not of the subclass  $a^1$ , in which alone she may find a husband. And the man  $Aa^1$  may not marry his daughter  $Aa^2$ , because she is of his own class A. Thus, whether the rule of descent be maternal or paternal, the four-class system absolutely prevents the marriage of parents with children as well as of brothers with sisters.

But the division into four exogamous classes does not bar the marriage of a man's children with his sister's children.

But let us carry the analysis a step lower down and ask, How does the four-class system affect the third generation? does it prevent the marriage of the children of a brother with the children of his sister? The answer is that it does not. Let us take a man  $Aa^1$  and his sister, who is necessarily also  $Aa^1$ , and let us suppose that the rule of descent is maternal. Then the wife of the brother  $Aa^1$  will be a woman  $Bb^1$  and the children will be  $Bb^2$ ; and the husband of the sister  $Aa^1$  will be  $Bb^1$  and her children will be  $Aa^2$ . Hence the children  $Bb^2$  of the brother  $Aa^1$  will be marriageable with the children  $Aa^2$  of his sister  $Aa^1$ , because  $Aa^2$  and  $Bb^2$  are intermarrying classes. Conversely, if the rule of descent is paternal, the children of the brother  $Aa^1$  will be  $Aa^2$  and the children of his sister  $Aa^1$  will be  $Bb^2$ ; hence the children  $Aa^2$  of the brother  $Aa^1$  will be marriage-

able with the children  $Bb^2$  of his sister  $Aa^1$ , for the same reason as before, because  $Aa^2$  and  $Bb^2$  are intermarrying classes. Thus whether the rule of descent be maternal or paternal, the four-class system presents no obstacle to the marriage of the children of a brother with the children of a sister. In other words, under the four-class system first cousins are free to marry each other in the particular case in which they are children of a brother and a sister; but they are not free to marry in the case in which they are children either of two brothers or of two sisters, since the children of two brothers or of two sisters necessarily belong to the same exogamous division and are therefore forbidden to each other.

Lastly, let us consider the eight-class system with its characteristic rule of descent. An examination of it, as exhibited in the preceding tables,<sup>1</sup> will easily satisfy us that it, like the four-class system, prevents the marriage first of brothers with sisters, and, second, of parents with children; and if we trace its effect on the third generation we shall see that it, unlike the four-class system, prevents the marriage of a man's children with the children of his sister, and that too whether descent be reckoned in the maternal or the paternal line.<sup>2</sup> Take, for example, the Warramunga tribe, which has the eight-class system and male descent, and look at the table of marriage and descent, which for the convenience of the reader I will here repeat:—

The division into eight exogamous classes bars the marriage of brothers with sisters, of parents with children, and of a man's children with his sister's children.

Parents.		Children.	
1	2	3	4
Uluuru $a^1$ Thapanunga Tjunguri $e^2$	Kingilli Tjupila $b^1$ Thungalla $f^2$	Uluuru $c$ Thapungarti Tjapeltjeri $g$	Kingilli Thakomara $d$ Tjambin $h$
Tjapeltjeri $i$ Thapungarti $j$	Thakomara $i$ Tjambin $j$	Tjunguri Thapanunga	Tjupila Thungalla

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 262 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> That the eight-class system prevents the marriage of a man's children with his sister's children has already been pointed out by Messrs. Spencer

and Gillen. See their *Northern Tribes*, p. 117. The same observation had previously been made by Mr. E. Crawley (*The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 473).

The first two vertical columns represent the intermarrying subclasses, the second two represent the offspring of these marriages, column 3 containing the children of men 1 and women 2, and column 4 containing the children of men 2 and women 1. For example, a Thapanunga man marries a Tjupila woman and their children are Thapungarti: a Tjupila man marries a Thapanunga woman and their children are Thakomara. And similarly with the rest. Now in the first place it is clear from an inspection of the table that a man may not marry his sister; for if he, for example, is a Thapanunga, his sister must be a Thapanunga too, and therefore forbidden to him, since his wife must be a Tjupila. In the second place it is clear that a man may not marry his daughter; for if he, for example, is a Thapanunga, his daughter will be a Thapungarti, not a Tjupila, whom alone he may marry. Again, it is clear that a woman may not marry her son; for if she is, for example, a Tjupila, her son will be a Thapungarti, and not a Thapanunga, whom alone she may marry. In the third place if by the help of the table we trace the descent to the third generation we shall find that a man's children may not marry his sister's children. Take, for example, a Thapanunga man and his sister, who must of course be a Thapanunga also. Then the wife of this Thapanunga man will be a Tjupila woman, and their children will be Thapungarti. The husband of Thapanunga's sister will be a Tjupila man and their children will be Thakomara. Hence the Thapungarti children of the brother may not marry the Thakomara children of his sister, since the subclasses Thapungarti and Thakomara are not marriageable with each other, Thapungarti marrying only with Tjambin, and Thakomara marrying only with Tjapeltjeri.

The bar is equally effective when the descent is maternal.

In the Warramunga tribe, as indeed in all the eight-class tribes known to us, the rule of descent is paternal; but with a rule of maternal descent the bars to marriage, whether of brothers with sisters, or of parents with children, or of the children of a brother with the children of his sister, would under the eight-class system be just the same. With the foregoing explanations and the help of a table the reader could easily trace this out for himself. If,

for example, the Warramunga had maternal descent instead of paternal, it would be necessary to transpose columns 3 and 4 in the table; for with maternal descent the children of Uluuru men would be Kingilli instead of Uluuru, and the children of Uluuru women would be Uluuru instead of Kingilli. In that case the children of a Thapanunga man would be Thakomara and the children of his Thapanunga sister would be Thapungarti; therefore the children of this man and of his sister would still be prevented from marrying each other, since they would belong to subclasses (Thakomara and Thapungarti) which do not intermarry.

To sum up. The effect of the two-class system is to bar the marriage of brothers with sisters, but not in all cases the marriage of parents with children, nor the marriage of a man's children with his sister's children. The effect of the four-class system is to bar the marriage of brothers with sisters and of parents with children in every case, but not the marriage of a man's children with his sister's children. The effect of the eight-class system is to bar the marriage of brothers with sisters, of parents with children, and of a man's children with his sister's children. The result of each successive dichotomy is thus to strike out another class of relations from the list of persons with whom marriage may be contracted: it is to add one more to the list of prohibited degrees.

But is the effect which these successive segmentations actually produce the effect which they were intended to produce? I think we may safely conclude that it is. For the aborigines of Australia at the present day certainly entertain a deep horror of incest, that is, of just those marriages which the exogamous segmentations of the community are fitted to preclude; and down to recent times they commonly punished all such incestuous intercourse with death.<sup>1</sup> It would therefore be perfectly natural that their ancestors should have taken the most stringent measures to prevent the commission of what they, like their descendants, probably regarded as a crime of the deepest dye and fraught with danger to society. Thus an adequate

<sup>1</sup> The evidence will be given below for the various tribes separately.

The effect of each successive subdivision is to add another to the list of prohibited degrees.

The effect which these successive subdivisions actually produce is probably the one which they were intended to produce; for the marriages which these subdivisions prevent are just those which the Australian aborigines abhor.

motive for the institution of their present marriage laws certainly exists among the Australian aborigines; and as these laws, in their combined complexity and regularity, have all the appearance of being artificial, it is legitimate to infer that they were devised by the natives for the purpose of achieving the very results which they do effectively achieve. Those who are best acquainted at first hand with the Australian savages believe them to be capable both of conceiving and of executing such social reforms as are implied in the institution of their present marriage system.<sup>1</sup> We have no right to reject the deliberate opinion of the most competent authorities on such a point, especially when all the evidence at our disposal goes to confirm it. To dismiss as baseless an opinion so strongly supported is contrary to every sound principle of scientific research. It is to substitute the deductive for the inductive method; for it sets aside the evidence of first-hand observation in favour of our own abstract notions of probability. We civilised men who know savages only at second hand through the reports of others are bound to accept the well-weighed testimony of accurate and trustworthy observers as to the facts of savage life, whether that testimony agrees with our prepossessions or not. If we accept some of their statements and reject others according to an arbitrary standard of our own, there is an end of scientific anthropology. We may then, if we please, erect a towering structure of hypothesis, which will perhaps hang together and look fair outwardly but is rotten inwardly, because the premises on which it rests are false. In the present case the only ground for denying that the elaborate marriage system of the Australian aborigines has been devised by them for the purpose which it actually serves appears to be

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1883) pp. 499 *sqq.*; *id.*, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *ibid.* xviii. (1889) pp. 40 *sq.*, 66; *id.*, "Australian Group-Relationships," *ibid.* xxxvii. (1907) pp. 286 *sq.*; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 89 *sq.*, 140, 143; Spencer and Gillen,

*Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 12-15, 69; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 123 *sq.*; *id.*, "Some Remarks on Totemism as applied to the Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) p. 278; Baldwin Spencer, in *Transactions of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Dunedin, January 1904, pp. 419 *sq.*

a preconceived idea that these savages are incapable of thinking out and putting in practice a series of checks and counter-checks on marriage so intricate that many civilised persons lack either the patience or the ability to understand them. Yet the institution which puzzles some European minds seems to create little or no difficulty for the intellect of the Australian savage. In his hands the complex and cumbrous machine works regularly and smoothly enough; and this fact of itself should make us hesitate to affirm that he could not have invented an instrument which he uses so skilfully.

The truth is that all attempts to trace the origin and growth of human institutions without the intervention of human intelligence and will are radically vicious and foredoomed to failure. It may seem to some to be scientific to treat savage man as a mere automaton, a shuttlecock of nature, a helpless creature of circumstances, and so to explain the evolution of primitive society, like the evolution of material bodies, by the play of physical forces alone. But a history of man so written is neither science nor history: it is a parody of both. For it ignores the prime factor of the movement, the mainspring of the whole machine, and that is man's conscious life, his thoughts, his aspirations, his endeavours. In every age he has had these, and they, far more than anything else, have moulded his institutions. External nature certainly acts on him, but he reacts on it, and his history is the resultant of that action and reaction. To leave out of account either of these mutually interdependent elements, the external and the internal, is to falsify history by presenting us with an incomplete view of it; but of the two the internal element is, if not the more influential, certainly the more obvious, the more open to our observation, and therefore the more important for the historian, who in his effort to refer the events of the human drama to their sources may more safely ignore the influence of climate and weather, of soil and water, of rivers and mountains, than the thoughts, the passions, the ambitions of the actors. We shall as little understand the growth of savage as of civilised institutions if we persist in shutting our eyes to the deliberate choice

It is futile to attempt to trace the growth of savage institutions without taking into account the factors of intelligence and will; and no savage customs bear the impress of thought and purpose more clearly stamped on them than the marriage system of the Australian aborigines.

which man, whether savage or civilised, has exercised in shaping them. It should always be borne in mind that the savage differs from his civilised brother rather in degree than in kind, rather in the point at which his development has been arrested or retarded than in the direction of the line which it has followed; and if, as we know, the one has used his judgment and discretion in making his laws, we may be sure that the other has done so also. The kings and presidents, the senates and parliaments of civilisation have their parallels in the chiefs and headmen, the councils of elders and the tribal assemblies of savagery; and the laws promulgated by the former have their counterpart in the customs initiated and enforced by the latter. Among savage customs there are few or none that bear the impress of thought and purpose stamped upon them so clearly as the complex yet regular marriage system of the Australian aborigines. We shall do well therefore to acquiesce in the opinion of the best observers, who ascribe the origin of that system to the prolonged reflection and deliberate intention of the natives themselves.

But the system in its more complex forms of four or eight exogamous classes was not struck out at a blow; it wasevolved out of the two-class system by a process of bisection, single or repeated.

But while there are strong grounds for thinking that the system of exogamy has been deliberately devised and instituted by the Australian aborigines for the purpose of effecting just what it does effect, it would doubtless be a mistake to suppose that its most complex form, the eight-class system, was struck out at a single blow. All the evidence and probability are in favour of the view that the system originated in a simple bisection of the community into two exogamous classes only; that, when this was found insufficient to bar marriages which the natives regarded as objectionable, each of the two classes was again subdivided into two, making four exogamous classes in all; and finally that, when four exogamous classes still proved inadequate for the purpose, each of them was again subdivided into two, making eight exogamous classes in all. Thus from a simple beginning the Australian aborigines appear to have advanced step by step to the complex system of eight exogamous classes, the process being one of successive bisections or dichotomies. The first bisection barred the marriage of brothers with sisters; the second

bisection, combined with the characteristic rule of descent, which places the children in a different class both from the father and from the mother, barred the marriage of parents with children; and the third bisection, combined with a rule of descent like the preceding, barred the marriage of a man's children with his sister's children, in other words, it prevented the marriage of some, but not all, of those whom we call first cousins.

The reformers who devised and introduced these great social changes were probably, as we shall see later on,<sup>1</sup> the council of old men, who in every Australian tribe exercise a preponderating influence over the community and appear to be able to carry through any measure on which they have privately agreed among themselves. When the system had once been adopted by a single local community, it might easily be copied by their neighbours and so might spread by peaceful transmission from tribe to tribe in ever widening circles, until it was embraced by practically the whole aboriginal population of Australia. This supposition is in accord with what we know to be actually taking place at the present day among the Australian tribes. The names for four out of their eight subclasses have been adopted in recent times by the Arunta from their northern neighbours the Ipirra, and they are gradually spreading southward; in the year 1898 the names had not yet reached the southern part of the Arunta tribe.<sup>2</sup> Similarly dances or ceremonies and their accompanying songs are passed on from tribe to tribe; and when, as often happens, the language of the tribe which has borrowed the ceremony differs from that of the tribe which invented it, the reformers may and frequently do chant words which are totally unintelligible both to themselves and to their hearers. Indeed we are told that the ceremonial songs of these savages, like the religious litanies of some more advanced peoples, are generally couched in an unknown tongue.<sup>3</sup> This wide diffusion of customs is greatly facilitated

The system was probably devised and introduced by the council of elders in some one local community, from which it may have gradually spread by peaceful transmission over the whole of Australia.

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 352 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 72; *Northern Tribes*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-west-central Queens-*

*land Aborigines* (Brisbane and London, 1897), pp. 117 sq.; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 281 note<sup>1</sup>; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 20.

by the peaceful and friendly relations which generally prevail between neighbouring Australian tribes. The common assumption that savages live in a state of perpetual warfare with each other does not apply to the aborigines of Australia.<sup>1</sup>

The alternative theory that the complex organisation of an Australian tribe was produced by amalgamation rather than subdivision is open to serious objections. For, on that hypothesis, why should the federal communities always be two or multiples of two?

Thus we may accept with some degree of confidence the hypothesis that the remarkable division of the Australian tribes into two, four, or eight exogamous classes, with correspondingly complicated rules of descent, has been brought about by a series of dichotomies purposely instituted for the sake of achieving those very results which in practice they achieve. The only alternative to this hypothesis would seem to be to suppose that these exogamous classes had arisen by accretion rather than by subdivision, or, in other words, by the amalgamation of independent exogamous communities which retained their rule of exogamy after coalescing with each other. On this alternative theory the first observation that occurs is, Why were these federal communities so regularly either two in number or multiples of two? Why not as often three, five, or seven as two, four, or eight? The regular division of the normal Australian tribe into two, four, or eight exogamous classes is perfectly intelligible on the hypothesis that it was produced by dichotomy, single or repeated; on the other hypothesis it remains obscure, if not inexplicable, for it is contrary to all probability that the communities which federated with each other should have regularly, if not invariably, been either two in number or a multiple of two.

Again, on the hypothesis of amalgama-

But even if we grant the possibility that the Australian savage, inspired by a passion for even numbers, or rather for the number two and its multiples, should have resolutely

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 32; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 31, "The different local groups within the one tribe and the members of contiguous tribes, where they are in contact, live for the most part in a state of mutual friendship. . . . Of course there are exceptions to this, but, on the whole, it is strikingly true of the Australian savage. To judge from ordinary accounts in popular works,

one would imagine that the various tribes were in a state of constant hostility. Nothing could be further from the truth." The authors are careful to remind us that this statement refers only to those central and northern tribes with whom they came personally into contact. But as these tribes have been perhaps less contaminated than any others by European influence, their relations to each other may fairly be taken as typical.

spurned all overtures of union with bodies whose numbers, added up together, did not produce the requisite total, the hypothesis of amalgamation as opposed to subdivision is still open to a very serious objection. For while we may without much difficulty conceive that communities, which in their independent state had been exogamous, should remain exogamous after they had united to form a confederacy, it is far more difficult to understand why in uniting they should have adopted the complicated rules of descent which characterise the four-class and eight-class organisations of the Australian tribes. We can imagine that each community in the confederacy should continue as before to take its wives from another community, but why should the two intermarrying communities now cede their children to a third? Why should the confederacy lay down a new rule that henceforth children should never belong as before to the community either of their father or of their mother, but always to a community different from them both? On the theory of amalgamation what motive can be assigned for this rigid exclusion of all children from the communities of both their parents? That exclusion is perfectly intelligible on the hypothesis that it was devised to prevent the marriage of parents with children, but it is difficult to see how it can be explained on any other.

On the whole, then, we seem driven to the conclusion that the organisation of the normal Australian tribe in two, four, or eight exogamous classes has been produced by deliberate and, where it has been repeated, successive dichotomy of the tribe for the purpose of preventing those marriages of near kin which the aborigines regard with so much horror.<sup>1</sup> But to this view a European reader may naturally

tion, how are we to explain the rule of descent in the four- and eight-class systems?

To the view that the social organisation of an Australian tribe was devised to prevent the marriage of

<sup>1</sup> This was the conclusion which that sober and cautious enquirer Dr. A. W. Howitt reached many years ago. In a paper which was read before the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain on 12th December 1882 he thus summed up his views:

“(1) The primary division into two classes was intended to prevent brother and sister marriage in the commune.

“(2) The secondary divisions into subclasses were intended to prevent

the possibility of intermarriage between parents (own and tribal) and children.

“(3) The prohibition of the slightest intercourse between a woman and her daughter's husband was a social enactment intended to forbid connections which the class rules were unable to prevent.

“(4) All these changes have been due to an international reformatory movement in the community itself.”

See A. W. Howitt, “Notes on the

near kin  
it may be  
objected  
that it in  
fact pre-  
vents the  
marriage of  
many other  
persons.  
This objec-  
tion reveals  
a lack of  
acquaintance  
with the Aus-  
tralian  
system of  
relation-  
ships, which  
is based,  
not on ties  
of blood  
between  
individuals,  
but on  
social  
relations  
between  
groups.  
This system  
is known as  
the Classi-  
ficatory  
System of  
Relation-  
ship.

object that the institution of these exogamous classes was a clumsy expedient, which, while it certainly fulfilled its purpose of preventing the marriages in question, went far beyond the intention of its authors by prohibiting marriage between large numbers of people who were not related to each other by blood at all. This objection reveals a lack of acquaintance with savage ideas of kinship, which differ very widely from our own. The researches of the American ethnologist L. H. Morgan and others within the last fifty years have proved that like savages in many, if not all, parts of the world the Australian aborigines count kin according to what is called the classificatory system of relationship. The fundamental principle of that system is that kinship is reckoned between groups rather than between individuals; for example, under it a man gives the name of father not to one individual man only but to a group of men, any one of whom might, in accordance with the tribal custom, have been his father; he gives the name of mother not to one individual woman only but to a group of women, any one of whom might, in accordance with the tribal custom, have been his mother; he gives the name of brother and sister, not only to the children of his father and mother, but to a group of men and women who are the offspring of all those women and men whom his father and mother might, in accordance with the tribal custom, have married: he gives the name of wife not only to his actual

Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1883) pp. 499-504. When Dr. Howitt wrote thus, the existence of tribes with an eight-class system was unknown, so necessarily he could not take account of it. The rule that a man must avoid social, as well as sexual, intercourse with his mother-in-law is very widespread among the aborigines of Australia. Examples of it will be found in the sequel. In the passage to which I have referred in this note Dr. Howitt points out that with a two-class system and maternal descent a man's mother-in-law always belongs to the class of women who is marriageable to him, since she belongs to the same class

as her daughter, his wife, and Dr. Howitt suggests that the custom of avoidance between a man and his mother-in-law grew up in order to prevent that sexual intercourse between them which the system could not bar. On the other hand, it is to be observed that the marriage of a man with his mother-in-law is barred by the two-class system with paternal descent and by the four-class system both with paternal and maternal descent. See further on this subject the observations of Mr. A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 353 note<sup>2</sup>.

wife but to all the women whom the custom of the tribe would have allowed him to marry ; and he gives the name of sons and daughters not only to children whom he has himself begotten but also to all the children of those women whom he might have married but did not. Strange as this system of group relationship seems to us, it is actually prevalent at the present day over a great part, probably the greater part of the world ; and it is only explicable, as we shall see presently, on the hypothesis that it sprang from, and accurately represents, a system of group marriage, that is, a system in which a group of men enjoyed marital rights over a group of women, so that any man of the one group might call any woman of the other group his wife and treat her as such ; while every child born of such group marriages gave the name of father to every one of the whole group of men to which his actual father belonged, and the name of mother to every one of the whole group of women to which his actual mother belonged. Such titles would not by any means imply a belief that the speaker had been begotten by all the men of his father's group or borne by all the women of his mother's group. It would mean no more than that he stood in a similar social, not physical, relationship to all the men and women of these groups. It would mean that the duties which he owed to them and the rights which he claimed from them were the same in respect of every member of the group, and were neither greater nor less in respect of his physical father and mother than in respect of all the other men and women on whom he bestowed the names of father and mother. In short, under this system paternity and maternity, brotherhood and sisterhood, sonship and daughtership designated social not consanguineous relationships, the tie of blood being either ignored or at all events cast into the background by the greater importance of the tie which bound all the members of the groups together. It was, to all appearance, a period not of individualism but of social communism ; and when we remember how feeble each individual man is by comparison with the larger animals, we may be ready to admit that in his early struggles with them for the mastery a system which knit large groups of

men and women together by the closest ties was more favourable to progress than one which would have limited the family group to a single pair and their offspring. Then, perhaps even more than now, union was strength: disunion and dispersal would have exposed our ancestors to the risk of being exterminated piecemeal by their ferocious and individually far stronger adversaries, the large carnivorous animals.

Thus the social organisation of an Australian tribe is intended to prevent the inter-marriage of certain social groups, and this intention is adequately effected.

Now to revert to the exogamous classes of the Australian tribes. If we assume, as we have every right to do, that the founders of exogamy in Australia recognised the classificatory system of relationship, and the classificatory system of relationship only, we shall at once perceive that what they intended to prevent was not merely the marriage of a man with his sister, his mother, or his daughter in the physical sense in which we use these terms; their aim was to prevent his marriage with his sister, his mother, and his daughter in the classificatory sense of these terms; that is, they intended to place bars to marriage not between individuals merely but between the whole groups of persons who designated their group not their individual relationships, their social not their consanguineous ties, by the names of father and mother, brother and sister, son and daughter. And in this intention the founders of exogamy succeeded perfectly. In the completest form of the system, namely, the division of the community into eight exogamous classes, they barred the marriage of group brothers with group sisters, of group fathers with group daughters, of group mothers with group sons, and of the sons of group brothers with the daughters of group sisters. Thus the dichotomy of an Australian tribe in its completest form, namely in the eight-class organisation, was not a clumsy expedient which overshot its mark by separating from each other many persons whom the authors of it had no intention of separating: it was a device admirably adapted to effect just what its inventors intended, neither more nor less. But this will be better understood by the reader on a closer acquaintance with the classificatory system of relationship, with which the exogamy of the Australian tribes is inseparably bound up. To that subject we now turn.

§ 6. *The Classificatory System of Relationship in the Central and Northern Tribes*

In all the Australian tribes thus far passed in review there prevails what is known as the Classificatory System of Relationship; in other words, the natives count kinship not between individuals merely, as we do, but between classes or groups, and the principle of classification, as we shall see presently, is not blood but marriage. After enumerating the classificatory terms of relationship in use among these tribes, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe: "It will at once be seen that the one striking feature, common to the whole series, is that the terms used by the natives apply not to the individual but to the group of which the individual is a member. Whilst we are of course obliged to use our ordinary terms of relationship, such as father, mother, brother, wife, etc., it must always be remembered that this is merely a matter of convenience, and that, for example, the words *oknia*, which we translate by father, or *mia* by mother, *okilia* by brother, and *unawa* by wife, by no means whatever connote the meaning of our English terms. *Oknia*—and the same applies precisely to all the terms—is not applied or regarded by an individual as in the least degree applicable to one man only; it is simply the name of a group of individuals of which he is a member. Strictly speaking, in our sense of the word they have no individual terms of relationship, but every person has certain groups of men and women who stand in a definite relationship to him and he to them. . . . It is absolutely essential in dealing with these people to lay aside all ideas of relationship as counted amongst ourselves. The savage Australian, it may indeed be said with truth, has no idea of relationships as we understand them. He does not, for example, discriminate between his actual father and mother and the men and women who belong to the group, each member of which might have lawfully been either his father or his mother, as the case may be. Any wrong done to his actual father or mother, or to his actual father-in-law or mother-in-law, counts for nothing whatever more than any wrong which he may have

The Classificatory System of relationship in Australia.

done to any man or woman who is a member of a group of individuals, any one of whom might have been his father or mother, his father-in-law or mother-in-law."<sup>1</sup>

The Classificatory System classifies all the members of a community in classes or groups on the principle of marriageability, not of blood: the relations which it recognises are social, not physical: it is a system of marriage, not of consanguinity.

The classificatory system of relationship is not limited to the central and northern tribes of Australia. It is shared by all the aborigines of Australia and, as the great American ethnologist, L. H. Morgan, was the first to prove, by many other races in many other parts of the world.<sup>2</sup> As the system, with differences of detail, is recognised certainly by many and probably by all totemic peoples the world over, and as we shall accordingly meet with it again and again in our survey of totemism, it is desirable to give at the outset some brief general explanations in regard to it, all the more so because the system differs fundamentally from ours, and serious confusion has been created through the failure of some enquirers to perceive the distinction. To put that distinction shortly: whereas our system of relationship is based on consanguinity, on the physical tie of a common blood, the classificatory system of relationship is based on marriage; whereas with us the fundamental relation is that between parent and child, and all other relationships are deduced from it, under the classificatory system the fundamental relation is that between husband and wife, and all other relationships are deduced from it. With us the essential question is, Who is my father? or, Who is my mother? but under the classificatory system the essential question is, Whom may I marry? Accordingly the classificatory system classifies the whole community in classes or groups, the common bond between the members of each class or group being not one of blood but simply the similar relation of marriageability or non-marriageability in which they stand to each other and to the members of every other class or group in the community. Each class or group may, and commonly does, include members who are related to each other by ties of blood; but under the classificatory system such ties are accidental, not essential, they are not

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 95 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the*

*Human Family*, forming vol. xvii. of the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge* (Washington, 1871); *id.* *Ancient Society* (London, 1877).

the ground on which the persons so related are classed together in the same class or group. If the reader will steadily bear this simple principle in mind, he will escape some of the pitfalls which beset his path in treading the maze of the classificatory system.

The able English anthropologist J. F. McLennan rightly denied that the classificatory terms of relationship which, for want of exact equivalents, we are obliged to translate as "father," "mother," "son," "daughter," "brother," "sister," imply any blood relationship between the persons so designated. With perfect justice he declared that the classificatory term "father" does not mean "the begetting father"; that the classificatory term "mother" does not mean "the bearing mother"; that the classificatory terms "son" and "daughter" do not mean "begotten by" or "born to"; and that the classificatory terms "brother" and "sister" do not imply connexion by descent from the same father and mother. In short McLennan denied that the classificatory system was a system of blood-ties at all;<sup>1</sup> and if we restrict our view to the principles and origin of the system and leave out of account the ideas which have been afterwards imported into it, there can be little doubt that he was perfectly right in his denial. Further, McLennan correctly perceived that the corner-stone on which the whole classificatory system rests is marriage, not consanguinity. He says: "It cannot be doubted that the classificatory system in the Malayan form illustrates a very early social condition, of man. We must also believe, from its connecting itself with the family, that it had its origin in some early marriage-law. Indeed, an examination of the leading points of difference presented by the various forms of the classificatory system leaves no doubt that the phenomena presented in all the forms are ultimately referable to the marriage law; and that accordingly its origin must be so also."<sup>2</sup>

McLennan rightly saw that the Classificatory System is not a system of consanguinity.

Nevertheless, after having gone so far in the right direction as to see clearly what the classificatory system

<sup>1</sup> J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, New Edition (London, 1886), p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, New Edition (London, 1886), p. 277.

But he erred in thinking that the Classificatory System is a mere system of mutual salutations or modes of address.

was not (namely a system of consanguinity), and to have had at least a glimpse of what it really is (namely a system of marriage), McLennan abruptly turned aside and declared it to be nothing more than a system of mutual salutations or modes of addressing persons in social intercourse.<sup>1</sup>

This proposed explanation of the classificatory terms is unhesitatingly rejected by writers who, like L. H. Morgan, and unlike J. F. McLennan, have had the great advantage of living on a footing of intimacy with savages whose whole social structure is built on the classificatory system. Thus, for example, the Rev. Lorimer Fison, who had experience of the classificatory system of relationship in Fiji as well as in Australia, writes as follows:<sup>2</sup> "It has been asserted that the Classificatory System of Relationship is a mere 'system of addresses,' the ground for this assertion being that the members of certain tribes use the terms in addressing one another; but this explanation of the system appears to me to be directly contradicted by the facts. In the first place there are many tribes who never so employ the terms; in the second place, if they are not terms of relationship, the millions of people who use them have no terms of relationship at all, for they have none other than these; and, finally, it is impossible to suppose that the obligations and prohibitions conveyed by the terms could be conveyed by a mere system of addresses. Take for instance the *tabu* between the Fijian *veinganeni*.<sup>3</sup> Any woman whom a Fijian calls his *ngane* is as strictly forbidden to him as our own sisters are to us; her very touch brings pollution upon him, and if he took her to wife he would be regarded with abhorrence by all his tribe. Is it possible to believe that a mere term of address could bring a prohibition such as this? No theories are needed to account for these classificatory terms; they account for themselves, for they are the necessary outcome of the exogamous intermarrying divisions found in Australia and elsewhere; and the fair inference

<sup>1</sup> J. F. McLennan, *op. cit.* pp. 273 sq., 277 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> L. Fison, "The Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 369 sq.

<sup>3</sup> "*Ngane* is the term of relation between brother and sister. It means 'one who shuns the other,' and the *veinganeni* are the non-marriageable persons" (L. Fison, *op. cit.* p. 360).

is that, wherever we find the terms, these divisions are, or have been in the past." Speaking of McLennan's attempt to treat the classificatory terms as pure modes of address, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen make the following weighty observations:—"To those who have been amongst and watched the natives day after day, this explanation of the terms is utterly unsatisfactory. When, in various tribes, we find series of terms of relationship all dependent upon classificatory systems such as those now to be described, and referring entirely to a mutual relationship such as would be brought about by their existence, we cannot do otherwise than come to the conclusion that the terms do actually indicate various degrees of relationship based primarily upon the existence of intermarrying groups. When we find, for example, that amongst the Arunta natives a man calls a large number of men belonging to one particular group by the name *oknia* (a term which includes our relationship of father), that he calls all the wives of these men by the common name of *mia* (mother),<sup>1</sup> and that he calls all their sons by the name of *okilia* (elder brother) or *itia* (younger brother), as the case may be, we can come to no other conclusion than that this is expressive of his recognition of what may be termed a group relationship. All the 'fathers' are men who belong to the particular group to which his own actual father belongs; all the 'mothers' belong to the same group as that to which his actual mother belongs, and all the 'brothers' belong to his own group.

The classificatory terms express various degrees of relationship based primarily upon the existence of intermarrying groups.

"Whatever else they may be, the relationship terms are certainly not terms of address, the object of which is to prevent the native having to employ a personal name. In the Arunta tribe, for example, every man and woman has a personal name by which he or she is freely addressed by others—that is, by any, except a member of the opposite sex who stands in the relationship of *mura* to them, for such may only on very rare occasions speak to one another. When, as has happened time after time to us, a native

<sup>1</sup> "In using the English term we do not mean to imply that it is the equivalent of the native term, but simply that

the latter includes the relationship indicated by the English term."

says, for example, 'That man is Oriaka (a personal name), he is my *okilia*,' and you cannot possibly tell without further inquiry whether he is the speaker's blood or tribal brother—that is, the son of his own father or of some man belonging to the same particular group as his father—then the idea that the term *okilia* is applied as a polite term of address, or in order to avoid the necessity of using a personal name, is at once seen to be untenable.

Wide prevalence in Australia of the classificatory terms of relationship.

"It is, at all events, a remarkable fact that (apart from the organisation of other tribes, in respect of which we are not competent to speak, but for which the same fact is vouched for by other observers) in all the tribes with which we are acquainted, all the terms coincide, without any exception, in the recognition of relationships, all of which are dependent upon the existence of a classificatory system, the fundamental idea of which is that the women of certain groups marry the men of others. Each tribe has one term applied indiscriminately by the man to the woman or women whom he actually marries and to all the women whom he might lawfully marry—that is, who belong to the right group—one term to his actual mother and to all the women whom his father might lawfully have married; one term to his actual brother and to all the sons of his father's brothers, and so on right through the whole system. To this it may be added that, if these be not terms of relationship, then the language of these tribes is absolutely devoid of any such."<sup>1</sup>

I will now illustrate the classificatory terms of relation-

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 56-58. The writers add in a note: "To this may be added, still further, the fact that there do exist certain terms applied by men to certain particular individuals which are in the strict sense 'terms of address.' A man, for example, addresses particular men who took part in his initiation ceremonies by such terms as Tapunga, Urinthantima, etc., which express no relationship, and the significance of which is entirely distinct from the true terms of relationship now dealt with." The Todas of Southern India, who

have the classificatory system of relationship, employ two well-marked sets of terms expressing bonds of kinship; one set they use in speaking of relatives, the other in speaking to relatives. The terms of address sometimes differ totally from the others. Thus a father is *in*, but he is addressed as *aia*; the son of a father's sister or of a mother's brother is *matchuni*, but he is addressed as *anna*, *egala*, or *enda* according to his age relatively to that of the speaker. See W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483 *sqq.*

ship by examples drawn from the languages of the central and northern tribes of Australia. In doing so, for the sake of brevity and clearness, I shall confine myself to the cardinal terms without attempting to follow out the elaborate system into all its ramifications. The cardinal terms, on which the whole system hinges, are those which include, without being equivalent to, our terms father, mother, brother, sister, wife, husband, son, daughter. It will be enough, therefore, for our purpose to give examples of these classificatory terms in the vocabularies of the central and northern tribes.

Examples of the cardinal terms of relationship in the classificatory system.

Thus in the Urabunna tribe<sup>1</sup> a man applies the same term *nia* to his father and to all his father's brothers, whether they are blood or tribal brothers—that is, whether they are brothers of his father in our sense of the term or merely men who belong to the same marriage group as his father. Hence it follows that every man gives the name of father not to one but to many men, any one of whom might, in accordance with the marriage laws of the tribe, have been his father.

Urabunna term for father.

Again, in the Urabunna tribe a man applies the same term *luka* to his mother and to his mother's elder sisters, whether they are blood or tribal sisters—that is, whether they are sisters of his mother in our sense of the term, or merely women who belong to the same marriage group as his mother. Hence it follows that every man gives the name of mother not to one but to many women, any one of whom might, in accordance with the marriage laws of the tribe, have been his mother. But it is to be observed that while the name for mother (*luka*) includes also the elder sisters, whether blood or tribal, of the mother, it does not include her younger sisters, for whom there is a quite different name, viz. *namuma*.<sup>2</sup> This difference of nomenclature suffices to prove that to the Urabunna mind the elder sisters of a mother stand to a man in a totally different relation from his mother's younger sisters, since the names which denote them are absolutely distinct. The distinction suggests that while any of the elder sisters (whether blood

Urabunna term for mother.

<sup>1</sup> For the Urabunna terms of relationship, see *Native Tribes*, pp. 66 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 66.

or tribal) of his mother might have been his real mother, none of her younger sisters (whether blood or tribal) could have been so; in other words, that among the women of the group into which a man may marry, only those on the senior side are eligible to him, while those on the junior side are forbidden. This agrees with the Urabunna rule that a man may marry only the daughters of his mother's elder brothers or (what comes to the same thing) of his father's elder sisters, not the daughters of his mother's younger brothers or of his father's younger sisters.<sup>1</sup> In both cases we see that preference for seniority in a wife which, as has been suggested,<sup>2</sup> may be based on an old rule that a man might only marry those women who had been initiated before him.

Urabunna terms for elder brother and sister.

Again, an Urabunna man applies the same term *nuthie* to his own elder brothers and to the sons of his father's elder brothers, whether blood or tribal, and the same term *kakua* to his own elder sisters and to the daughters of his father's elder brothers, whether blood or tribal.<sup>3</sup> Thus he applies the terms "elder brother" and "elder sister" to many men and women whom we should regard either as cousins or in many cases as no relations at all. The reason for this extension of the terms "brother" and "sister" is found in the Urabunna marriage rule which includes all these persons in the group from which a man may not take a wife; to him, therefore, all these men and women are brothers and sisters. But again, in relation to brothers and sisters, just as in relation to paternal aunts, the distinction of senior and junior is so important that totally different names are assigned to the two; for whereas elder brothers and elder sisters, whether blood or tribal, are called *nuthie* and *kakua* respectively, younger brothers and younger sisters are called *kupuka*, and this name (*kupuka*) includes not only what we should call younger brothers and sisters, but also the sons and daughters of the father's younger brothers, whether blood or tribal. Thus a man gives the names of "younger brother" and "younger sister" to many men and women whom we should regard either as cousins

Urabunna term for younger brother and sister.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 177 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 179 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 66.

or in many cases as no relations at all.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this sharp distinction between elder and younger brothers and sisters may be, as Dr. Rivers has suggested,<sup>2</sup> that the relation in which a man stands to those who have been initiated before him differs entirely from that in which he stands to those who have been initiated after him.

Again, an Urabunna man applies the same term *nupa* to his wife and to all the daughters of his father's elder sisters and of his mother's elder brothers,<sup>3</sup> where, as usual, the terms brother and sister are employed in the classificatory sense to include both blood and tribal brotherhood and sisterhood. Thus a man gives the name of "wife" to many women who are not his wives. The reason for this wide extension of the term is to be found in the Urabunna marriage rule which assigns all these women to the particular group from which alone a man may take a wife.

Urabunna  
term for  
wife.

Lastly, an Urabunna man applies the same term *biaka* to his own children and to the children of his brothers, whether blood or tribal.<sup>4</sup> Thus he gives the name "my children" to many children who are either his nephews and nieces or in many cases no relations to him at all. The reason for this wide extension of the term is supplied by the Urabunna marriage rule which assigns all brothers to one marriage group and all their wives to another, and treats all the children born of such marriages as if they were one family, the progeny of all the parents in common, without discriminating between the offspring of individual pairs. In short, this classificatory term, like all the preceding, is based on a theory of group marriage.

Urabunna  
term for  
children.

When we pass from the Urabunna to the Arunta tribe we find that, though the particular terms of relationship differ, the classificatory principle on which they are based is the same. Thus, in the generation above his own, an Arunta man applies the same term *oknia* to his father and to his father's brothers, whether blood or tribal; and he applies the same term *mia* to his mother and to his mother's sisters, whether blood or tribal. In his own generation he applies the same term *okilia* to his elder

Classifica-  
tory terms  
of relation-  
ship among  
the Arunta.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 64, 66.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 179 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 66.

brothers and to the sons of his father's elder brothers, whether blood or tribal; the same term *itia* or *witia* to his younger brothers and to the sons of his father's younger brothers, whether blood or tribal; the same term *ungaraitcha* to his elder sisters and to the daughters of his father's elder brothers, whether blood or tribal; the same term *itia* or *quitia* to his younger sisters and to the daughters of his father's younger brothers, whether blood or tribal; and the same term *unawa* to his wife and to the wives of his brothers, whether blood or tribal. In the generation below his own he applies the same term *allira* to his children and to the children of his brothers, whether blood or tribal. But while he applies the same name (*allira*) to his own children and to the children of his brothers, he applies a quite different name (*umba*) to the children of his sisters, whether blood or tribal.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this marked discrimination which a man makes between the children of his brothers and the children of his sisters, all of whom we confound under the common name of nephews and nieces, is as usual to be found in the marriage rules of the tribe; for whereas the children of a man's brothers are the offspring of women whom he might have married, the children of his sisters are the offspring of women whom he is absolutely forbidden to marry. Hence the two sets of children are placed in entirely different categories and distinguished by entirely different names. Lastly, an Arunta woman applies the same term *unawa* to her own husband and to the husbands of her sisters, whether blood or tribal,<sup>2</sup> the reason being that her sisters' husbands all belong to the group from which alone she may receive a husband.

With differences of vocabulary and slight variations of detail the classificatory terms of relationship are in use among all the other central and northern tribes of Australia. Thus in the Luritcha tribe, to the west of the Arunta, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *kartu* to his father and to his father's brothers, blood and tribal; and he applies the same term *yaku* to his mother and to his mother's sisters, blood and tribal. In his own generation he applies the same term *kurta* to his elder

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 77.

brothers and to the sons of his father's elder brothers, blood and tribal; the same term *mirlunguna* to his younger brothers and to the sons of his father's younger brothers, blood and tribal; the same term *kangaru* to his elder sisters and to the daughters of his father's elder brothers; and the same term *kuri* to his wife and to his wife's sisters, blood and tribal. In the generation below his own he applies the same term *katha* to his sons and to his brothers' sons, blood and tribal; and he applies the same term *urntali* to his daughters and to his brothers' daughters, blood and tribal. But while a man applies the same term (*katha*) to his own sons and to his brothers' sons, he applies quite a different term (*ukari*) to his sisters' sons. The reason for the difference has already been given: his brothers' children are the offspring of women whom he himself might have married, but his sisters' children are the offspring of women whom he is absolutely forbidden to marry; hence the two sets of children are placed in entirely different categories and distinguished by entirely different names. A wife applies the same term *kuri* to her own husband and to her husband's brothers,<sup>1</sup> the reason being that her husband's brothers all belong to the group from which alone she may receive a husband.

In the Kaitish tribe, which lies further north than the Arunta, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *akaurli* to his father and to his father's brothers, blood and tribal;<sup>2</sup> and he applies the same term *arungwa* to his mother and to his mother's sisters, blood and tribal. In his own generation he applies the same term *alkiriia* to his elder brothers and to the sons of his father's elder brothers; the same term *achirri* to his younger brothers and to the sons of his father's younger brothers; and the same term *arari* to his elder sisters and to the daughters of his father's elder brothers. In the generation below his own he applies the same term *atumpirri* to his own sons and daughters and to his brothers' sons and daughters. A wife applies the same

Classifica-  
tory terms  
of rela-  
tionship  
among the  
Kaitish.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 77 sq.

<sup>2</sup> But he distinguishes his father's elder brothers as *akaurli aniaura*, and his father's younger brothers as *ak-*

*aurli maianinga*. Thus a father is discriminated from his brothers. Similar discriminations are made by other tribes further to the north. See below, pp. 302, 303.

term *umbirniia* to her husband and to her husband's brothers, blood and tribal.<sup>1</sup>

Classifica-  
tory terms  
of rela-  
tionship  
among the  
Warra-  
munga.

In the Warramunga tribe, immediately to the north of the Kaitish, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *gambatja* to his father and to his father's brothers, blood and tribal; and he applies the same term *kurnandi* to his mother and to his mother's sisters, blood and tribal. In his own generation he applies the same term *papati* to his elder brothers and to the sons of his father's elder brothers; the same term *kukaiija* to his younger brothers and to the sons of his father's younger brothers; the same term *kabalu* to his elder sisters and to the daughters of his father's elder brothers; and the same term *katununga* to his wife and to his wife's sisters. In the generation below his own he applies the same term *katakitji* to his children and to the children of his brothers. But while he applies the same term (*katakitji*) to his own children and to his brothers' children, he applies quite a different term (*kulu-kulu*) to his sisters' children. The reason for the difference has already been given. A wife applies the same term *kulla-kulla* to her husband and to her husband's brothers.<sup>2</sup>

Classifica-  
tory terms  
of rela-  
tionship  
among the  
Worgaia.

In the Worgaia tribe, to the east of the Warramunga, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *wakathua* to his father and to his father's brothers. In his own generation he applies the same term *lalu* to his elder brothers and to the sons of his father's elder brothers; the same term *uranathu* to his younger brothers and to the sons of his father's younger brothers; the same term *lilikia* to his elder sisters and to the daughters of his father's elder brothers; the same term *uranii* to his younger sisters and to the daughters of his father's younger brothers; and the same term *munkara* to his wife and to his wife's sisters. In

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 79. The same term *umbirniia* is applied by a husband to his wife, and on analogy we should expect to find it applied by him also to his wife's sisters, but this is not mentioned by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. They say that *umbirniia* expresses the relationships of "husband, wife, husband's brothers, blood and tribal, sister's husband, wife's

brothers, blood and tribal." Here perhaps "wife's brothers" is a mistake for "wife's sisters."

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 78 sq.; *Native Tribes*, p. 80. The lists in these two passages differ slightly. I follow the list in *Northern Tribes* as the later and presumably the more correct.

the generation below his own he applies the same term *ninenta* to his own sons and to his brothers' sons; and the same term *ninianu* to his own daughters and to his brothers' daughters. But while he applies the same terms (*ninenta* and *ninianu*) to his own sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of his brothers, he applies as usual a different term (*nitharu*) to the children of his sisters. A wife applies the same term *illinathu* to her husband and to her husband's brothers.<sup>1</sup>

In the Umbaia tribe, to the north-east of the Warramunga, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *ita* to his father and to his father's brothers; and he applies the same term *kutjina* to his mother and to his mother's sisters. In his own generation he applies the same term *pappa* to his elder brothers and to the sons of his father's elder brothers; the same term *kakula* to his younger brothers and to the sons of his father's younger brothers; and the same term *karinnia* to his wife and to his wife's sisters. In the generation below his own he applies the same term *tjatjilla* to his own children and to the children of his brothers. But while he applies the same term (*tjatjilla*) to his own children and to his brothers' children, he applies as usual quite a different term (*kula*) to his sisters' children. A wife applies the same term *kari* to her husband and to her husband's brothers.<sup>2</sup>

Classificatory terms of relationship among the Umbaia.

In the Tjingilli tribe, to the north of the Warramunga, a man applies the same name *kita* to his father and to his father's brothers; the same term *thinkatini* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; the same term *kalini* to his wife and to his wife's sisters; the same term *pappa* to his own children and to his brothers' children; the same term *thaminji* to his own daughters and to his brothers' daughters. A wife applies the same term *nambia* to her husband and to her husband's brothers.<sup>3</sup>

Classificatory terms of relationship among the Tjingilli.

In the Gnanji tribe still further to the north, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *itipati* to his father and to his father's brothers; and he applies the same term *kutjina* to his mother and to his

Classificatory terms of relationship among the Gnanji.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 80 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 81 sq. .

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 83 sq.

mother's sisters. In his own generation he applies the same term *pappaii* to his elder brothers and to the sons of his father's elder brothers; the same term *kakula* to his younger brothers and to the sons of his father's younger brothers; the same term *pappana* to his elder sisters and to the daughters of his father's elder brothers; the same term *kakallina* to his younger sisters and to the daughters of his father's younger brothers; the same term *karina* to his wife and to his wife's sisters. A wife applies the same term *kari* to her husband and to her husband's brothers.<sup>1</sup>

In the Binbinga tribe, still further north, near the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, a man calls his father *kuni*, his father's elder brother *kuni puninjilla*, and his father's younger brother *kuni mopai*. Here, accordingly, we see that a distinction is drawn between the father and his brothers. But in the same tribe a man applies the same term *kutjina* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; the same term *pappa* to his elder brothers and to the sons of his father's elder brothers; the same term *pappaia* to his younger brothers and to the sons of his father's younger brothers; the same term *kakarinnia* to his elder sisters and to the daughters of his father's elder brothers; the same term *tjuluna* to his younger sisters and to the daughters of his father's younger brothers; and the same term *karina* to his wife and to his wife's sisters. A wife applies the same term *kaii-kaii* to her husband and to her husband's brothers.<sup>2</sup>

In the Mara tribe, on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *naluru* to his father and to his father's brothers; and he applies the same term *katjirri* to his mother and to his mother's sisters. In his own generation he applies the same term *guauaii* to his elder brothers and to the sons of his father's elder brothers; the same term *niritja* to his younger brothers and to the sons of his father's younger<sup>3</sup> brothers; the same term *gnarali* to his elder sisters and to the daughters of his father's elder brothers; the

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 84 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 85 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Messrs. Spencer and Gillen say

"father's elder brother's son" (*Northern Tribes*, p. 87). But here "elder" is obviously a mistake for "younger."

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among the  
Binbinga.

Classifica-  
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among the  
Mara.

same term *gnanirritja* to his younger sisters and to the daughters of his father's younger brothers; and the same term *irrimakula* to his wife and to his wife's sisters. In the generation below his own he applies the same term *nitjari* to his sons and to his brothers' sons; and the same term *gnaiiati* to his daughters and to his brothers' daughters. A wife applies the same term *irrimakula* to her husband and to her husband's brothers.<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, in the Anula tribe on the Gulf of Carpentaria a man calls his father *winiati*, but his father's elder brother *winiati tjanama*, and his father's younger brother *winiati tjanamaama*. Here again, therefore, as among the Binbinga, the father is discriminated from his brothers. But in this tribe a man applies the same term *parata* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; the same term *tjapapa* to his elder brothers and to the sons of his father's elder brothers; the same term *winaka* to his younger brothers and to the sons of his father's younger brothers; the same term *natjapapa* to his elder sisters and to the daughters of his father's elder sisters; the same term *arunguta* to his wife and to his wife's sisters; and the same term *katja-katja* to his own children and to his brothers' children. But while he applies the same term (*katja-katja*) to his own children and to his brothers' children, he applies as usual quite a different term (*kurna-atinia*) to his sisters' children. A wife applies the same term *arunguta* to her husband and to her husband's brothers.<sup>2</sup>

This survey of the cardinal terms of relationship in the central and northern tribes of Australia suffices to prove their classificatory nature. They are terms which designate relationships between groups, not between individuals. Each individual is classed as the son or daughter of many fathers and of many mothers: he or she classes as brothers and sisters many men and women who on our system are no relations at all to him or her: every man classes many women as his wives besides the one to whom he is actually married: every woman classes many men as her husbands besides the one to whom she is actually married: every man and every woman class as their children many boys and girls whom they neither begat nor bare. Thus the whole population is

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<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 87 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 88 sq.

distributed into groups, and the system of kinship consists of the relations of these groups to each other. The only reasonable and probable explanation of such a system of group relationships is that it originated in a system of group marriage, that is, in a state of society in which groups of men exercised marital rights over groups of women, and the limitation of one wife to one husband was unknown. Such a system of group marriage would explain very simply why every man gives the name of wife to a whole group of women, and every woman gives the name of husband to a whole group of men, with only one or even with none of whom he or she need have marital relations; why every man and every woman apply the names of father and mother to whole groups of men and women of whom it is physically impossible that more than two individuals can be their parents; why every man and every woman apply the names of brother and sister to whole groups of men and women with whom they need not have a drop of blood in common; and why, finally, every man and every woman claim as their sons and daughters whole groups of men and women whom they neither begat nor bare. In short, group marriage explains group relationship, and it is hard to see what else can do so.

The difficulty of understanding how under the classificatory system every man has many "mothers" springs from confusing our word "mother" with the corresponding but not equivalent term in the classificatory system: in short it is based on a verbal fallacy.

Apart from the reluctance which some people feel to admit that a large part or the whole of mankind has passed through a stage of social evolution in which individual marriage was unknown, the only serious obstacle to the acceptance of this simple and adequate explanation of the classificatory system is the difficulty of understanding how a person should ever come to be treated as the child of many mothers. This difficulty only exists so long as we confuse our word "mother" with the corresponding but by no means equivalent terms in the languages of savages who have the classificatory system. We mean by "mother" a woman who has given birth to a child; the Australian savages mean by "mother" a woman who stands in a certain social relation to a group of men and women, whether she has given birth to any one of them or not. She is "mother" to that group even when she is an infant in arms. A grown man has been seen playing with a small girl whom he called quite seriously and, according to his system of relationship, quite

rightly his "mother."<sup>1</sup> But he was not such a fool as to imagine that the child had given birth to him. He was merely using the term "mother" in the Australian, not the English, sense; and if we will only clear our minds of the confusion created by the common verbal fallacy of employing the same word in two different senses, the imaginary difficulty about one man and many mothers will cease to block the straight road to the understanding of the classificatory system of relationship. It is not even necessary to suppose that, as Dr. Rivers has suggested,<sup>2</sup> the blood tie between a mother and her offspring may, under a system of group marriage, have been forgotten in later life, so that adults would be as uncertain about their mothers as they were about their fathers. The true relation between mother and child may always have been remembered, but it was an accident which did not in any way affect the mother's place in the classificatory system; for she was classed with a group of "mothers" just as much before as after her child was born. Similarly a man is classed with a group of "fathers" when he is a toddling infant just as much as when he has begotten a large family. The classificatory system is based on the marital, not on the parental, relation. It is founded on the division of the community into two intermarrying groups. From that simple and primary grouping all the other groups and all the group relationships of the system appear to be derived.

The view that the group relationships of the classificatory system originated in group marriage, primarily in the bisecting of a community into two exogamous halves, is shared by some of the best authorities on the Australian aborigines.

The view that the group relationships of the classificatory

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 58. The natives of the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain have the classificatory system of relationship; hence among them "a child gives the name of mother not only to her who bore him, but also to all his maternal aunts. A European not familiar with these relationships is surprised when he hears a native boasting of having three mothers. His confusion is increased when the three alleged mothers stoutly assert: 'Amital qa kava ia, All three of us

bore him.'" See P. A. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel* (Hiltrup bei Münster, preface dated Christmas 1906), p. 190. Even this claim of triple maternity must be interpreted according to the classificatory ideas of motherhood.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "On the Origin of the Classificatory System of Relationships," in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 317 sq.

systems are founded on group marriage is shared by some of the best authorities on the Australian aborigines.

Thus Mr. Lorimer Fison says: "It must, I think, be allowed that the classificatory terms point to group-marriage as well as to group-relationship, to a time when the *veindavolani* groups were, so to speak, married to one another."<sup>1</sup> Again, Dr. Howitt observes that "it is upon the division of the whole community into two exogamous intermarrying classes that the whole social structure is built up; and the various relationships which are brought about by those marriages are defined and described by the classificatory system."<sup>2</sup> "This fundamental law of communal division underlies and runs through all the more developed systems of four or eight subclasses, and even shows traces of its former existence in tribes in which the class system has become decadent, and the local organisation has taken place and assumed control of marriage. The division of the tribal community into two classes is the foundation on which the whole structure of society is built."<sup>3</sup> And to the same effect Messrs. Spencer and Gillen write that "the fundamental feature in the organisation of the Central Australian, as in that of other Australian tribes, is the division of the tribe into two exogamous intermarrying groups. These two divisions may become further broken up, but even when more than two are now present we can still recognise their former existence. In consequence of, and intimately associated with, this division of the tribe, there has been developed a series of terms of relationship indicating the relative status of the various members of the tribe, and, of necessity, as the division becomes more complex so do the terms of relationship."<sup>4</sup> "The conclusion to which we have come is that we do not see how the facts . . . can receive any satisfactory explanation except on the theory of the former existence of group marriage, and further, that this has of necessity given

<sup>1</sup> Lorimer Fison, "The Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 368. The *veindavolani* groups are the persons who in the Fijian system of relationship are marriageable with each other. They consist of such first cousins as are the children of a brother and of a sister respectively. These are the only

persons who on the Fijian system should marry each other; other first cousins, namely the children of two brothers or of two sisters, are not marriageable with each other. See L. Fison, *op. cit.* pp. 360 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 55.

rise to the terms of relationship used by the Australian natives."<sup>1</sup> And after completing their second great exploration they wrote: "We are, after a further study of these tribes, more than ever convinced that amongst them group marriage preceded the modified form of individual marriage which is now the rule amongst the majority, though in all of the latter we find customs which can only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that they are surviving relics of a time when group marriage was universally in vogue amongst all of the tribes."<sup>2</sup>

A similar conclusion is reached by Dr. Rivers, who has investigated the classificatory system in many different communities, none of them Australian. He says: "The classificatory system in one form or another is spread so widely over the world as to make it probable that it has had its origin in some universal, or almost universal, stage of social development, and I have attempted to indicate that the kind of society which most readily accounts for its chief features is one characterized by a form of marriage in which definite groups of men are the husbands of definite groups of women."<sup>3</sup> Further, Dr. Rivers is probably right in holding that "the classificatory system was in its origin expressive entirely of status. The terms would stand for certain relations within the group to which only the vaguest ideas of consanguinity need have been attached."<sup>4</sup> If this view of the classificatory terms of relationship as originally expressive of status rather than of kinship be borne in mind, it is obvious that the imaginary difficulties about the multiplication of fathers and mothers for each individual fall away of themselves. As I have already pointed out,<sup>5</sup> the Australian terms which answer to our "father" and "mother" do not necessarily imply either paternity or maternity in our sense of the terms.

But although it is probable that in their origin the classificatory terms of relationship denoted status merely and not ties of blood, and although in Australia, for example,

Dr. Rivers on the classificatory system and group marriage.

The classificatory terms probably at first designated status only, not consanguinity.

But though the classificatory terms may

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "On the Origin of the Classificatory System of Relationship," in *Anthropological Essays*

presented to Edward Burnett Tylor (Oxford, 1907), p. 323.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 321 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Above, pp. 286 sq., 304 sq.

have originally expressed only status, they are at present certainly used to express also consanguinity and affinity.

at the present day small children may still be spoken of as "fathers" and "mothers" in this sense, it is certain that the classificatory terms are now also used to express ideas of consanguinity and affinity by those who employ them; indeed the people have no other words to convey these ideas. And as time goes on the tendency would seem to be to use these terms more and more to denote consanguinity or affinity and less and less to denote status. At least such a tendency has been remarked by Dr. Rivers in three separate communities which possess the classificatory system. He says: "There is not the slightest doubt that at the present time the system is an expression of consanguinity and affinity to those who use it. I have now investigated the classificatory system in three communities,<sup>1</sup> and in all three it is perfectly clear that distinct ideas of consanguinity and affinity are associated with the terms. The correct use of the terms was over and over again justified by reference to actual blood or marriage ties traceable in the genealogical records preserved by the people, though in other cases in which the terms were used they denoted merely membership of the same social group and could not be justified by distinct ties of blood or marriage relationship. There is in these three peoples definite evidence of the double nature of the classificatory system as an expression of status and of consanguinity, and there are definite indications of a mode of evolution of the systems by which they are coming to express status less and ties of consanguinity and affinity more."<sup>2</sup>

In Australia a form of group marriage persists to this day among some of the central tribes, notably the Urabunna and Dieri.

In Australia we are not left merely to infer the former prevalence of group marriage from the group relationships of the classificatory system, for a form of group marriage persists to the present time in certain of the central tribes, particularly in the Urabunna and in the Dieri, whose social organisation, as we shall see later on, closely resembles that of the Urabunna. In the Urabunna tribe, as in all the tribes with which we are dealing, certain groups of men and

<sup>1</sup> "Mabuiag and Murray Islands in Torres Straits, and the Todas in India." Dr. Rivers has since studied the system in other communities.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "On the Origin

of the Classificatory System of Relationships," in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), p. 322.

women are by birth *nupa* or marriageable to each other. On this subject Messrs. Spencer and Gillen write as follows: "Every man has one or more of these *nupa* women who are especially attached to him and live with him in his own camp, but there is no such thing as one man having the exclusive right to one woman; the elder brothers or *nuthi* of the woman, who decide the matter, will give one man a preferential right, but at the same time they will give other men of the same group to which he belongs—that is, men who stand in the same relationship to the woman as he does—a secondary right, and such *nupa* women to whom a man has the legal right of access are spoken of as his *piraungaru*. A woman may be *piraungaru* to a number of men and, as a general rule, men and women who are *piraungaru* to one another are to be found living together in groups. As we have said before, 'individual marriage does not exist either in name or in practice amongst the Urabunna tribe.' In this tribe we have:

Group marriage among the Urabunna.

"(1) A group of men all of whom belong to one moiety of the tribe and are regarded as the *nupas*, or possible husbands, of a group of women who belong to the other moiety of the tribe.

"(2) One or more women specially allotted to one particular man, each standing in the relationship of *nupa* to the other, but no man having exclusive right to any one woman—only a preferential right.

"(3) A group of men who stand in the relationship of *piraungaru* to a group of women, selected from amongst those to whom they are *nupa*. In other words, a group of women of one designation have, normally and actually, marital relations with a group of men of another designation,"<sup>1</sup> or, as the same writers elsewhere put it, "a group of women of a certain designation are actually the wives of a group of men of another designation."<sup>2</sup>

And since in this tribe groups of women are thus common to groups of men, it naturally follows that the children born of such unions are also common to the groups. All the children born of women whom a man might marry, whether

The children born of such group marriages are also common to the groups.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 72 sq. Compare *Native Tribes*, pp. 61-64.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 64.

he has marital relations with them or not, call him "father" (*nia*) and he calls them "children" (*biaka*). Whilst naturally there is a closer tie between a man and the children of the women who habitually live in camp with him, still there is no name to distinguish between the children of his own wives and those of women whom he might marry but with whom he has no sexual relations. All children of the men who are at the same level in the generation and belong to the same class and totem are regarded as the common children of these men, and similarly the men are regarded collectively by the children as their fathers.<sup>1</sup>

The group marriage of the Urabunna and Dieri is not an abnormal development.

With respect to this existing custom of group marriage among the Urabunna it is observed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen that "there is no evidence of any kind to show that the practice in the Dieri and Urabunna tribes is an abnormal development. The organisation of these tribes, amongst whom the two exogamous intermarrying groups still persist—groups which in other tribes of the central area have been split into four or eight—indicates their retention of ancient customs which have become modified in tribes such as the Arunta and Warramunga, though amongst them we find traces of customs pointing back to conditions such as still persist amongst the Urabunna. If they were abnormal developments, then there could not possibly be found the remarkable but very instructive gradation from the system of individual marriage as developed amongst many Australian tribes and the undoubted exercise of group marital relations which is found in the Dieri and the Urabunna.

"In regard to marital relations it may be said that the Central Australian native has certain women, members of a particular group, with whom it is lawful for him and for other men also to have such relations. In the tribes with the simplest and undoubtedly the most primitive organisation these women are many in number. They all belong to a certain group, and, in the Urabunna tribe, for example, a group of men actually does have, continually and as a normal condition, marital relations with a group of women. This state of affairs has nothing whatever to do with polygamy any more than it has with polyandry. It is simply a

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 63 sq.

question of a group of men and a group of women who may lawfully have what we call marital relations. There is nothing whatever abnormal about it, and in all probability this system of what has been called group marriage, serving as it does to bind more or less closely together groups of individuals who are mutually interested in one another's welfare, has been one of the most powerful agents in the early stages of the upward development of the human race."<sup>1</sup>

Group marriage has probably done much to promote progress.

Even those central and northern tribes of Australia which no longer practise this form of group marriage observe certain customs which seem to be relics or survivals of group marriage, or rather of a sexual communism which must have far transgressed the limits now imposed on the intercourse of the sexes by the existing exogamous divisions, the classes and subclasses. For among all these tribes at marriage before a woman is handed over to one man to be his wife she is obliged to have intercourse not merely with those men of her husband's group who might lawfully be her husbands, but also with men of other groups with whom at other times she is strictly forbidden to cohabit. In most of the tribes even a woman's tribal brothers have access to her on this occasion, though at any other time such a union with tribal brothers would be regarded as incest and punished with death. The extraordinary rights thus regularly accorded to men over every woman just before her marriage cannot be explained as a mere orgy of unbridled lust; for they are not granted to every male without distinction, but only to those who stand to the woman in certain well-defined relationships; and further, the whole proceedings are strictly regulated by custom, for the men have access to the woman in a prescribed order according to the precise position which they occupy towards her in the tribal system, so that the men who at other times would be wholly tabooed to her come first and the men who might lawfully be her husbands come last.<sup>2</sup>

Even in Australian tribes which no longer practise a form of group marriage there are customs which seem to be survivals of group marriage or of still wider sexual communism.

For example, in the Kaitish tribe men of the following relationships have access to a woman just before her

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Tribes*, pp. 73 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes*, pp. 92, 96, 102

note <sup>1</sup>, 107, 110 sq.; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 133, 136.

Communal rights over a woman before her marriage among the Kaitish.

marriage in the following order: *Ipmunna*, that is, men of the same moiety (class) of the tribe as her own; mothers' brothers' sons; tribal elder and younger brothers; and lastly, men whom she might lawfully marry, but who have no right to her when once she becomes the wife and the property of a member of the group to which they belong. If the woman happens to be, say, of the Panunga subclass, then the men who have access to her on this occasion belong to the four subclasses Ungalla, Uknaria, Purula, and Panunga, but men of the other four subclasses Bulthara, Appungerta, Kumara, and Umbitchana are excluded.<sup>1</sup> Thus two of the subclasses which are granted the privilege, namely, Panunga and Uknaria, belong to the woman's own moiety or class, from which at ordinary times she is strictly debarred by the rule of exogamy. Yet even on this occasion liberty does not degenerate into unregulated licence, since four out of the eight subclasses are excluded from the privilege.

Similar communal rights are exercised among all the central and northern tribes.

In all the other central and northern tribes the customs at marriage are similar, though the men who are accorded the privilege vary from tribe to tribe. "But in all cases the striking feature is that, for the time being, the existence of what can only be described as partial promiscuity can clearly be seen. By this we do not mean that marital rights are allowed to any man, but that for a time such rights are allowed to individuals to whom at other times the woman is *ekirinja*, or forbidden."<sup>2</sup> "In every tribe, without exception, men have intercourse with her who belong to the same group as her husband—that is, are lawfully her husbands, and in various tribes others who stand to her in one or other of the following relationships also have access:—father's sister's sons, mother's brother's sons, mother's brother, mother's mother's brother, elder and younger brothers, but not in blood, father's father, husband's father. To all of these, except on rare occasions, and to some of them always afterwards, she is strictly tabooed. In fact intercourse with any of them, except on such rare occasions, would be immediately followed by punishment, and in the case of certain, such as tribal brothers, by death."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 94 sq., 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Tribes*, p. 136.

I fully agree with Messrs. Spencer and Gillen that these customs are best explained "as lingering relics of a former stage passed through in the development of the present social organisation of the various tribes in which they are found."<sup>1</sup> "They indicate the temporary recognition of certain general rights which existed in the time prior to that of the form of group marriage of which we have such clear traces yet lingering amongst the tribes. We do not mean that they afford direct evidence of the former existence of actual promiscuity, but they do afford evidence leading in that direction, and they certainly point back to a time when there existed wider marital relations than obtain at the present day—wider, in fact, than those which are shown in the form of group marriage from which the present system is derived. On no other hypothesis yet advanced do the customs connected with marriage, which are so consistent in their general nature and leading features from tribe to tribe, appear to us to be capable of satisfactory explanation."<sup>2</sup>

Such communal rights appear to be relics of a former state of sexual communism.

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes*, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 111.

## CHAPTER II

### TOTEMISM IN SOUTH-EASTERN AUSTRALIA

#### § 1. *Physical Geography of South-Eastern Australia in Relation to Aboriginal Society*

While the central and northern tribes of Australia are homogeneous in their social organisation, the tribes of South-East Australia are very heterogeneous, and this heterogeneity is probably a consequence of the more varied configuration of the country.

WE have seen that the central and northern tribes of Australia present, first, a practically continuous gradation in their totemic system as we proceed northwards from the centre to the sea, and, second, a nearly complete uniformity in their social organisation, that is, in their exogamous rules, over the whole of the same wide area. It is otherwise with the tribes of South-Eastern Australia, which are, or rather were, as heterogeneous in their totemic and social systems as the others are on the whole homogeneous. The contrast in these respects between the two sets of tribes is probably to be explained in large measure by the different physical configuration of the countries which they occupy. The uniformity of the barren steppes and monotonous plains of Central and Northern Australia presents few obstacles to the intercourse of the tribes, for it is only at rare intervals that the scattered inhabitants of the wilds are parted from each other by a line of rugged mountains, itself cleft by deep gorges which serve as highways between one side and the other of these desolate and stony ranges. The ease of communication between the tribes has naturally facilitated the transmission of customs and ideas from one to the other; hence we can understand the remarkable uniformity of some institutions and the hardly less remarkable gradation of others over the whole of the central and northern region. On the other hand in South-Eastern Australia the dislocation of custom

between neighbouring tribes is often a natural consequence of the physical barriers which divide them. For in this part of the continent great rivers, broad lakes, thick forests, and lofty mountains break up the face of nature, and so render communication between the savages in many contiguous districts at once arduous and infrequent. Thus cut off from others by difficult or impassable obstacles, each community has been left free to develop its institutions in its own way, and we need not wonder that as a result of such seclusion the lines of development should have diverged somewhat widely from each other.

But the greater natural diversity of South-Eastern Australia, compared with the dreary monotony of Central and Northern Australia, has fostered the divergence or dislocation of custom in another way than by severing the tribes from their neighbours. The differences of physical features and of geographical situation are inevitably attended by differences of climate, and these again by differences in the supply of water, of game, of fish, of edible plants and fruits, in short, of all the necessities and conveniences of life. From the high Australian Alps of Eastern Victoria and New South Wales, where in winter the tree-ferns lie buried in snow for months together, where traffic at such times is only possible on Norwegian snow shoes,<sup>1</sup> and where, as in the snowfields of Switzerland, the gentian breaks the dazzling veil of white with its blue blossoms,<sup>2</sup> the traveller may pass by almost insensible gradations from one extremity of climate and scenery to another. Through dense forests, where the trees in the ravines are the most gigantic yet seen on earth,<sup>3</sup> he descends to valleys where rivers tumble in graceful cascades or wind between lofty cliffs and hanging woods, rank with creepers, ferns, and vines. In some of these stately forests the flame-tree with its great bunches of red flowers grows in such luxuriance as to wrap the side of a mountain in a crimson pall that may

The differences of climate and of fertility are also much greater in South-Eastern than in Central Australia.

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Gregory, *Australasia*, i. (London, 1907) p. 195 (in *Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel*).

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. (London, 1893) p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Wallace, *op. cit.* pp. 49 sq., 274 sqq. Many of these trees are over 400 feet in height; one fallen giant has been found to measure 480 feet.

be seen for miles out at sea.<sup>1</sup> With its grand mountains, beautiful waterfalls, numerous lakes, rich soil, luxuriant vegetation, and agreeable climate Victoria is the most favoured part of the continent and well deserves its old name of Australia Felix.<sup>2</sup>

The Wimmera District of Victoria.

Yet in its north-western portion, the Wimmera District as it is called, the territory of Victoria merges into those boundless flats which characterise the interior of Australia. Here for miles and miles the eye may range over level plains, where the roads run in perfectly straight lines and the paddock fences are arranged with the regularity of a chess-board, where only a few gum-trees dotted here and there along the creeks break the weary monotony of the vast expanse which stretches away till it meets the sky-line on the north or is bounded on the south by the blue peaks of Mount Korong faintly descried in the far distance.<sup>3</sup> It is here, too, that our imaginary traveller who has descended from the snowy heights of the Australian Alps will first meet with what is called the mallee scrub, which covers great areas in the interior of Australia. This is a dense shrubbery or thicket of a dwarf species of eucalyptus to which the natives give the name of *mallee*. It resembles a bushy willow or osier; the stems grow to a height of fourteen feet without a branch, and are set as thick in the yellow sandy soil as reeds in a jungle, so that a road cut through the scrub resembles a deep trench enclosed by high banks. The aspect of country covered with such scrub is very gloomy. From any eminence you can perceive nothing on earth but a sea of sombre brown bushes stretching as far as the eye can reach, above which a solitary tree rising at rare intervals seems only to deepen the melancholy of the scene, especially on a dull day when a grey clouded sky broods over the mournful silence of the landscape. Even sunshine hardly cheers the prospect, for if it lightens a little the sad colouring of the endless shrubbery, it at the same time extends the view of it further and

The mallee scrub.

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Wallace, *op. cit.* pp. 53, 215, 269, 272. Compare J. W. Gregory, *Australasia*, i. 153.

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Wallace, *op. cit.* pp. 265, 269 *sq.*, 273. As to the lakes of

Victoria, see J. W. Gregory, *Australasia*, i. pp. 407 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. pp. 267 *sq.*; J. W. Gregory, *Australasia*, i. 394.

further, and so seems to render escape from it still more hopeless.<sup>1</sup>

But the mallee scrub is by no means the worst that the traveller has to encounter in these regions. More dreaded still is the mulga scrub, consisting chiefly of dwarf acacias. These grow together in irregular spreading bushes armed with strong spines, and where they are matted and knit together with other shrubs they form a dense mass of vegetation through which nothing but the axe can cleave a way. Fortunately the mulga scrub is far less common than the mallee scrub, or the task of the explorer would be even more laborious and distressing.<sup>2</sup> But worst of all the products of the Australian wilderness is the spinifex or porcupine grass (*Triodia irritans*), which spreads over sandy plains for hundreds of miles and probably covers a greater extent of surface than any other plant in Australia. It is a hard spiny grass growing in tussocks of sharp yellowish spikes, which, radiating like knitting-needles from a huge pin-cushion, bid defiance even to camels accustomed to munch the thorny vegetation of the desert, while their cruel points so lacerate the legs of horses and goad the beasts into such frenzy that it is often necessary to destroy them. This pest haunts the most arid sandy wastes where no water is to be found either above or below ground. No wonder that it is the dread of the Australian explorer. However, its range is happily limited by about the twenty-eighth parallel of south latitude, so that it only fringes the northern boundary of that part of Australia with which we are at present concerned.<sup>3</sup> Indeed with it we reach the true desert country and the heart, the dead heart, of the continent. Here the characteristic feature of the landscape is the long succession of yellow sandhills dying down from time to time into dead flats covered with mulga scrub or, where all vegetation disappears, overlaid with brown and purple stones, which are set so close together as to form as it were a tessellated pavement that stretches away to the horizon. In this dismal and monotonous scenery a

The mulga scrub.

The central deserts of Australia.

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. 46 sq.; J. W. Gregory, *Australasia*, i. 395 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. 47 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. 48 sq. As to the porcupine grass see also Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 6.

wretched diversity is here and there created by the remains of what once were lakes, but are now nothing but level expanses of white glistening salt hemmed in by low hills overgrown with dreary scrub. Around these waterless basins there is no sign of life, and the most perfect silence reigns.<sup>1</sup>

Great contrasts in rainfall and temperature between the coasts and the interior of Australia.

The extraordinary contrast between these arid wildernesses of the interior and the luxuriant forests and rich park-lands of Victoria, the gulf which divides Australia Deserta from Australia Felix, is an effect of the variation in the rainfall, which diminishes rapidly as we recede inland from the sea and from the lofty mountains of the south-east, and varies from sixty, seventy, eighty, or ninety inches on the coast to five or six inches, or even to less than an inch, in the far interior.<sup>2</sup> And as the rainfall decreases so the heat increases the further we withdraw from the refreshing influence of the sea breezes, laden with moisture and dispensing coolness, fertility, and life. From the chill air of the Australian Alps, where the snowdrifts linger in the gullies even at midsummer, and snow showers may fall at any time throughout the year,<sup>3</sup> the change is great to the torrid heat of the central deserts, where the temperature occasionally rises to such a pitch that were it prolonged at the same height it would inevitably destroy life. The mercury in a thermometer, sheltered both from sun and wind, has been known to rise till it burst the tube, which was graduated to 127° Fahrenheit. Such fervent heat probably does not last for a long time together; yet for three months Captain Sturt found the mean temperature to be over 101° Fahrenheit in the shade; and the drought was such that every screw dropped out of the boxes, combs and horn handles split up into fine flakes, the lead fell out of pencils, the finger-nails of the explorers became as brittle as glass, and the hair of men and the wool of sheep ceased to grow.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 2, 6 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. W. Gregory, *Australasia*, i. 157 sq., 191 sqq.; E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, xiv. 757; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 38 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. 41; J. W. Gregory, *Australasia*, i. 195.

<sup>4</sup> Captain C. Sturt, *Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia* (London, 1849), i. 305 sq., ii. 90 sq. Elsewhere Captain Sturt observes: "I took a straight line for the water-holes, and reached them at half-past 6 P.M., after an exposure, from morning till night, to as great a heat as man ever endured; but if the heat of this day

Even parts of the interior which are drained by great and perennial rivers, such as the basin of the Darling River in New South Wales, nevertheless suffer from long and severe droughts. The Darling River commonly flows between high banks of clay, but occasionally, swollen by the tropical rains in Queensland, it pours over its banks and floods the country for miles. At such a time steamers have been known to sail for hours over the submerged plains without sighting land.<sup>1</sup> Yet even of this country we are told by an early settler, whose account I will quote, that in its natural state it "could not support a large population, being subject to protracted droughts, during which both food and water must have been scarce. During my fifteen years' experience there were three severe droughts, varying in duration from eighteen to twenty-two months. At such times the little rain that fell on the dry and parched ground was insufficient to replenish the water-holes, or soak the ground enough to promote a growth of vegetation. But it appears, from what some of the old natives have told me, that Europeans have not experienced the worst that the country is liable to, for they say that they once saw it in a drier state than it has been since the settlers came, and there has been stock on the country as a drain on the water-supply. On that occasion their only water-supply was at the few springs in the back country and at the rivers. All surface water-holes were dry; some of which would, I know, stand through a two years' drought with stock drinking at them. They camped at the springs or the rivers, existing on the half-starved animals, which were forced to drink from the same supply, and in consequence of their weak condition were killed without much difficulty. In a drought there is neither grass nor herbage in the neighbourhood of water, and the desert-like appearance of the surrounding brick-red sandhills

Droughts  
in the basin  
of the  
Darling  
River.

was excessive, that of the succeeding one on which we returned to Joseph was still more so. We reached our destination at 3 P.M., as we started early, and on looking at the thermometer fixed behind a tree about five feet from the ground, I found the mercury standing at 132°; on removing it into the sun it rose to 157°. Only on one oc-

casión, when Mr. Browne and I were returning from the north, had the heat approached to this; nor did I think that either men or animals could have lived under it" (C. Sturt, *op. cit.* i. 288).

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Gregory, *Australasia*, i. 261 sq., 305.

and grey-coloured clay flats is relieved only by sundry hardy bushes and small trees, which somehow hold up against the extreme dryness and hot winds. These long droughts are generally broken suddenly by a fall of two or three inches of rain, followed by lighter rains, which rapidly improve the appearance of the country; grass and herbage become abundant, and water-fowl return in large numbers to the creeks, and the aborigines gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of moving on to fresh hunting-grounds, which they can only reach when surface water is plentiful."<sup>1</sup>

The larger rainfall and more abundant supply of food have given the natives of the coast an advantage over the natives of the interior.

Similarly Spencer and Gillen have described the marvellous transformation of the face of the country which takes place when, after a long drought, rain has fallen on the arid steppes of Central Australia. At these times what had lately been a sandy desert becomes, as if by magic, a garden teeming with life and gay with the blossoms of endless flowering plants.<sup>2</sup> Such descriptions help us to realise the simple truth that both animals and plants depend directly for their existence on a due supply of water, and where that fails, the inevitable consequence, sooner or later, is sterility and death. Now the coast-lands of Australia are, as we have seen, the best watered parts of the continent;<sup>3</sup> on them, accordingly, the supply of food, both animal and vegetable, is most abundant. Hence the coastal tribes of Australia have, on the whole, enjoyed a great advantage over the inland tribes in the struggle for existence, since they have had to their hand abundance of water, abundance of fish and game, abundance of the fruits of the earth.<sup>4</sup> These favourable conditions have naturally reacted on the life of the natives, who, partially relieved from the need of devoting themselves to the purely animal quest for

<sup>1</sup> F. Bonney, "On some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 170 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 318.

<sup>4</sup> See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 35. The tribes at the head of the Great Australian Bight, in South Australia, form to

some extent an exception to this rule, since at this point the desert extends nearly to the sea. Indeed, along the whole extent of the Great Australian Bight, a length of about a thousand miles, not a single stream enters the ocean (A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. 31 *sq.*). Still even here the coastal tribes are better off than the inland tribes, since they can draw a supply of fish and shell-fish from the sea.

food, have had leisure to make some advances on the road to civilisation. For example, whereas the tribes of Central Australia appear not to have conceived the idea of making any kind of clothing as a protection against cold, but huddle naked round their fires on frosty nights, though they might easily clothe themselves in the skins of kangaroos and wallabies,<sup>1</sup> the tribes who inhabit the coast of South Australia make excellent warm rugs out of opossum, kangaroo, wallaby, and other furs. The skins are first dried, then carefully scraped and scored with a sharp stone or shell to make them flexible; afterwards they are cut into squares, which are sewn with the sinews of a kangaroo's tail, the eye-holes being made in the skins with a sharp-pointed bone. In the Port Lincoln tribe the best of these rugs are always worn by the women.<sup>2</sup> Further, the Narrinyeri tribe make thick, durable mats out of the bark of the mallee scrub, which they dry and beat into a fibrous mass. Also they gather seaweed on the shore, wash it in fresh water, dry it, and work it into mats with a shaggy nap, which serve them as beds. Moreover, they take the skins of many animals, peg them out on the ground till they are dry, and then spread them out on the earth whenever they encamp in damp or marshy places.<sup>3</sup> Again, whereas the natives of Central Australia have nothing to protect themselves from the weather but shelters of shrubs placed so as to screen the occupants from the prevailing wind,<sup>4</sup> in South-Western Victoria the aborigines built permanent houses of wood or stone large enough to accommodate a dozen or more persons. Each of these houses was occupied by a family, and when the members of the family were grown up, the house was partitioned off into apartments, each facing the fire, which burned in the centre. When the material employed was wood, the mode of construction was to set up strong limbs of trees in the shape of a dome high enough to allow a tall

Thus whereas the central tribes are naked and houseless, the coastal tribes have made for themselves warm rugs and solid and roomy huts.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 16-19.

<sup>2</sup> G. Taplin and C. W. Schürmann, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 43, 210 sq. The Yarra tribe of Victoria make similar rugs out of opossum skins. See R. Brough Smyth,

*The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 271.

<sup>3</sup> G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 18.

man to stand upright under them. The interstices were filled with smaller branches, and the whole was covered with sheets of bark, thatch, sods, and earth till the roof and sides were proof against wind and rain. Where stones were more easily procured than wood and bark, the walls were built of flat stones and roofed with branches and thatch. Where several families lived together, each built its own house facing one central fire. Thus, in what appeared to be one dwelling, fifty or more persons could be accommodated, when, in the words of the natives themselves, they were "like bees in a hive." These comfortable and healthy habitations, as they are called by an early settler in Victoria, whose description of them I have reproduced, were situated on dry spots beside a lake, stream, or salubrious swamp, but never near a malarious morass nor under large trees, which might fall or be struck by lightning.<sup>1</sup> Similarly the tribes of South Australia in the district of Adelaide and the Murray River sometimes built huts of thick, solid logs of wood, which they covered with grass, creepers, and anything else that would make them waterproof. Large, long huts of this sort would contain from five to ten families, each of them with its separate fire.<sup>2</sup> The contrast between these comfortable, well-built houses and the miserable temporary shelters of the Central Australians is immense, and marks a great step upward on the social ladder.

Huts of the coastal tribes of New South Wales.

In like manner the early explorers and settlers on the east and west coasts of Australia observed that the natives who dwelt by the sea had larger and better houses than the natives of the interior. Thus Collins, writing of

<sup>1</sup> J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide, 1881), pp. 10 *sq.* The tribes described by J. Dawson occupied the south-western part of Victoria between Portland, Colac, Ararat, and perhaps Pitfield. See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 69. Dr. Howitt tells us that Dawson enjoyed exceptional opportunities of observation from nearly the settlement of the State of Victoria (*op. cit.* p. 307).

<sup>2</sup> E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions*

*of Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845), ii. 302 *sq.* As to the tribes here described, Eyre informs us that his descriptions apply to the natives of South Australia, and particularly to the tribes of the Adelaide district and the Murray River (*op. cit.* ii. 151). He quotes (ii. 301 note) an account of a permanent native village, which consisted of thirteen large huts, warm and well constructed, each hut being built of a strong frame of wood, and covered with thick turf.

the aborigines of New South Wales near the end of the eighteenth century, says: "Their habitations are as rude as imagination can conceive. The hut of the woodman is made of the bark of a single tree, bent in the middle, and placed on its two ends on the ground, affording shelter to only one miserable tenant. These they never carry about with them. On the sea coast the huts were larger, formed of pieces of bark from several trees put together in the form of an oven, with an entrance, and large enough to hold six or eight people."<sup>1</sup> On the opposite side of Australia, when Sir George Grey was exploring the western coast in the neighbourhood of Gantheaume Bay, he came upon a remarkably fertile district, which exhibited tokens of a comparatively dense native population settled in fixed villages. It will be best to allow the explorer to describe his observations and to state his conclusions in his own words. He says:—

"We now crossed the dry bed of a stream, and from that emerged upon a tract of light fertile soil, quite overrun with *warran* plants,<sup>2</sup> the root of which is a favourite article of food with the natives. This was the first time we had yet seen this plant on our journey, and now for three and a half consecutive miles we traversed a fertile piece of land, literally perforated with the holes the natives had made to dig this root; indeed we could with difficulty walk across it on that account, whilst this tract extended east and west as far as we could see. It was now evident that we had entered the most thickly-populated district of Australia that I had yet observed, and moreover one which must have been inhabited for a long series of years, for more had here been done to secure a provision from the ground by hard manual labour than I could have believed it in the power of uncivilised man to accomplish.<sup>3</sup> After crossing a low lime-

Sir George Grey's account of the signs of an advance in material culture among the natives of a fertile region in West Australia.

<sup>1</sup> Lieut.-Col. Collins, *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Second Edition (London, 1804), p. 360. The first edition of this work was published at London in 1798. The second edition was posthumous; I quote it because I possess a copy.

<sup>2</sup> "The *warran* is a species of *Dioscorea*, a sort of yam like the sweet potatoe. It is known by the same name both on the east and west side of

the continent."

<sup>3</sup> The manual labour to which Grey here refers is clearly that of digging up the roots. He gives no hint that the natives cultivated them, nor have we any right to assume that they did so, though it is likely enough that they performed magical ceremonies or *intichiuma*, as the Arunta would call them, to make the plants grow. See above, pp. 105 *sqq.*

stone-range, we came down upon another equally fertile *warran* ground, bounded eastward by a high range of rocky limestone hills, luxuriantly grassed, and westward by a low range of similar formation. The native path, about two miles further on, crossed this latter range, and we found ourselves in a grassy valley, about four miles wide, bounded seawards by sandy downs. Along its centre lay a chain of reedy fresh-water swamps, and native paths ran in from all quarters, to one main line of communication leading to the southward. . . .

“Such a heavy dew had fallen during the night, that when I got up in the morning, I found my clothes completely saturated, and everything looked so verdant and flourishing compared to the parched-up country which existed to the north of us, and that which I knew lay to the south, that I tried to find a satisfactory reason, to explain so strange a circumstance—but without success. It seemed certain, however, that we stood in the richest province of South-west Australia, and one which so differs from the other portions of it in its geological characters, in the elevations of its mountains which lie close to the sea coast, in the fertility of its soil, and the density of its native population, that we appeared to be moving upon another continent. As yet however the only means I had of judging of the large number of natives inhabiting this district, had been from their paths and *warran* grounds. . . .

“Being unable to ford the river here, we followed it in a S.E. direction for two miles, and in this distance passed two native villages, or, as the men termed them, towns; the huts of which they were composed differed from those in the southern districts, in being much larger, more strongly built, and very nicely plastered over on the outside with clay, and clods of turf, so that although now uninhabited, they were evidently intended for fixed places of residence. This again shewed a marked difference between the habits of the natives of this part of Australia, and the south-western portions of the continent; for these superior huts, well-marked roads, deeply sunk wells, and extensive *warran* grounds, all spoke of a large and comparatively speaking resident population, and the cause of this undoubtedly

must have been, the great facilities for procuring food in so rich a soil." <sup>1</sup>

Thus in material culture, in clothes and habitations, the natives of the better-watered and more fruitful coasts of Australia exhibit a marked superiority over the naked, houseless nomads of the central deserts. It is natural and perhaps inevitable that man's earliest efforts to ameliorate his lot should be directed towards the satisfaction of his physical wants, since the material side of his nature is the indispensable basis on which, in a material world, his intellectual and moral being must rest. But material progress in the arts and comforts of life is at the same time a sure sign of intellectual progress, since every implement, from the rudest club of the lowest savage to the most complex and delicate machine of modern science, is nothing but the physical embodiment of an idea which preceded it in the mind of man.<sup>2</sup> Hence in the evolution of culture, mental improvement is the prime factor, the moving cause; material improvement is secondary, it follows the other as its effect. It would be well if the shallow rhetoricians who rail at the advance of mechanical science in our own age could apprehend this truth. They would then see that in arraiging what they do not understand they are really arraiging that upward movement in the mind of man which, though we know neither its origin nor its goal, is yet the source of all that is best and noblest in human nature.

From these considerations it follows that a people's progress in the material arts is not only the most obvious but on the whole the surest measure of its intellectual and social progress. The highest types of human intellect and character are never found among naked, houseless, artless

Material progress in the arts of life is at once a sign and an effect of intellectual progress.

Advance in the arts is the surest measure of intellectual and social advance.

<sup>1</sup> G. Grey, *Journals of two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia* (London, 1841), ii. 12 sq., 15 sq., 19 sq.

<sup>2</sup> This dependence of material upon intellectual progress was justly insisted upon by that philosophical student of primitive man, the late General Pitt-Rivers. Thus, for example, speaking of the characteristic Australian weapons,

the boomerang and the waddy, he says: "These words and these implements are but the outward signs or symbols of particular ideas in the mind; and the sequence, if any, which we observe to connect them together, is but the outward sign of the succession of ideas in the brain. It is the mind that we study by means of these symbols" (*The Evolution of Culture*, Oxford, 1906, p. 23).

savages; they are only found in countries and in ages which have attained to the highest pitch of material civilisation, which have carried the arts and crafts to their greatest perfection. It is in towns, not in the wilderness, that the fairest flowers of humanity have bloomed. True civilisation begins, as the very name suggests, with the foundation of cities. Where no such ganglia of concentrated energy exist, the population is savage or barbarous.

The coastal tribes of Australia shew signs of political and social, as well as of material, progress by comparison with the central tribes.

Though the aboriginal Australians never advanced so far as to build towns, we have seen that in some parts of the more fertile regions bordering on the sea they established what may fairly be described as permanent villages, both well-built and comfortable. Side by side with this evidence of material progress we find evidence also of political and social progress among the tribes of the coast. For whereas among the aborigines of the central steppes the government of the tribe is in the hands of an oligarchy of old men, who completely control everything without regard to the opinions or wishes of the younger men,<sup>1</sup> the natives of the more fruitful regions near the sea had made, when they were first observed by Europeans, considerable advances towards a monarchical government, which is an essential step in the evolution of civilisation out of savagery.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus Messrs. Spencer and Gillen tell us that the elder men "form, as it were, an inner council or cabinet and completely control everything. The younger men have absolutely no say whatever in the matter" (*Northern Tribes*, p. 21). Again they write: "Whenever a large number of natives are met together to perform ceremonies, there are always the heads of different local groups present. The elder and more important amongst these seem naturally to associate together as an informal but, at the same time, all-powerful council, whose orders are implicitly obeyed by the other men. The fact that any individual is the headman of his local group gives him, in itself, no claim whatever to attendance upon these councils. If, however, he be at all a distinguished man, whose conduct has shown that he is to be trusted, and that he is deeply interested

in tribal matters, then some day he will be honoured by one of the older men inviting him to come and consult over matters, after the advisability of doing so has been agreed upon by the members of the council. He will probably be invited several times, and will then gradually take his place as a recognised member of the inner council of the tribe, his influence increasing as he grows older and older. Not only does this council of elder men determine matters concerned with various ceremonies, but in addition it deals with the punishment of the more serious crimes." This senate or council of elders has the power of life and death, for it sends out avenging parties to punish culprits who have infringed the fundamental laws of the tribe. See *Northern Tribes*, pp. 24 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, pp. 81 sqq.

It is true that in the central tribes each local totemic group has its headman or *alatunja*, as the Arunta call him; but his authority is somewhat vague and he has no definite power over the members of his group. His main duties are rather sacred or magical than civil, his principal function being to perform the ceremonies for the multiplication of the totemic animal or plant and to take charge of the secret storehouse in which the most prized possessions of the people, to wit, their *churinga* or sacred sticks and stones, are carefully preserved from the eyes of the profane.<sup>1</sup> The post is within certain limits hereditary, for it passes from father to son, always provided that the son is of the same totem as his father; for example, the headman of a Kangaroo group must be a Kangaroo man, and if he has a son who is also a Kangaroo, he may transmit his office of headman to that son at his death. But since among the true central tribes a man's totem is not determined by that of his father and often differs from it, a son sometimes cannot inherit the post of headman from his father. In that case the father, when he comes to die, nominates his successor, who is always either a brother or a brother's son.<sup>2</sup> As the functions of the local headman in these tribes are to a great extent magical, being concerned with the ceremonies for the multiplication of the totemic animal or plant, so with the gradual diminution of these ceremonies as we proceed from the centre northwards the importance of the office of headman also gradually diminishes until, regarded from the magical or ceremonial point of view, it reaches its lowest point among the coastal tribes. For among these tribes the social aspect of the totemic groups has become more prominent, while their economical and magical aspect is almost obliterated.<sup>3</sup> But while the duties of a totemic headman decrease in importance as we pass from the centre towards the sea, yet the authority of the post becomes concentrated in fewer hands. For whereas among the Arunta there may be, and usually are, several headmen for

Among the central tribes there is no chieftainship.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, pp. 9-15, 154, 159-205; *id.*, *Northern Tribes*, pp. 20-27, 285-297, 309 sq., 316.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, pp. 10 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 23.

each totem, among the Warramunga and other northern tribes each totemic clan has only one headman. For example, in these northern tribes all the Kangaroo people recognise the authority of one Kangaroo headman; all the Water people recognise the authority of one Water headman, and so forth. Nay, more than that, the natives recognise in a vague way a headman for each of the two tribal moieties. For example, when Spencer and Gillen visited the Warramunga tribe, an old White Cockatoo man was regarded as the head of one moiety of the tribe, and a man of the mythical water-snake totem (*wollunqua*) was regarded as the head of the other. This honourable position they owed in large measure to their age and learning. When it came to hard knocks, neither of these venerable sages would have put himself in the forefront of the battle. That duty they discreetly left to a veteran of the name of Tjupilla, head of the wind totem, who enjoyed the reputation of being a first-class fighting man.<sup>1</sup> It seems possible that this dual headship of a tribe might in time have developed into a double kingship, if the aborigines had been left free to evolve their institutions on their own lines. As it is, the vague authority attaching to the post of headman in these tribes has never grown even into a chieftainship; for we are told that among these people "there is no such thing as a chief of the tribe, nor indeed is there any individual to whom the term chief can be applied."<sup>2</sup> It is true that in up-country parts a native of appropriate age may sometimes be found decorated with a brass plate whereon is inscribed some such legend as "King Billy, chief of the Gurraburra tribe." But these claims to sovereignty have no foundation in fact.<sup>3</sup>

But on the more fertile coasts the tribes have made some approach to a regular chieftainship.

On the other hand, on the more fertile coasts of Australia aboriginal society appears to have made some approach to, if not to have actually evolved, a regular chieftainship. Thus in the days of the first settlement about Botany Bay it was observed by the English colonists that the natives "are

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, pp. 25 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, p. 10. Similarly in their *Northern Tribes* (p. 20) these writers observe:

"There is no one to whom the term 'chief,' or even head of the tribe, can be properly applied."

<sup>3</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, p. 103 note<sup>1</sup>.

distributed into families, the head or senior of which exacts compliance from the rest. In the early intercourse with them (and indeed at a much later period, on the English meeting with families to whom they were unknown) they were always accosted by the person who appeared to be the eldest of the party; while the women, youths, and children were kept at a distance. The word which in their language signifies father was applied to their old men; and when, after some time, and by close observation, they perceived the authority with which Governor Phillip commanded, and the obedience which he exacted, they bestowed on him the distinguishing appellation of *Be-anna*, or father. This title being conferred solely on him (although they perceived the authority of masters over their servants) places the true sense of the word beyond a doubt, and proves that to those among them who enjoyed that distinction belonged the authority of a chief. When any of these went into the town, they were immediately pointed out by their companions, or those natives who resided in it, in a whisper, and with an eagerness of manner which, while it commanded the attention of those to whom it was directed, impressed them likewise with an idea that they were looking at persons remarkable for some superior quality even among the savages of New Holland." <sup>1</sup>

Again, with regard to the Narrinyeri, who occupied a district on the coast of South Australia, to the south of Adelaide, we are told that "each of the tribes of the Narrinyeri has its chief, whose title is *rupulle* (which means landowner), who is their leader in war, and whose person is carefully guarded in battle by the warriors of his clan. The *rupulle* is the negotiator and spokesman for the tribe in all disagreements with other tribes; and his advice is sought on all occasions of difficulty or perplexity. His authority is supported by the heads of families, and he is expected always to reside on the hunting-grounds of the tribe. The *rupulle* used to possess the right to divide the animals taken in the chase amongst the other heads of families, but this is seldom observed now. The chieftainship is not hereditary,

Chieftainship among the Narrinyeri.

<sup>1</sup> Lieut.-Col. Collins, *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (London, 1804), pp. 351 sq.

but elective. The deceased chief's brother, or second son, is quite as eligible for the dignity as the eldest son, if the heads of families prefer him. . . . But the most real authority exercised by the chief and his supporters is enforced by means of witchcraft. If any young men or women attempt a departure from the customs of their forefathers they are immediately threatened with *ngadhungi*, or *millin*, and this usually restrains them."<sup>1</sup> Of these magical modes of reinforcing the claims of law and morality the one (*ngadhungi*) consists in securing a bone of any animal of which the culprit had partaken and afterwards putting it in the fire. The other (*millin*) consists in the more summary and perhaps more effectual process of knocking him down with a stout cudgel and then operating on him with the same instrument till he is delivered over to the power of a demon called Nalkaru.<sup>2</sup>

Chieftain-  
ship in  
South-  
Western  
Victoria.

But it is in the south-western parts of Victoria, the Australia Felix of the older geographers, that the authority of one man over his fellows seems to have been carried furthest. Here, to quote an excellent authority who knew the natives in the early days of the colony, "every tribe has its chief, who is looked upon in the light of a father, and whose authority is supreme. He consults with the best men of the tribe, but when he announces his decision they dare not contradict or disobey him. Great respect is paid to the chiefs and their wives and families. They can command the services of every one belonging to their tribe. As many as six young bachelors are obliged to wait on a chief, and eight young unmarried men on his wife; and, as the children are of superior rank to the common people, they also have a number of attendants to wait on them. No one can address a chief or chiefess without being first spoken to, and then only by their titles as such and not by personal names, or disrespectfully. Food and water, when brought to the camp, must be offered to them first, and reeds provided for each in the family to drink with; while the common people drink in the usual way. Should they fancy any article of dress, opossum rug, or weapon, it must be given

<sup>1</sup> Rev. G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. G. Taplin, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 sq., 26 sqq.

without a murmur. If a chief leaves home for a short time he is always accompanied by a friend, and on his return is met by two men, who conduct him to his *wuurn* [hut]. At his approach every one rises to receive him, and remains silent till he speaks; they then enquire where he has been, and converse with him freely. When a tribe is moving from one part of the country to another, the chief, accompanied by a friend, precedes it, and obtains permission from the next chief to pass, before his followers cross the boundary. When approaching a friendly camp, the chief walks at the head of his tribe. If he is too old and infirm to take the lead, his nearest male relative or best friend does so. On his arrival with his family at the friendly camp, a comfortable *wuurn* is immediately erected, and food, firewood, and attendance are provided during his visit. When he goes out to hunt, he and his friends are accompanied by several men to carry their game and protect them from enemies. A strange chief approaching a camp is met at a short distance by the chief, and invited to come and sit down; a fire is made for him, and then he is asked where he has come from, and what is his business. The succession to the chieftdom is by inheritance. When a chief dies the chiefs of the neighbouring tribes, accompanied by their attendants, assist at the funeral obsequies; and they appoint the best male friend of the deceased to take charge of the tribe until the first great meeting after the expiry of one year, when the succession must be determined by the votes of the assembled chiefs alone. The eldest son is appointed, unless there is some good reason for setting him aside. If there are no sons, the deceased chief's eldest brother is entitled to succeed him, and the inheritance runs in the line of his family. Failing him, the inheritance devolves upon the other brothers and their families in succession."<sup>1</sup>

This incipient tendency to a monarchical rule which manifests itself among the coastal tribes of Australia may be itself the direct consequence of that more regular and plentiful supply of food which the neighbourhood of the sea, with its more abundant rainfall, commonly ensures. For where the means of subsistence are constant and copious,

The incipient tendency to monarchical rule among the coastal tribes of Australia

<sup>1</sup> J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, pp. 5 sq.

may be an effect of a more abundant supply of food and more settled habits of life.

the population naturally increases in number and becomes stationary, since the principal motive for a migratory life, namely the exhaustion of the food-supply within the area under occupation, has ceased to operate. And with a larger and more fixed population, concentrated within definite boundaries, the opportunities which a man of superior abilities enjoys for extending his influence over his fellows also increase and multiply, whereas it is difficult for him to assert and enforce his will upon wandering groups thinly scattered over a wide region. Hence it is that the nomadic life does not lend itself readily to monarchy, which, if it is to be stable, must be exercised over a settled, not a migratory people.<sup>1</sup>

The social organisation of the coastal tribes marks a similar advance upon the social organisation of the tribes in the interior.

Thus far we have found that the tribes which occupy the well-watered and fertile coasts of Australia have made some progress in material culture and political constitution by comparison with the tribes which roam over the arid and barren steppes of the interior. A parallel advance in their social organisation and marriage customs was long ago remarked and referred to its true cause by our principal authority on the tribes of South-Eastern Australia, Dr. A. W. Howitt. He wrote: "With the exception of that part of North-Eastern Queensland where the Kamilaroi type touches the coast, the whole of the coast tracts, speaking broadly, between the Great Dividing Range and the sea, both in Queensland and New South Wales, and

<sup>1</sup> The view that the migratory life is incompatible with higher progress in civilisation has been rightly maintained by a philosophic historian of America, E. J. Payne. He observes that both agriculture and herdsmanhip "have passed through two successive and well-defined stages, which may be called the migratory and the stationary; the former denoting that stage in which food-production is practised over a wide area, portions of which are successively occupied and abandoned, the latter that in which the most favourable spots have been ultimately selected and permanently occupied, and industry, confined within these limited areas, is strenuously directed to the development of their capacities. No pastoral tribe has ever

begun to advance until it has thus ceased from habits of wandering and settled within such a limited area. No agricultural tribe which adheres to the method of *essartage*, by which small separate clearings are made in the forest, where food-plants are temporarily cultivated, and which are afterwards abandoned for others, has ever based any high degree of advancement on this method. The first effective stimulus is invariably given where human effort is confined to narrow physical limits, and where the process of artificial subsistence has consequently assumed a stationary character, which habit has rendered permanent" (E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, i. 330).

between the Murray River and the sea in Victoria and South Australia, were occupied by communities having abnormal types of class system which in most cases count descent through the male line. These coast tracts, taken as a whole, are the best watered and most fertile parts of Australia, and, moreover, the richest in animals and plant food for an aboriginal population. This coincidence of advanced social development with fertility of country is not without some significance. The most backward-standing types of social organisation, having descent through the mother and an archaic communal marriage, exist in the dry and desert country; the more developed Kamilaroi type, having descent through the mother, but a general absence of the *pirauru* marriage practice,<sup>1</sup> is found in the better watered tracts which are the sources of all the great rivers of East Australia; while the most developed types, having individual marriage, and in which, in almost all cases, descent is counted through the father, are found along the coasts where there is the most permanent supply of water and most food. In fact, it is thus suggested that the social advance of the Australian aborigines has been connected with, if not mainly due to, a more plentiful supply of food in better watered districts."<sup>2</sup>

To the same effect Professor Baldwin Spencer observes: "It is a well-marked feature that, if we desire to find a tribe, whether it be one with male or with female descent, which has become specialised or highly modified in regard to its organization, we must search along the coast-line. The most backward and primitive tribes occupy the central area. Now, a very striking feature in the physiography of Australia is the presence of a series of Ranges, of which a very characteristic example are those known as the Great Divide, in the south-east part of the continent, separating a comparatively well-watered coastal fringe from a dry interior, where, over wide areas, conditions of life are more unfavourable. It will be seen that tribes, which will subsequently be shown to be modified, such as the Narrinyeri, of South

<sup>1</sup> As to this form of group marriage, see below, pp. 363 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Further Notes

on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 33 *sq.*

Australia, the Victorian tribes generally, the coastal tribes on the east of the continent, and those on the west of the Gulf of Carpentaria, all inhabit areas where conditions of life are relatively favourable.”<sup>1</sup>

A better climate and more abundant food seem to have been potent causes in producing the more advanced social condition of the South-East Australian tribes.

Again, in discussing the question whether the magical ceremonies which the Dieri and other tribes of Central Australia about Lake Eyre practise for the purpose of increasing the food-supply are to be considered as a survival of primitive belief and custom, Dr. Howitt observes that “the Dieri tribe in its organisation, and in its customs and beliefs, is one of the most backward-standing tribes I know of, and therefore it would not be surprising if the magical food-producing ceremonies were retained, while the other tribes have departed from them. Assuming that the Dieri do, in fact, continue ceremonies which belonged to the primary functions of the early totemistic groups, it may be worth considering whether there are any apparent reasons why the native tribes in other parts of Australia have abandoned them. I have before pointed out that the tribes can be arranged in a series: first, those with *pirrauru* marriage; then those in which that form of marriage has become a rudimentary custom; and, finally, those which have more or less lost their class organisation, and have developed a form of individual marriage. Now compare such a series of tribes with regard to these magical food-producing ceremonies, and also as to the climatic conditions under which they live. We shall find that the Lake Eyre tribes are under a minimum rainfall, a very high temperature, and a prevailing aridity, with fertile intervals, when there is abundance of animal and vegetable food supplies. At the further end of the series, whether in Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, or South Australia, the tribes living, say, on the coast lands, are under climatic conditions very different from those of Central Australia, with a good rainfall, a more temperate climate, and a plentiful and constant food supply, both animal and vegetable. This comparison comes out clearly when the tables of rainfall, given in the introductory

<sup>1</sup> Baldwin Spencer, “Totemism in Australia,” *Transactions of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Dunedin, January 1904, p. 381.

chapter, are inspected. This comparison will fall in line with former conclusions, namely, that the tribes of the Lake Eyre basin have remained in a far more primitive condition socially than those of South-East Australia. If so, it would point to conditions of better climate, and more abundant and regular food supply, as potent causes in the advancement of the social condition of the south-east tribes."<sup>1</sup>

When Dr. Howitt wrote the former of the passages which I have just quoted from his writings he was not aware that to the north of the tribes of Lake Eyre lies another group of central tribes, living under similar climatic conditions, which have a complex marriage system of eight exogamous subclasses with descent of the class and subclass in the male line. That the eight-class system of these central tribes is later and more advanced than the two-class system of the Dieri and other tribes about Lake Eyre is a proposition which, in my opinion, does not admit of dispute, since it seems certain that the eight subclasses have been produced by bisection of four subclasses, and these again by bisection of two primary classes, which two primary classes represent the first dichotomy of an originally undivided commune. Thus we are bound to recognise that, side by side in Central Australia, there are living under similar climatic conditions two sets of tribes, one with the most rudimentary and the other with the most advanced of the normal types of Australian social organisation. The sharp line of cleavage between these two sets of tribes has already been indicated, for it runs between the Urabunna and the Arunta tribes, whose social and totemic systems have been described above.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the question of descent I have pointed out<sup>3</sup> that with a system of group marriage, such as we have strong grounds for believing to have been at one time universal among the Australian aborigines, descent may be traced as easily in the paternal as in the maternal line, since the paternity recognised under such a system is that of a group, not of an individual, and the group of "fathers" is quite as well known as the group of "mothers."

However, among the tribes of the barren interior we find the later eight-class organisation side by side with the earlier two-class organisation.

With group marriage maternal descent is not necessarily more primitive than paternal descent.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 154 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 175 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 167, 249.

Hence there is no need to suppose that paternal descent is necessarily later than maternal descent, and derived from it.<sup>1</sup> Even when group-marriage has been exchanged for individual marriage, the difficulty of tracing descent from the father is hardly greater in savage than in civilised society. In both it is assumed that the man who cohabits with a woman is the father of her child, although, as I have pointed out,<sup>2</sup> fatherhood to a Central Australian savage is a very different thing from fatherhood to a civilised European. To the European father it means that he has begotten a child on a woman; to the Central Australian father it means that a child is the offspring of a woman with whom he has a right to cohabit, whether he has actually had intercourse with her or not. To the European mind the tie between a father and his child is physical; to the Central Australian it is social. If we wish to avoid confusion in discussing the institutions of a race so different from our own, we must

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe: "It is, for example, generally assumed that counting descent in the female, is a more primitive method than counting descent in the male line, and that of two tribes, in one of which we have maternal descent and in the other paternal, the former is in this respect in a more primitive condition than the latter; but it may even be doubted whether in all cases the counting of descent in the female line has preceded the counting of it in the male line. The very fact that descent is counted at all, that is, that any given individual when born has some distinguishing name, because he or she is born of some particular woman, indicates the fact that men and women are divided into groups bearing such distinctive names, for it must be remembered that in these savage tribes the name which is transmitted to offspring, and by means of which descent is counted, is always a group name. When once we have any such system, whether it be totemic or otherwise, then we have arrived at a stage in which it is possible to imagine that the men of one particular group have marital relations only with

women of another particular group. Supposing we take two of these exogamous groups, which we will designate A and B. Thus men of A have marital relations with women of B, and *vice versa*. When once these groups are established, then, there is, in reality, no difficulty whatever in counting descent in the male just as easily as in the female line. It is quite true that the individual father of any particular child may not be known, but this, so far as counting descent under the given conditions is concerned, is a matter of no importance. The only name which can be transmitted, and by means of which descent can be counted (as indeed it is amongst the Australian tribes of the present day), is the group name, and as women of group B can only have marital relations with men of group A, it follows that the father of any child of a woman of group B must belong to group A, and therefore, though the actual father may not be known, there appears to be no inevitable necessity for the child to pass into group B rather than into group A" (*Native Tribes*, p. 36 note<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 167.

clearly distinguish between these two very different conceptions of paternity, the physical and the social, which we confound under the same name.<sup>1</sup>

From these considerations it follows that among the Australian tribes paternal descent is not of itself a proof of social advancement; and thus one of the arguments adduced by Dr. Howitt to prove the advance in culture of the coastal as compared with the inland tribes appears to be invalid. So far as I am aware, there is no evidence that any Australian tribe has exchanged maternal for paternal descent, and until such evidence is forthcoming we are not justified in assuming that those tribes which now trace descent from the father formerly traced it through the mother.

On the other hand the survival of a form of group marriage among the central tribes in the basin of Lake Eyre<sup>2</sup> may fairly, with Dr. Howitt, be regarded as evidence of the more backward state of these tribes in comparison with the tribes of the fertile coasts of Victoria and New South Wales, who practise individual marriage. Yet even this test is not an absolute one, if Dr. Howitt is right in holding that group marriage prevails, or prevailed till lately, among tribes on the southern coast of South Australia.<sup>3</sup> But with regard to the greater part of the territory occupied by the tribes of that coast it is to be remembered that the deserts characteristic of Central Australia here extend nearly to the sea,<sup>4</sup> so that the coastal tribes at this point labour under some of the same natural disadvantages which have retarded progress among the steppe-dwellers of the interior.

Again, in some districts on the coast the partial or entire breakdown of totemism, or of the exogamous classes, or of both together, appears, as Dr. Howitt has pointed out, to furnish unquestionable evidence of a social advance among the tribes who have thus succeeded in emancipating themselves more or less completely from the thralldom of

<sup>1</sup> The distinction between physical paternity and maternity on the one side and social paternity and maternity on the other side has been clearly pointed out by Mr. A. van Gennep in his *Mythes et Légendes d'Australie* (Paris, 1906), pp. lxiii. sq. Much confusion would be avoided if students of primitive marriage

would bear this distinction in mind.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 308 sqq., and below, pp. 363 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 191. See below, pp. 369-371.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 35. See also above, p. 320 note<sup>4</sup>.

these burdensome superstitions. The evidence of the decay of totemism and exogamy in parts of South-Eastern Australia which border on the sea will come before us in the sequel.

Totemism more primitive in the centre than on the coast.

Further, we have seen reason to believe that the totemic system of the central tribes is more primitive than that of the coastal tribes both in its social and in its religious or magical aspects, namely, in its permission to persons of the same totem to marry each other, in its mode of determining the totem of every individual, in its extensive use of magic for the multiplication of the totemic animals and plants, and in its allowing and even compelling men under certain circumstances to eat their own totems.<sup>1</sup>

Intellectual and religious progress among the tribes of the south-east.

Again, whereas the central tribes are ignorant of, and indeed deny, the part which the father plays in the begetting of offspring,<sup>2</sup> the tribes of South-Eastern Australia on the contrary, affirm that children emanate from the father alone and are merely nurtured by the mother.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, whereas the conception of a supreme supernatural being appears to be wholly lacking among such of the central tribes as have remained unaffected by European influence, the natives of South-Eastern Australia are reported to have believed in a mythical headman somewhere up in the sky, who might in time have developed into a native god of a common pattern, if his career had not been cut short by the arrival of a foreign race with a foreign deity.<sup>4</sup>

Taken altogether the evidence points to the conclusion that the central tribes are on the

Taken altogether the evidence points to the conclusion that such advances as have been made by the Australian aborigines in material culture, tribal government, family life, knowledge of natural processes, and elements of religion, have been made by the tribes of the coast and of those south-eastern portions of the continent where the natural

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 229 *sqq.*, 242 *sqq.*, 251 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 188 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> "It is necessary to keep in view the fact that these aborigines, even while counting 'descent'—that is counting the class names—through the mother, never for a moment feel any doubt, according to my experience, that the children originate solely from the male parent, and only owe their

infantine nurture to their mother" (A. W. Howitt, "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1883) p. 502). Compare *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 255, 263; A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 352.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 145 *sqq.*

conditions in respect of climate, soil, and water have been most favourable to human existence by furnishing the natives with a plentiful supply of food and of other necessaries, and thereby enabling them to multiply and become settled; while on the contrary the more backward and comparatively primitive tribes are those which inhabit the arid wastes of the interior, where the hard conditions of life in the desert have had the effect, which they never fail to produce, of keeping down the numbers and retarding the intellectual and social progress of the poverty-stricken nomads.<sup>1</sup> Yet these steps on the upward road have not been made with a rigid, a mechanical uniformity; for we have seen that side by side with the most primitive form of totemism the central tribes possess the most highly developed type of exogamy, namely, the division of the community into eight exogamous classes. The exception only illustrates the truth, which the whole history of mankind must impress on an attentive student, that in every human society there are marked inequalities of culture; the conditions of progress are too manifold and too complex to allow any single community or group of communities to outstrip its fellows equally in every respect. Amongst the most advanced peoples may be discovered relics of a ruder past; amongst the most backward races may be detected germs and anticipations of a happier future.<sup>2</sup>

whole the most primitive, and the coastal and south-eastern tribes the most advanced.

### § 2. *Tribes with two Classes (Kararu and Matteri) and Female Descent*

For our knowledge of the social and totemic systems of the tribes in the south-eastern regions of Australia

<sup>1</sup> In this conclusion I am happy to agree with Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, than whom none has a better right to form and express an opinion as to relative position of the tribes of Central Australia. They say: "Taking every class of evidence into account, it appears to us to be very difficult to avoid the conclusion that the central tribes, which, for long ages, have been shielded by their geographical isolation from external influences, have retained the most primitive form of customs and beliefs" (*Northern Tribes of Central*

*Australia*, p. xii.).

<sup>2</sup> Similarly Dr. Howitt observes: "Yet it may be well to keep in view that no two tribes are practically at the same point of development, as indicated for instance by an advance from group marriage to some form of individual marriage. Thus I see no difficulty in believing that while the Arunta have reached male descent with segmentation into eight subclasses, they may have retained early beliefs as to their totem ancestors" (*Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 155).

Researches  
of Dr. A.  
W. Howitt  
in South-  
East  
Australia.

we are mainly indebted to the researches of Dr. A. W. Howitt and his colleague the Rev. Lorimer Fison. The results of these researches, which extended over many years, are summed up by Dr. A. W. Howitt in a book which must always remain the standard work on the subject.<sup>1</sup> In the following survey of totemism and exogamy in South-Eastern Australia I shall therefore follow in the main Dr. Howitt's arrangement and presentation of the facts, and shall abstain from using later accounts, because since he collected his information a good many years ago, the process of extinction or decay has gone so far among the tribes of Victoria and New South Wales that little or nothing can now be learned with any certainty from the few survivors as to the ancient customs and beliefs of their forefathers.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Howitt's last message to anthropologists was to urge on them the need of the greatest caution in accepting evidence from the remnants of decaying tribes. I take heed to the warning and shall accordingly treat the tribes of South-East Australia as, for the purposes of this study, practically extinct. In the year 1907 the total number of full-blooded natives in the whole State of Victoria was under two hundred.<sup>3</sup> Hence though, for the sake of convenience, I shall often speak of these tribes in the present tense, the reader is to understand that the customs and beliefs described in the following pages belong for the most part, if not altogether, to the past.

Tribes  
with two  
exogamous  
classes and  
female  
descent.

We begin our survey with those tribes which have the simplest social organisation, namely, a bisection of the whole community into two exogamous moieties or

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904). In addition the student should consult the joint work of Messrs. Howitt and Fison, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, and Brisbane, 1880), and a series of valuable papers contributed partly by Mr. L. Fison, but mainly by Dr. Howitt to the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, between the years 1880 and 1907. These papers will be referred to from time to time in what follows.

<sup>2</sup> As to the decadence of the abori-

gines in this part of Australia, see Prof. Baldwin Spencer, "Totemism in Australia," *Transactions of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science* (Dunedin, January 1904), pp. 403 sq.; A. W. Howitt, "The Native Tribes of South-East Australia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) p. 278; *id.*, "A Message to Anthropologists," *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques*, i. (1908) pp. 481 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, "A Message to Anthropologists," *op. cit.* p. 481.

classes with descent in the female line. This simple and doubtless ancient type of social organisation is found among the tribes about Lake Eyre, in the interior of South Australia. Properly speaking, this group of tribes should be classed with the central tribes, for though Lake Eyre, about which they cluster, lies a good deal to the south of the true centre of Australia, yet the natural features and climate of the country exhibit all the characteristics of those arid sun-scorched wastes which occupy the greater part of the interior of the continent. The name of Lake Eyre is given to a vast expanse of barren flats and salt swamps, some four thousand square miles in area, which through subsidence of the land now lies nearly forty feet below sea-level, so that the rivers which from time to time pour floods of water into it from the Queensland Hills have no outlet, and the water soon evaporates in the torrid heat of the sun, leaving only a saline crust behind. In summer you may stand on what is called the shore of the lake and sweep the horizon with a powerful glass without seeing a drop of water. The landscape at such times is, to the last degree, desolate and forbidding, indeed one of the most dismal on earth, for the country all round these salt flats is a dreary wilderness of bare sun-baked clay pans, stony deserts, where the pebbles are set so thick that a cart-wheel leaves no rut, or barren sand-dunes which stretch away into the distance with the regularity and monotony of railway embankments. To add to the gloom of the scenery the sky, even in summer, is often overcast for days with banks of heavy clouds which sometimes hang low as if to mock the parched and thirsty wanderer with the sight of water beyond his reach. The prevailing hue of earth and heaven is a dingy monotonous grey; the distance is often blotted by a low dull haze. Not a sound is to be heard, not a living thing is to be seen, the only motion is that of the cloud-rack drifting sullenly across the leaden sky. No wonder that the natives of this forlorn region should be amongst the lowest even of the low Australian savages; no wonder that at times, driven to desperation by the droughts which have blasted their land into a desert, they should, like the prophets of Baal, have slashed themselves with knives and called with

Tribes of  
Lake Eyre.

The  
scenery of  
Lake Eyre.

loud cries on the spirits to send rain from the pitiless heaven.<sup>1</sup> The advent of Europeans has practically exterminated these children of the wilds without enabling their supplanters permanently to occupy the land. Deserted homesteads and wire-fences straggling on the ground now mark the retreat of the white man from these realms of sterility and death.<sup>2</sup>

Though the Australian aborigines are the lowest savages about whom we possess accurate information they are not necessarily degraded.

Before proceeding to give an account of the social and totemic system of the tribes, now much reduced in numbers, which still inhabit these dreary solitudes, I think it well to correct a misapprehension which appears to exist as to the place assigned by modern anthropologists to the Australian race in general and to the tribes of Lake Eyre in particular. It has been assumed<sup>3</sup> that, because we rank the Australian aborigines among the lowest races of mankind, we thereby imply that they are degraded, stupid, lazy, brutal, and so forth. The assumption rests on a confusion of thought. Lowness in the scale of humanity is confounded with degradation, with which it has no necessary connection. Similarly in the animal creation the ant, the bee, the elephant, and the dog are low in the scale by comparison with man, but they are not degraded, and it would be a calumny to describe them as stupid, lazy, brutal, and so on; for many of these creatures display a degree of intelligence and industry, of courage and affection which should put many men to shame. In regard to the Australian aborigines all that modern anthropology maintains is that, on the ground of the comparatively primitive nature of their material culture, superstitious beliefs, and social customs, they rank as the lowest of all the existing races of men about whom we possess accurate information. The pygmies of Central Africa may be, and the extinct Tasmanians almost certainly were, still lower than the Australians in the scale of humanity, but about them we have practically no information of any value. To set the Australians above the Bantu and negro

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 91-93.

<sup>2</sup> The extreme desolation of the basin of Lake Eyre is graphically depicted by Professor J. W. Gregory in his book, *The Dead Heart of Australia*

(London, 1906), pp. 21, 29 *sq.*, 47, 51 *sq.*, 57, 69, 92 *sq.*, 101, 103 *sqq.*, 109 *sq.*, 112 *sq.*, 120 *sqq.*, 134, 156, etc. See also his *Australasia*, i. 95, 485-487; A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. 23.

<sup>3</sup> By Prof. J. W. Gregory, *The Dead Heart of Australia*, pp. 165 *sqq.*

races of Africa would be absurd ; for the Bantus and negroes have tamed cattle, cultivated the ground, invented or at least practised weaving and pottery, worked the metals, built cities, and founded kingdoms, and the Australians have done none of these things. But though the Australians in their long isolation from the rest of the world have lagged far behind other races in the evolution of culture, they exhibit, so far as I can judge, no symptom at all of physical, mental, or social degradation ; on the contrary they appear to me to display both in their traditions and in their customs unequivocal signs of an advance from a state of savagery much lower than that in which they were found by Europeans. To these marks of progress I have already repeatedly called attention in the course of this work, and I shall have occasion to do so again in the sequel. Indeed I know of no savages who can properly be described as degraded except such as have been corrupted by contact with civilisation, learning the vices without acquiring the virtues of the higher race.

In classing the Australians, on the ground of their material culture, social institutions, and superstitious beliefs, at the bottom of all the existing races of men about whom we are accurately informed, I am happy to agree with an inquirer equally conspicuous for the exactness of his knowledge and the sobriety of his judgment, the late General Pitt-Rivers, who reached the same conclusion from a comparison of the Australian weapons and tools with those of other savages. He observes : "Lowest amongst the existing races of the world of whom we have any accurate knowledge are the Australians. All their weapons assimilate to the forms of nature ; all their wooden weapons are constructed on the grain of the wood, and consequently their curves are the curves of the branches out of which they were constructed. In every instance in which I have attempted to arrange my collection in sequence, so as to trace the higher forms from natural forms, the weapons of the Australians have found their place lowest in the scale, because they assimilate most closely to the natural forms." <sup>1</sup>

Pitt-Rivers  
 on the low  
 place of the  
 Australian  
 aborigines  
 in the  
 human  
 scale.

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-General A. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, *The Evolution of Culture* (Oxford, 1906), p. 11.

Position  
and num-  
bers of the  
Dieri.

The tribes of the Lake Eyre basin occupy, or used to occupy, a territory about three hundred miles long from north to south by three hundred miles broad from east to west. Of these the Dieri tribe, inhabiting the lower course of the Barcoo River on the east and south-east side of Lake Eyre, was the largest and most important, and it may be taken as typical of the rest, all of which appear to have agreed with it in being divided into two exogamous moieties or classes with descent in the female line.<sup>1</sup> At the present day the numbers of the Dieri have dwindled to one hundred and fifty all told, and a mission-station of the German Lutheran Church has been established among them since 1866.<sup>2</sup> The following account of their totemic and social system is based in large part on the evidence of men who knew the tribe in their purely savage state many years ago.

Exogam-  
ous classes  
and totem  
clans of the  
Dieri.

The Dieri are divided into two exogamous intermarrying moieties or classes which bear the names of Kararu and Matteri respectively. Each moiety or class is again subdivided into a number of totem clans. To the exogamous moieties or classes and to the totem clans the Dieri give the name of *murdu*s or, more correctly, *madas*.<sup>3</sup> The following is a list of the Dieri totem clans, so far as they have been ascertained, but the list is incomplete.<sup>4</sup> In it the clans are arranged under the classes (moieties or phratries) to which they belong.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 31 sqq.; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 44 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. W. Gregory, *The Dead Heart of Australia*, pp. 59 sq., 191.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 90 sq., 779 note 2.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 91. Dr. Howitt's earlier list of the Dieri totems ("The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) p. 38) differs from his later list in several particulars. I have reproduced the later as presumably the more correct. In the earlier list kangaroo (*chukuru*), the mulga tree (*malka*), and the seed of *Portulacca oleracea* (*kan-*

*aura*) are assigned as totems to the Kararu moiety, and iguana (*kopiri*) and *Duboisia Patersoni* (*pitcheri*) are assigned as totems to the Matteri moiety. None of these five seems to find a place in the later list. In the Matteri moiety the fish totem (*markarra*) of the later list is called a mullet in the earlier, and the *kirhapara* totem, for which no English equivalent is given in the later list, is called "bone fish" in the earlier. The list of Dieri totems given by S. Gason includes kangaroo (*chookooroo*), iguana (*cappirrie*), and the vegetable seed *cannaarra*, as well as rain, mice, emu, rat, grub (*purdie*), fish (*murkara*), dog, and crow. But Gason does not say how the totems are distributed between the moieties or classes. See *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 167 sq.

## DIERI TRIBE

*Classes and Totems*

Classes.	Totems.
Kararu	Rain, carpet-snake, crow, native companion, red ochre, a small frog, seed of <i>Claytonia</i> sp., a rat ( <i>maiaru</i> ), a bat ( <i>tapaiuru</i> ), the pan-beetle ( <i>Helaeus perforatus</i> ), <i>milkelyelparu</i> , a frog ( <i>kaladiri</i> ), the rabbit-bandicoot, shrew-mouse ( <i>punta</i> ), a small mouse ( <i>karabana</i> ).
Matteri	A caterpillar, ( <i>muluru</i> , the Witchetty grub of Spencer and Gillen), cormorant, emu, eagle-hawk, a fish, <i>Acacia</i> sp., dingo, native cat, <i>kirhapara</i> (bone fish?), small marsupial ( <i>kokula</i> ), kangaroo rat.

The marriage rule is that a man must always marry a woman of the other moiety or class ; in other words, Kararu men must marry Matteri women, and conversely Matteri men must marry Kararu women. In regard to totems, a man is free to marry a woman of any totem in the other moiety of the tribe. For example, a Kararu man of the rain totem may marry a Matteri woman of the caterpillar totem, or of the cormorant totem, or of the emu totem, or of the eagle-hawk totem, etc. Both the class (moiety) and the totem clan are hereditary in the female line ; in other words, every child takes both of them from his or her mother. Thus, if a Kararu man of the rain totem marries a Matteri woman of the caterpillar totem, then their children, both male and female, will be Matteri-caterpillars ; if a Kararu man of the rain totem marries a Matteri woman of the cormorant totem, then their children, both male and female, will be Matteri-cormorants. Or if a Matteri man of the emu totem marries a Kararu woman of the carpet-snake totem, then their children will be Kararu-carpet-snakes ; if he marries a Kararu woman of the crow totem, then the children will be Kararu-crows, and so on.<sup>1</sup>

Rules of marriage and descent among the Dieri.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 175 sq. The statement of S. Gason that men take their father's totem and women their mother's totem (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvii. (1888) p. 186) is incorrect. See Dr. A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 36 sq.

Prohibition  
of marriage  
between a  
man's  
children  
and his  
sister's  
children.

Although a two-class system, like a four-class system, does not of itself prevent the marriage of a man's children with his sister's children,<sup>1</sup> yet the Dieri practically bar such marriages by placing a man's children in the relation of *kami* (which means non-marriageable) to his sister's children; but in the next generation the children of these children are *noa* or marriageable to each other.<sup>2</sup> The effect of this prohibition is, in conjunction with the class system, to bar all marriages between first cousins. For when first cousins are the children of two brothers or of two sisters, their union is barred by the class system;<sup>3</sup> and in the remaining case, when first cousins are the children of a brother and a sister respectively, though their marriage is not barred by the class system, yet it is specially guarded against by this Dieri rule which makes such cousins *kami* or non-marriageable with each other. Thus in regard to such first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, the Dieri system presents a remarkable contrast to the Urabunna system; for whereas under the Urabunna system a man's proper wife is his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's elder brother or of his father's elder sister,<sup>4</sup> these female first cousins are under the Dieri system prohibited to him by a special rule. We cannot doubt that the Urabunna custom which enjoins a man to marry one of his first cousins is older than the Dieri custom which forbids him to do so. The Dieri prohibition is clearly an innovation on the older system which permitted and even recommended certain consanguineous marriages; it is another step taken by these savages towards the accomplishment of that object at which their whole class system was directly aimed, namely, the prevention of the marriage of near kin. This practical prohibition of a marriage which is not barred by the class system is interesting, because it shews how tribal opinion may condemn and prevent certain unions which yet, so far as the class rules are concerned, might be lawfully contracted. We may reasonably suppose that all the marriages which are now

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 276 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 177 *sq.*

formally interdicted by the various exogamous class systems, were in like manner informally reprobated by public opinion before the cumbrous machinery of exogamy was put in operation against them. In other words, we may assume that a moral objection to such marriages always preceded, and was the cause of, their legal prohibition.

According to S. Gason,<sup>1</sup> the Dieri do not pay any particular respect to their totems, and will kill and eat them whenever they are edible animals or plants. There is a strong feeling of fellowship between all persons of the same totem. When a visitor arrives in camp, he is entertained by his relatives or, in default of them, by people of his totem. "Those of the same totem keep together, eat and live together, and lend each other their women. Even strangers from a distance of three or four hundred miles are thus hospitably entertained. The first question is, '*Minna Murdu?*' that is to say, 'What is your totem?' The surrounding and distant tribes have some totems different to those of the Dieri, but these can always find out which are the same."<sup>2</sup>

Relations of a man to his totem and to members of his totem clan.

To account for the origin of their totems the Dieri tell various stories about the *Mura-muras*, the mythical predecessors and prototypes of the tribe, who, like the *alcheringa* ancestors of the Arunta, are said to have wandered about the country instituting the rites and ceremonies which are still, or were till lately, observed by their descendants or successors. These *Mura-muras* were men, women, and children who led the same sort of life as the Dieri, but were far more powerful magicians than even the medicine-men of the present day claim to be. They gave names to the natural features of the country, such as the rocks and the rivers, which they met with in their wanderings; and when their work was done they were themselves turned into rocks or petrified tree-trunks, which the natives still point out as indisputable evidence of the truth of the legends.<sup>3</sup> One of

Dieri legend of the origin of their totems.

<sup>1</sup> In *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvii. (1888) p. 186; *id.*, xxiv. (1895) p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. H. Vogelsang, of the Lutheran Mission to the Dieri, quoted by A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred

Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 41 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> These legends of the *Mura-muras* were collected for Dr. Howitt by the Rev. Otto Siebert, missionary to the

the tales which the Dieri tell to explain the origin of the totems (*murdu*s, *mad*as) runs as follows. They say that in the beginning the earth opened in the midst of Perigundi Lake and the totems (*murdu*s or *mad*as) came trooping out, one after the other. Out came the crow, and the shell parakeet, and the emu, and all the rest. Being as yet imperfectly formed and without members or organs of sense, they laid themselves down on the sandhills which surrounded the lake then just as they do now. It was a bright day, and the totems lay basking in the sunshine, till at last, refreshed and invigorated by it, they stood up as human beings (*kana*) and dispersed in all directions. That is why people of the same totem are now scattered all over the country. You may still see the island in the lake out of which the totems came trooping long ago.<sup>1</sup>

Another  
Dieri  
legend of  
the origin  
of their  
totems.

Another Dieri story to explain the origin of the totems, or at least of the totem names, runs thus. Once upon a time there was a *Mura-mura* man and his name was Mandra-mankana. He came to the neighbourhood of Pando, which the white men call Lake Hope. There he saw two girls, who jeered at him, and when he made love to them, they gave him the slip. So he went forth meditating revenge, and as he went he sang songs which made the fruit to grow, some bitter and some sweet. The two girls found these plants and they liked the sweet fruit very much. After a time they came to a *tanyu* bush, laden with its red and yellow fruit. But the sly Mandra-mankana was lurking in the bush, and when the two girls, suspecting nothing, drew near, he killed them both and cut off their breasts. Coming to the camp of the murdered damsels, he decked himself out in paint and feathers, hung the breasts of the girls on his chest, and danced before the people. But two young men recognised the breasts of his victims and knocked him very hard on the head, so that it split open, and then all the

Dieri at Killalpanina on the Cooper River. See A. W. Howitt and Otto Siebert, "Legends of the Dieri and Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) pp. 100 *sqq.*; Miss Mary E. B. Howitt, "Some Native Legends

from Central Australia," *Folk-lore*, xiii. (1902) pp. 403 *sqq.*; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 90, 475 *sqq.*, 779 *sqq.*

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 476, 779 *sqq.*

people fell upon him ; even the little children struck him with their tiny fists. So they buried him and laid wood on his grave, and went away. One day a crow perched on the grave, and pecked thrice at the wood, and said "Caw ! caw ! caw !" Then the dead man awoke, and came out of the grave, and looked about, but nobody was to be seen. However, he perceived the footprints of the people, and he followed them up to their new camp on Cooper's Creek. When he came up with them, they were wading and splashing in the river, driving the fish before them with bushes and grass. So he hid himself in the water and, opening his mouth very wide, he swallowed them all up, men, fish, grass, water, everything. Some few of the people who were at a distance saw with alarm a monster in the water with his arms round their comrades, hugging them to himself. A remnant escaped by jumping over his arms. As they ran away, the *Mura-mura* man called "Gobbler-up-of-Grass" looked after them and gave to each of them as he ran his totem name. Those who ran to the north were the seed of the *manyura*, the bat, a marsupial rat (*maiaru*), a small marsupial (*palyara*), the shell parakeet, the cormorant, the eagle-hawk, the emu, the crow, a caterpillar (*padi*), called by the whites the witchetty grub, red ochre, the carpet-snake, and the *Duboisia Hopwoodii*. These, as I said before, all ran away to the north. Those that ran to the south-east were the kangaroo, the dingo, the jew lizard, the lace lizard or iguana, a marsupial rat (*kokula*), a small marsupial (*punta*), another small marsupial (*karabana*), the native companion, the rain, a crane, a water-rat, the native cat (*pira-moku*), a frog (*kaladiri*), another frog (*tidnamara*), the curlew, and the kangaroo rat. Those who ran to the south were a fish (*makara*, the native perch), the native cat (*yikaura*), the box-tree (*Eucalyptus microtheca*), the rabbit-bandicoot or bush wallaby (*Paragale lagotis*), and one more (*kirhapara*), whose English name is uncertain, perhaps the eel. When they were all gone, the *mura-mura* came out of the water and vomited. As he did so, all his teeth fell out, and they are still to be seen at Manatandri. After that he went a little further off, sat down, and died. His body turned into stone, and you may see it looking

like a rock on the Cooper Creek to the north of Lake Hope.<sup>1</sup>

In this latter legend the list of names helps to supplement the list of totem clans which has already been given,<sup>2</sup> and it probably throws light on the geographical distribution of the clans; for we can hardly doubt that the majority of each totem clan was found in that quarter to which its mythical ancestor was said to have run in order to escape the maw of the *mura-mura* man in the river.

Dieri  
legend of  
the origin  
of exogamy.

The Dieri have also a legend of the origin of exogamy. As reported by S. Gason the legend runs thus: "*Murdoo* (subdivision of tribe into families). *Murdoo* means taste, but in its primary and larger signification implies family, founded on the following tradition. After the creation, as previously related, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, and others of the closest kin intermarried promiscuously, until the evil effects of these alliances becoming manifest, a council of the chiefs was assembled to consider in what way they might be averted, the result of their deliberations being a petition to the Mooramoor, in answer to which he ordered that the tribe should be divided into branches, and distinguished one from the other by different names, after objects animate and inanimate, such as dogs, mice, emu, rain, iguana, and so forth, the members of any such branch not to intermarry, but with permission for one branch to mingle with another. Thus the son of a dog might not marry the daughter of a dog, but either might form an alliance with a mouse, an emu, a rat, or other family. This custom is still observed, and the first question asked of a stranger is, 'What *murdoo*?' namely, 'Of what family are you?'"<sup>3</sup>

Another  
version of  
the legend.

In this version of the legend the Mooramoor, whom Gason regarded as a Good Spirit or deity,<sup>4</sup> is clearly one of the *Mura-muras*, the mythical predecessors or ancestors of the Dieri.<sup>5</sup> The version of the same legend which the Rev. Otto Siebert, a missionary to the Dieri, obtained for Dr. A. W. Howitt, is as follows: "The several families

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 476, 781-783.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 344 sq.

<sup>3</sup> S. Gason, "The Dieyerie Tribe,"

in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 260 sq.

<sup>4</sup> S. Gason, *op. cit.* p. 260.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 148 sq.

of *Murdus* married in themselves without shame. This occasioned great confusion, and sexual disorder became predominant. The *Pinnarus* (elders) observing this, came together to consider how these evils might be avoided. They agreed that the families should be divided, and that no member of a segment should marry within it. In accordance with this it was ordered that 'Yidni padi madu (*murdu*) wapanai kaualka kuraterila, yidni kaualka wapanai warugatti kuraterila, etc.' That is, 'Thou grub totem, go to produce crow; thou crow totem, go to produce emu, etc.,' and so on for the other totems."<sup>1</sup>

Both these versions of the legend agree in alleging that there was a time when the present restrictions on marriage were unknown, and when consequently near kinsfolk married among themselves without shame; both agree in alleging that the exogamous rules were deliberately introduced for the purpose of regulating the intercourse of the sexes and putting an end to a state of sexual promiscuity which had come to be regarded as a great evil. These traditions, therefore, accord perfectly with the conclusion, which we have reached independently from the consideration of other evidence, that the exogamous prohibitions were deliberately devised and enforced for the sake of preventing the union in marriage of persons whom the natives regarded as too near of kin.<sup>2</sup> But, as Dr. Howitt has pointed out, there is a discrepancy between the two versions of the Dieri legend as to the introduction of exogamy. For whereas in Gason's version the totem clans were introduced simultaneously with, and as a means of carrying out, the exogamous rules, in Mr. Siebert's version the totem clans existed before the introduction of exogamy and had been till then endogamous, that is, people of the same totem clan had been free to marry each other. Thus Siebert's version agrees with the traditions of the other Central Australian tribes which represent endogamy as habitually practised by the totem clans before the introduction of the exogamous classes.<sup>3</sup>

The tradition that the exogamous rules were deliberately introduced for the purpose of regulating marriage accords with other evidence.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 481; A. W. Howitt and Otto Siebert, "Legends of the Dieri and Kindred Tribes of Central

Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 273 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 251 sq.

Kulin legend of the origin of exogamy.

This agreement is a strong argument in favour of the truth of the tradition. The Kulin tribe of Victoria had a similar legend that their ancestors used to marry without any regard to kinship, until two medicine-men went up to Bunjil, the great mythical headman of the tribe in the sky, and requested that the people should divide themselves into two exogamous classes. Bunjil granted their request and ordained that one of these classes should be called *Bunjil* (eagle-hawk) and the other *Waang* (crow).<sup>1</sup>

The tradition that exogamy was introduced by the older men or by medicine-men is confirmed by the practice of the present day.

With regard to the agency by which these great changes of tribal custom were introduced, it is to be observed that in Gason's version of the Dieri legend the innovation is ascribed to the mythical predecessors or ancestors of the people (the *Mura-muras*), that in Mr. Siebert's version it is attributed to the tribal elders, and that in the Kulin legend it is set down to two medicine-men, who had previously obtained the sanction of Bunjil, the mythical headman of the tribe. In so far as these stories refer the introduction of social reform to the authority of the older men, and especially of the medicine-men, they are confirmed by what appears to be the practice of the present day; for the best modern observers of the Australian aborigines are of opinion that if the elders, who practically rule the tribe, agree on the advisability of introducing even an important change of custom, they have it in their power to persuade the people to adopt it. Thus Dr. Howitt says: "From what I know of the Australian savage I can see very clearly how such a social change might be brought about. They universally believe that their deceased ancestors and kindred visit them during sleep, and counsel or warn them against dangers, or communicate to them song-charms against magic. I have known many such cases, and I also know that the medicine-men see visions that are to them realities. Such a man if of great repute in his tribe might readily bring about a social change, by announcing to his fellow medicine-men a command received from some supernatural being such as Kutchi of the Dieri, Bunjil of the Wurunjerry, or Daramulun of the Coast Murring. If they received it favourably, the next step might be to announce it to the assembled head-

Dr. Howitt's view of the way in which social changes may be introduced in Australian tribes.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 126, 491.

men at one of the ceremonial gatherings as a supernatural command, and this would be accepted as true without question by the tribes-people."<sup>1</sup> As to the particular reform with which we are here concerned, Dr. Howitt writes: "I cannot see any reason to doubt that the first division of Australian communities into two exogamous intermarrying communes was an intentional act arising from within the commune prior to its division. The evidence which I have before me, drawn from the existing customs and beliefs of the aborigines, not only leads me to that conclusion, but also to the further conclusion that the movement itself probably arose within the council of elders, in which the tribal wizard, the professed communicant with ancestral spirits, holds no mean place. The change, whenever it was effected, must, I think, have been announced as having been directed by the spirits of the deceased ancestors (*e.g.* *Mura Mura* of the Dieri), or by the Headman of Spiritland himself (*e.g.* Būnjil of the Kūlin, or Daramūlūn of the Mūrring)."<sup>2</sup>

A similar view as to the agency by which changes of tribal custom are effected among the Australian aborigines is held by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, who have had excellent opportunities of forming an opinion on the subject. Speaking of the headmen of the central tribes they observe: "It is undoubtedly by means of the meetings and consultations of leading men such as these that changes in regard to customs can be introduced. The savage is essentially a conservative. What was considered by his father and, more important still, by his grandfather and great-grandfather, to be the right and proper thing to do, is the only right and proper thing for him. But yet at the same time, despite this very strong feeling, changes are introduced. It is these old men, the heads of the totemic groups, who are most interested in all matters concerned with tribal government and custom. If we are safe in regarding the traditions of the different tribes as affording evidence of any value, it is interesting to find that not a few

Spencer and Gillen's view of the way in which social changes may originate with influential men and gradually spread from group to group and from tribe to tribe.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 89 sq.

Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1883) pp. 500 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Notes on the

of them refer to changes introduced by special individuals of note. Almost every tribe has a tradition of special men or women who first introduced the stone knife for use at initiation, in place of the fire-stick, which previously had caused the deaths of many of the young men. So again every tribe ascribes the introduction of the present marriage system to special eminent *alcheringa* ancestors. In some cases, further, we find that some special ancestor proposed a change, and was supported in this by some other individual. Probably this really explains what has taken place in the past and is still going on in the present. Every now and again there arises a man of superior ability to his fellows; indeed in every tribe there are always one or two individuals who are regarded as more learned than the others, and to whom special respect is paid. During the performance of important ceremonies, when large numbers of the tribe and even members of other tribes are gathered together, the informal council of the leading men is constantly meeting. Matters of tribal interest are discussed day after day. In fact, unless one has been present at these tribal gatherings, which often extend over two or three months, it is difficult to realise the extent to which the thoughts of the natives are occupied with matters of this kind. A change may perhaps have been locally introduced by some strong man acting in conjunction with the older men of his own group. This is discussed amongst the various leading men when they meet together, and then, if the innovation gains the support of other leaders, it will be adopted and will gradually come to be recognised as the right thing."<sup>1</sup>

Another statement of their view of the means by which social reforms may be carried out in the tribes.

And elsewhere Spencer and Gillen tell us that "after carefully watching the natives during the performance of their ceremonies and endeavouring as best we could to enter into their feelings, to think as they did, and to become for the time being one of themselves, we came to the conclusion that if one or two of the most powerful men settled upon the advisability of introducing some change, even an important one, it would be quite possible for this to be agreed upon and carried out. That changes have been introduced, in fact, are still

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 26 sq.

being introduced, is a matter of certainty; the difficulty to be explained is, how in face of the rigid conservatism of the native, which may be said to be one of his leading features, such changes can possibly even be mooted. The only possible chance is by means of the old men, and, in the case of the Arunta, amongst whom the local feeling is very strong, they have opportunities of a special nature. Without belonging to the same group, men who inhabit localities close to one another are more closely associated than men living at a distance from one another, and, as a matter of fact, this local bond is strongly marked—indeed so marked was it during the performance of their sacred ceremonies that we constantly found it necessary to use the term ‘local relationship.’ Groups which are contiguous locally are constantly meeting to perform ceremonies; and among the *alatunjas* [headmen] who thus come together and direct proceedings there is perfectly sure, every now and again, to be one who stands pre-eminent by reason of superior ability, and to him, especially on an occasion such as this, great respect is always paid. It would be by no means impossible for him to propose to the other older men the introduction of a change, which, after discussing it, the *alatunjas* of the local groups gathered together might come to the conclusion was a good one, and, if they did so, then it would be adopted in that district. After a time a still larger meeting of the tribe, with head men from a still wider area . . . might be held. At this the change locally introduced would, without fail, be discussed. The man who first started it would certainly have the support of his local friends, provided they had in the first instance agreed upon the advisability of its introduction, and not only this, but the chances are that he would have the support of the head men of other local groups of the same designation as his own. Everything would, in fact, depend upon the status of the original proposer of the change; but, granted the existence of a man with sufficient ability to think out the details of any change, then, owing partly to the strong development of the local feeling, and partly to the feeling of kinship between groups of the same designation, wherever their local habitation may be, it seems quite possible that the markedly

conservative tendency of the natives in regard to customs handed down to them from their ancestors may every now and then be overcome, and some change, even a radical one, be introduced. The traditions of the tribe indicate, it may be noticed, their recognition of the fact that customs have varied from time to time. They have, for example, traditions dealing with supposed ancestors, some of whom introduced, and others of whom changed, the method of initiation. Tradition also indicates ancestors belonging to particular local groups who changed an older into the present marriage system, and these traditions all deal with special powerful individuals by whom the changes were introduced."<sup>1</sup> Among the qualities which confer this commanding influence on certain men a knowledge of ancient lore and skill in magic are particularly mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

Codes of laws have often been fathered on divine beings.

Hence if the best authorities on the subject are right, the elaborate class system of the Australian aborigines may have originated with a single man of keener mind and stronger character than his fellows, who persuaded them to accept his invention either on its own merits or as a revelation directly imparted to him by the higher powers. Thus it would seem that among these rude savages we may detect the germ of that policy which, among more civilised peoples, has led so many legislators to father their codes on gods or heroes of the remote past. For example, the most famous body of ancient Hindoo law is said to have been revealed to human sages by the divine or heroic Manu, who figures in legends as the father of mankind, the founder of social and moral order, the author of legal maxims, and especially as the inventor of sacrificial rites—in short, as what the Central Australians would call an *alcheringa* ancestor or a *mura-mura*.<sup>3</sup> The sacred laws of the ancient Persians, embodied in the Avesta, are said to have been revealed by the supreme deity Ahura Mazda to the prophet Zoroaster,<sup>4</sup> just as the sacred laws of the Hebrews were

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 12, 14 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *The Laws of Manu*, translated by G. Bühler, pp. xii. lvii. sqq., 1 sqq. (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxv.).

<sup>4</sup> *The Zend-Avesta*, translated by J. Darmesteter, part i. pp. 4 sqq. (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv.); A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Iran* (New York, 1901), pp. 36 sqq.

revealed by Jehovah to Moses. The Babylonian King Hammurabi apparently claimed to have received his famous code direct from the Sun-god,<sup>1</sup> and Lycurgus was popularly supposed to have received the Spartan laws from the inspired lips of the Delphic priestess.<sup>2</sup> So too the Greeks thought that King Minos obtained the Cretan laws from the mouth of Zeus himself in the sacred Dictæan cave,<sup>3</sup> and the Romans imagined that King Numa instituted their sacrificial rites and ceremonies through the inspiration of the nymph Egeria, with whom he consorted in her holy grove.<sup>4</sup> It is thus that in many lands and many ages religion or superstition is invoked to enforce the dictates of human wisdom or folly upon the more credulous portion of mankind.

Like the central and northern tribes described by Spencer and Gillen, the Dieri perform magical ceremonies for the multiplication of their totemic animals, no doubt with the intention of thereby increasing the food-supply of the tribe. For example, the carpet-snake (*woma*) and the lace-lizard or iguana (*kaperi* or *kapiri*) are two of their totems,<sup>5</sup> and in order to produce a plentiful crop of these reptiles, members of the Dieri, Yaurorka, Yantruwunta, Marula, Yelyuyendi, Karanguru, and Ngameni tribes assemble periodically at Kudna-ngauana on the Cooper River. Here there is a certain sandhill, under which a *mura-mura* named Minkani is supposed to live in a cave. To judge from the description of him, he seems to be one of those fossil beasts or reptiles which are found in the deltas of rivers flowing into Lake Eyre. Such fossil bones are called *kadimarkara* by the Dieri. When the

Magical ceremony performed by the Dieri for the multiplication of carpet-snakes and lace-lizards, which are two of their totems.

<sup>1</sup> This is not directly alleged in the code itself, but at the head of the now celebrated monument on which the code is inscribed there is carved a figure of the king in an attitude of adoration before the sun-god, and if H. Winckler is right, the scene represents the monarch receiving his laws from the deity. See H. Winckler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*<sup>2</sup> (Leipsic, 1903), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, i. 65; Polybius, x. 2; Strabo, xvi. 2. 38 sq., pp. 761 sq.; Xenophon, *Reipubl. Lacedaem.* 8; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 5; Dionysius Hali-

carnasensis, *Antiquit. Roman.* ii. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, *Minos*, 13 sq., pp. 319 sq.; Strabo, xvi. 2. 38, p. 762; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Roman.* ii. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, i. 19. 5; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 154, 259 sqq.; Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 479 sqq.; Plutarch, *Numa*, 4; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Roman.* ii. 60 sq.

<sup>5</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 783; A. W. Howitt and O. Siebert, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) p. 105.

time has come for performing the ceremony, the men leave the women behind in the camp and go alone to the sandhill, where the *mura-mura* resides. On reaching the spot they dig down until they come to damp earth and what they call the excrement of the *mura-mura*. The digging then proceeds very carefully until, as they say, the elbow of the *mura-mura* is uncovered. Then two men stand over him, and, a vein in the arm of each having been opened, they allow the blood to fall on his remains. The Minkani song is now sung, and the men, roused to a frenzy of excitement, strike at each other with weapons till they reach the camp, distant about a mile from the sandhill. The women come out to meet them, and, rushing forward with loud cries, hold shields over their husbands to protect them and stop the fighting. The *tidnamadukas*, that is, the men who claim the land as theirs in right of their mothers,<sup>1</sup> thereupon collect the blood dripping from the wounds, and scatter it, mixed with the supposed excrement from the Minkani's cave, over the sandhills in order that they may bring forth the young carpet-snakes and iguanas which are hidden in them. This ceremony, as Dr. Howitt observes, is clearly similar to the *intichiuma* ceremonies which the Arunta and other central tribes perform for the multiplication of their totems, and the intention is the same, namely, to produce a supply of the totemic animal in order that it may be eaten by the tribe. On the analogy of these Arunta rites the men who perform the ceremony ought to have for their totem the particular animal or plant which they seek to propagate by their magic. Hence, in the Minkani ceremony the performers should be men of the carpet-snake and iguana totems; but Dr. Howitt has not been able to ascertain that this is so.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The word *tidnamaduka* is compounded of *tidna*, "foot," and *maduka*, "mother," "grandmother," or "ancestress." "A *tidnamaduka* is a man who claims a certain tract of country as his, and whose mother and her brothers claim it for him. *Tidnamaduka*, or, shortly, *maduka*, is the complement of *pintara*. *Maduka* includes everything belonging to the maternal line, as *pintara* includes

everything belonging to the paternal line. For instance, a father's *mura-mura*, together with his 'fatherland,' is his *pintara*, while the mother's brother, speaking of his mother's *mura-mura* and his 'motherland,' calls it his *maduka*" (A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 785, note <sup>2</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Legends of the Dieri and Kindred Tribes of Central

Another ceremony observed by the tribes of Lake Eyre for the multiplication of iguanas, which are one of their principal articles of food, has been described by S. Gason. He tells us that the Dieri do not themselves perform it, but that they are invariably invited, and attend the ceremony. When iguanas are scarce, a day is appointed for the rite, and the men assemble and sit down in a circle. The old men thereupon take leg-bones of emus, sharpened at both ends, and pierce their own ears with them several times, while, regardless of the pain, they sing the following song: "With a boomerang we gather all the iguanas from the flats and plains, and drive them to the sandhills, then surround them, that all the male and female iguanas may come together and increase." Should there be a few more iguanas after the ceremony than there were before, the natives boast of having produced them; but if the creature is as scarce as ever, they fall back on their customary excuse that some other tribe took away their power.<sup>1</sup>

Magical ceremony for the multiplication of iguanas.

Again, the Dieri perform a strange ceremony for the purpose of making the wild fowl lay their eggs. This they do after heavy rains, when the smaller lakes, lagoons, and swamps are generally full of fresh water and flocks of wild fowl congregate about them. On a fine day, after the rains, all the able-bodied men sit in a circle, each with the sharpened leg-bone of a kangaroo; the old men sing an obscene song, and while they do so the others pierce their scrotum with the sharp bone. The pain must be great, but they show no sense of it, though they are generally laid up for two or three weeks afterwards, unable to walk. While they are thus torturing themselves, the women are crying.<sup>2</sup> They also perform a ceremony for the multiplication of wild dogs, which are one of their totems, and another ceremony

Dieri ceremony to make wild fowls lay their eggs.

Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) pp. 124 sq.; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 797 sq. In the latter passage the words "the young *Woma* and *Kapiri* (carpet-snake) lizard" seem to be a mistake for "the young *Woma* (carpet-snake) and *Kapiri* (lizard)." Compare p. 783 of the same work and *Journal of the Anthro-*

*pological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) p. 105, where *woma* is defined as "carpet-snake," and *kaperi* (not *kapiri*) is defined as "lace lizard, commonly called iguana."

<sup>1</sup> S. Gason, "The Dieyerie Tribe," in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> S. Gason, *op. cit.* pp. 278 sq.

Dieri ceremony for making rain.

for the multiplication of snakes; but both of these are reported to be so obscene that they are indescribable.<sup>1</sup> We may conjecture that these ceremonies are performed by men of the wild dog and snake totems respectively. The Dieri also perform ceremonies, based on the principle of imitative magic, for the making of rain. In these ceremonies the wished-for rain is simulated by blood drawn from the arms of two medicine-men, and clouds are represented partly by down floating in the air, partly by two large stones, which are afterwards placed as high as possible in the branches of the tallest trees, as if to cause the clouds to mount in the sky. Also they make a hut of logs and branches and then knock it down with their heads. "The piercing of the hut with their heads symbolizes the piercing of the clouds; the fall of the hut, the fall of the rain." On the analogy of the practice of the central and northern tribes described by Spencer and Gillen, we should expect to find that among the Dieri this rain-making ceremony was performed by men of the rain or water totem. However, Dr. Howitt tells us that the whole tribe joins in the ceremony under the direction of the medicine-man.<sup>2</sup>

Headmen of the totem clans and other divisions among the Dieri.

In the Dieri tribe, as in all the other tribes akin to it, the oldest man of a totem clan is its *pinnaru* or head. Further, each horde or local division of the tribe has also its *pinnaru* or head, who may happen also to be the head of a totem clan. But the head of a totem clan or of a local division need not have much or any authority

<sup>1</sup> S. Gason, *op. cit.* p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> S. Gason, "The Dieyerie Tribe," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 276-278; A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 90-93; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 394-397. The two stones used in the rain-making ceremony are heart-shaped and represent two young men named Dara-ulu, who are believed to be the senders of rain. When rain is wanted, the Dieri smear the two stones with fat and sing a long song. At other times the stones are kept carefully wrapt up in feathers and fat; for the Dieri think that were the

stones to be scratched, the whole people would suffer perpetual hunger and could never be satisfied, however much they might eat. And if the stones were broken, the sky would redden, the dust of some dried witchetty grubs, which they tell of in one of their legends, would spread from the westward over the whole earth, and at the sight of it men would die of terror. See A. W. Howitt and O. Siebert, "Legends of the Dieri and Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) pp. 125 *sq.*; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 799 *sq.*

outside of his clan or division. For example, Dr. Howitt knew a man who was head of the Eagle-hawk clan in virtue of his great age, but who otherwise had little influence, because he was neither a warrior, a medicine-man, nor an orator. The *pinnarus* collectively are the headmen of the tribe, and of them some one is superior to the rest. In 1862-63, when Dr. Howitt knew the Dieri, the principal headman was a certain Jalina-piramurana, who was head of a seed totem, and was also recognised as the head of the whole tribe. The seed which this man had for his totem is called *kunaura* by the Dieri; it is the seed of the *Claytonia* sp., and forms at times the principal vegetable food of the tribes about Lake Eyre, being ground into a porridge and eaten raw or baked into a cake in hot ashes. The headman of this totem used to boast of being the "tree of life" or the "stay of life," and sometimes he was spoken of as the plant itself (*manyura*, that is, *Claytonia* sp.) of which the seed is the totem. In the Dieri tribe the heads of the totem clans and local divisions, together with eminent warriors, orators, and, generally speaking, old men of standing and importance, compose what may be called the inner council or senate of the tribe, which discusses and decides on all matters of importance at secret sittings held in some place away from the camp. Admission to this inner council is a jealously guarded privilege, and to divulge its secrets is a crime punished with death. The principal headman presides, and among the business transacted at it are the arrangements for hunting game, for festive or ceremonial gatherings, and the punishment of offences, such as the procuring of death by magic, murder, breach of the marriage laws, and the revelation of the secrets of the initiation ceremonies to uninitiated persons or to women. The heads of the totem clans and of the local divisions and other distinguished men wear, or used to wear, circlets of red feathers on their heads as a sign of rank. The Dieri is the only Australian tribe in which Dr. Howitt remembers to have seen this red badge of honour.<sup>1</sup>

The head-  
man of a  
seed totem.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 64-71; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 297-300, 320-323. In

Classifica-  
tory terms  
of relation-  
ship in use  
among the  
Dieri.

Like all other Australian tribes about whom we have exact information, the Dieri have the classificatory system of relationship. For example, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *ngaperi* (*appiri*) to his father and to his father's brothers; and he applies the same term *ngandri* (*andri*) to his mother and to his mother's sisters. In his own generation he applies the same term *negi* (*niehie, neyi*) to his elder brothers, to the sons of his father's brothers, and to the sons of his mother's sisters; and he applies the same term *kaku* to his elder sisters, to the daughters of his father's brothers, and to the daughters of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term *noa* to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives; and on her side a woman applies the same term *noa* to her husband, to her husband's brothers, and to her sisters' husbands. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term *ngata mura* (*athamoora*) to his own sons, to the sons of his brothers, and to the sons of his wife's sisters.<sup>1</sup> Thus a Dieri man may have many "fathers" who never begot him, many "mothers" who never bore him, many "brothers" and "sisters" who are the children of neither of his parents, and many "sons" whom he never begot. In the mouth of the Dieri these terms of relationship, while they include the relationships which we designate by them, also include many more: they mark the relationship of the individual not to individuals merely but to groups. It has already been pointed out that such classificatory terms, descriptive of group relationships, are only explicable on the hypothesis that they are directly derived from group-marriage.<sup>2</sup> That inference has long been rightly drawn by Dr. A. W. Howitt, our principal authority on the Dieri and other tribes of South-Eastern Australia.<sup>3</sup>

the former passage Dr. Howitt identifies the *manyura* plant (of which the seed is the *kunaura* totem) as *Portulacca oleracea*; in the latter he identifies it as *Claytonia* sp.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 43-50; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East*

*Australia*, p. 160; *id.*, "Australian Group-Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 287 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 303 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 99, 102; *id.*, in *Folk-lore*, xvii. (1906) pp. 185, 189.

Nor in dealing with the Dieri are we left merely to infer the former existence of group-marriage from the present use of terms descriptive of group relationship; for a form of group-marriage still survives among the Dieri, as among the Urabunna,<sup>1</sup> side by side with a more specialised, though not strictly individual, marriage. In order to explain these two forms of marriage we must begin by premising that in the Dieri tribe, as in other Australian tribes, certain groups of men and women in the intermarrying classes are by birth marriageable to each other, in other words, they are potential spouses. The Arunta call these potential spouses *unawa*;<sup>2</sup> the Urabunna call them *nupa*;<sup>3</sup> the Dieri call them *noa*. In the Dieri tribe this *noa* relationship of marriageability or potential spouseship is specialised by the betrothal to each other of a boy and a girl who are *noa* one to the other, and have been born about the same time. The betrothal is arranged by the mothers of the two children with the concurrence of the brothers of the girl's mother. The fathers have no part in the arrangement. In every such case a sister, whether own or tribal, of the betrothed boy must be promised as a wife to a brother, whether own or tribal, of the betrothed girl. The new relation thus created between the betrothed is called *tippa-malku*, and as a sign of betrothal the navel strings of the two children are tied up with emu feathers and different coloured strings.<sup>4</sup> "By the practice of betrothal two *noa* individuals of opposite sexes become, if I may use the term, specialised to each other as *tippa-malku* for the time being, to the exclusion of any other man in that relation. In other words, no woman can be *tippa-malku* to two or more men at the same time. It seems to me that out of this system of specialisation the individual marriage of some tribes has been developed. The germ of individual marriage may be seen in the Dieri practice, for, as I shall show later on, a woman becomes a *tippa-malku* wife before she becomes a *pirrauru* or group-wife. But

Group-marriage among the Dieri.

Marriageable groups among the Dieri and other Australian tribes.

*Tippa-malku* marriage among the Dieri.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 308 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 71, 74.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* pp. 61 *sq.* See above, pp. 308 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Africa*, p. 177. Compare *id.*, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of South-East Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 53 *sqq.*

at the same time it must be remembered that every woman is potentially a group-wife, and unless she dies after she becomes a *tippa-malku* wife, she becomes actually a group-wife. The woman is one of a group, over whom in advance a man is given special rights by being made *tippa-malku* to her, but at the same time with the fullest knowledge that she is not to be his individual wife as we understand the term. These explanations are necessary to guard against the misconception from using the words 'individual wife.'"<sup>1</sup>

*Pirrauru*  
marriage  
among the  
Dieri.

This form of marriage secures that a woman is specialised, though not exclusively appropriated, to one particular man. She may therefore be called his primary wife. But in addition to his primary wife (*tippa-malku*) every Dieri man may have one or more secondary wives called *pirraurus*, who at the same time may be, and commonly are, the primary wives of other men. These secondary wives are formally and ceremoniously allotted to him by the headmen or tribal council in presence of the tribe, so that the relationship thus formed is public and lawful. When the proposal to contract these secondary marriages has been mooted and agreed upon, the persons concerned assemble with their friends at some place in the camp about noon. If the men who are to be married are of the same totem, the head of their totemic clan attends with his ceremonial or magical staff called *kandri*, which is made out of the root of a certain tree. He and his fellow headmen, if there are more totemic clans than one concerned, make ridges of sand with their staves, one for each of the persons who is about to contract the *pirrauru* or secondary marriage. Then each pair of ridges is brought together to form a single ridge higher and broader than either of the two singly, thus symbolising the joining together of the married couple. Finally, one of the men, usually he who is given as a secondary husband (*pirrauru*), takes sand from the ridge and sprinkles it over the upper part of his thighs, and, as the Dieri express it, buries the

Ceremony  
of *pirrauru*  
marriage.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 179. The statement in this passage that "a woman becomes a *tippa-malku* wife

before she becomes a *pirrauru* or group-wife" was afterwards corrected by Dr. Howitt. See below, p. 366 note<sup>1</sup>.

*pirrauru* in the sand. In the case of two men who exchange their primary wives to be secondary wives (*pirraurus*) the same procedure is observed, and the ceremonies are completed in the evening. When the marriage ceremony takes place at noon, it is, so to say, a private affair; but when it is celebrated in the evening all the people in the camp attend. When that is so, the headmen of the two totemic clans concerned take their stand opposite to each other, about fifty yards apart, each of them holding two pieces of burning wood. The two pairs of secondary spouses (*pirraurus*) are loudly announced by name, the whole assembly repeats the names in a loud voice, and the two pieces of wood are struck together. But commonly it is not merely two pairs of secondary spouses (*pirraurus*) who are thus allotted to each other. The whole of the marriageable or married people are usually either allotted or re-allotted to each other by this ceremony, which is performed for batches of them at the same time.<sup>1</sup>

We are told that a secondary wife (*pirrauru*) is always a "wife's sister" or a "brother's wife," and that the relation arises through the exchange of wives by brothers;<sup>2</sup> but probably brother and sister are here to be understood in their wide classificatory sense, which, besides brother and sisters in our sense of the terms, includes many persons whom we should call cousins, and many more whom we should not regard as relations at all.<sup>3</sup> If two brothers are married to two sisters, they commonly live together in a group-marriage of four. When a man becomes a widower, he has the use of his brother's wife as his secondary wife (*pirrauru*), for which he makes presents to his brother. A guest is offered his host's primary wife as a temporary *pirrauru*, provided the woman is marriageable (*noa*) to him, that is, provided that she belongs to the class into which he may marry. A man may always exercise marital rights over his secondary wife (*pirrauru*) when they meet in the absence of her primary husband (*tippa-malku*);<sup>4</sup> but he

Relation-  
ship of the  
*pirrauru* or  
secondary  
spouses to  
each other.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 181 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 362.

<sup>4</sup> The terms *tippa-malku* and *pir-*

*rauru* are both reciprocal. A man calls his primary wife *tippa-malku*, and she calls him *tippa-malku*. A man calls his secondary wife *pirrauru*, and she calls him *pirrauru*.

cannot take her from him without his consent except at certain ceremonial times, when a general sexual licence prevails between the intermarrying classes, as for instance at the initiation ceremonies, or at one of the marriages arranged between a man and a woman of two different tribes. When the primary husband (*tippa-malku*) is absent, his wife is taken and protected by one of her secondary husbands (*pirraurus*), for every woman may have several secondary husbands, just as every man may have several secondary wives. It is an advantage to a man to have many secondary wives, for in the absence of their primary husbands they supply him with a share of the food which they procure. A man may also obtain great influence in the tribe by lending his secondary wives to other men and receiving presents in return; and the property which he thus amasses he may employ to extend his power still further by distributing it among the headmen and other persons of consequence. Hence the leading men of the tribe generally have more primary wives and more secondary wives than other men. A primary wife takes precedence of a secondary wife; for example, if they are both with their husband in camp, the man will sleep next to the fire with his primary wife beside him and his secondary wife beyond her. When a primary wife dies, a secondary wife will take charge of her children, and tend them affectionately. A man may have a secondary wife (*pirrauru*) before he has a primary one (*tippa-malku*), and similarly a woman may have a secondary husband before she has a primary one. In other words, a man or woman may enter into the *pirrauru* relationship before he or she is married in what we should regard as the regular way.<sup>1</sup> A man calls the children of his secondary wife his sons and daughters; and on their side they call him father, and give the name of mother to his primary wife as well as to their real mother. But if a man

Relation of a primary wife (*tippa-malku*) to a secondary wife (*pirrauru*).

<sup>1</sup> In his *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 179 and 181, Dr. Howitt stated that every woman became a primary wife (*tippa-malku*) before she became a secondary or group-wife (*pirrauru*). But this statement he afterwards corrected. See *Folk-lore*, xviii. (1907) pp. 166 sq.,

where Dr. Howitt says: "A girl becomes marriageable after she has been initiated to womanhood at the *Wilpadrina* ceremony, and may then be allotted as a *pirrauru*, whether she be in the relation of *tippa-malku* or not." Compare *id.*, in *Journal of the R. Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) p. 268.

were more narrowly questioned, he would qualify his statement by saying that the primary husband of his mother is his "real father," and that the secondary husband (*pirrauru*) of his mother is his "little father." In like manner he would more precisely define his father's secondary wife (*pirrauru*) as his "little mother," to distinguish her from his "real mother." Often the women do not know whether their primary or their secondary husband is the father of a particular child; indeed they sometimes refuse to admit that there is only one father. Thus the child, is indeed regarded as the offspring of the group-father and not of the individual-father.<sup>1</sup>

The *pirrauru* relationship in the Dieri tribe, like the *piraungaru* in the Urabunna,<sup>2</sup> is clearly a form of group-marriage, for under it a group of men and a group of women are publicly allotted to each other as husbands and wives by the highest tribal authority, and exercise marital rights accordingly over each other.<sup>3</sup> And it appears that this form of group-marriage was not confined to these tribes, but was shared by many others. Thus in 1861-62 Dr. Howitt found an equivalent of the *pirrauru* system among the Yantruwanta tribe, who live higher up than the Dieri on Cooper's Creek or the Barcoo River,<sup>4</sup> and some hundred and twenty miles further up the same river, within the Queensland boundary, the Kurnandaburi tribe practised *pirrauru* marriage under the name of *dilpa-malli*. The Kurnandaburi tribe is, like the Dieri, divided into two intermarrying moieties or classes, which bear the names of Matara and Yungo; and in addition to a system of primary marriage (*nubaia*) corresponding to the *tippa-malku* marriage of the Dieri, they have a system of secondary or group-marriage corresponding to the *pirrauru* marriage of the Dieri. These secondary spouses bear the name of *dilpa-malli*, and consist of a group of own or tribal brothers on

The *pirrauru* relationship is a form of group-marriage.

Group-marriage among the Yantruwanta and Kurnandaburi.

<sup>1</sup> For the original authorities on which the above account of *pirrauru* marriage is based, see A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 53-59; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 181-187; *id.*, in

*Folk-lore*, xvii. (1906) pp. 174 *sqq.*, xviii. (1907) pp. 166 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, in *Folk-lore*, xviii. (1907) pp. 183 *sq.*

the one side, and a group of own or tribal sisters on the other side; and these two groups cohabit whenever the tribe assembles, or at any time when the two groups meet. But these secondary or group-marriages, like the primary or individual marriages (*nubaia*), are subject to the law of exogamy, which forbids a man to marry a woman of the same class and totem as himself; hence in these group-marriages it is necessary that all the husbands should be of one exogamous class (whether Matara or Yungo), and that all the wives should be of the other. Provided she does not transgress the class laws, every woman may have as many of these secondary husbands (*dilpa-mallis*) as she likes, and they are constantly changing them. Besides the marital relations which openly exist between groups of *dilpa-malli* men and women, similar relations exist secretly between men and their brothers' wives and between women and their sisters' husbands. Ostensibly these persons are tabooed to each other, and may not sit in the same camp or converse freely; but, nevertheless, they have sexual intercourse with each other in private. This is clearly, as Dr. Howitt observes, an equivalent of the *pirrauru* relation of the Dieri, and it may very well illustrate a transition from group-marriage to the more specialised form of marriage which the Dieri call *tippa-malku*. That more specialised form of marriage is recognised and practised by the Kur-nandaburi tribe under the name of *nubaia*, and in this tribe, as among the Dieri, the mode in which the specialisation has been brought about appears to be betrothal. A female child is betrothed by her parents to some boy or man, who becomes her *abaija*. When the two are married, their relation is called *nubaia*; and, just as among the Dieri, an exchange of sisters is a regular accompaniment of a *nubaia* marriage, that is, the boy who gets a wife must give a sister in exchange to his wife's brother.<sup>1</sup>

Group-marriage among the Yandairunga.

Again, we find a system of group-marriage in the Yandairunga or Yendakarangu tribe, which occupied the country extending from the western shores of Lake Eyre

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 60-62; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 192 sq.

westward for about a hundred and forty miles, and north and south for the same distance south of the Peak. This tribe is a southern division of the Urabunna, and their system of group-marriage, which they call *pira*, corresponds to the *piraungaru* of the northern Urabunna on the one side,<sup>1</sup> and to the *pirrauru* of the Dieri on the other side; while their other form of marriage (*nupa*) corresponds to the *nupa* of the northern Urabunna and the *tippa-malku* of the Dieri. Under the latter and more specialised form of marriage (*nupa*) a young girl is betrothed by her relations, such as her brothers or her mother's brothers, to a man who must be of the proper class. Under the system of group-marriage (*pira*) men claim certain women as their wives (*piras*) by birthright.<sup>2</sup> Again, a system of group-marriage appears to have existed in the Parnkalla tribe, whose social organisation in two exogamous classes, with maternal descent, agrees with that of the Lake Eyre tribes, though their territory lies far to the south of Lake Eyre, terminating at Port Lincoln on the sea. The marriage customs of the tribe are thus described by the missionary, Mr. C. W. Schürmann: "The aborigines of this portion of the province are divided into two distinct classes, viz. the Mattiri and Karraru people. This division seems to have remained among them from time immemorial, and has for its object the regulation of marriages; none being allowed within either of these classes, but only between the two; so that if a husband be Mattiri, his wife must be Karraru, and *vice versa*. The distinction is kept up by the children taking invariably the appellation of that class to which their mother belongs. There is not an instance of two Mattiri or Karraru being married, although they do not seem to consider less virtuous connections between parties of the same class incestuous. There are of course other limitations to marriage between nearly related people besides this general dis-

Group-marriage in the Parnkalla tribe at Port Lincoln.

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 308 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) p. 60; as to the territory of this tribe, see *ib.*

pp. 33 *sq.* In *Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (pp. 93, 187 *sq.*) Dr. Howitt calls the tribe Yendakarangu, which is presumably the more correct form of the name. As to the classes and totems of the tribe, see below, pp. 374 *sq.*

inction; but it is very difficult to ascertain them, on account of the innumerable grades of consanguinity that arise from polygamy, and from frequent interchanging and repudiating of wives. Besides, friendship among the natives assumes always the forms and names of relationship, which renders it almost impossible to find out the difference between real or nearly adopted relatives. . . . The loose practices of the aborigines, with regard to the sanctity of matrimony, form the worst trait in their character; although the men are capable of fierce jealousy, if their wives transgress unknown to them, yet they frequently send them out to other parties, or exchange with a friend for a night; and, as for near relatives, such as brothers, it may almost be said that they have their wives in common. While the sending out of the women for a night seems to be regarded as an impropriety by the natives themselves, the latter practice is a recognised custom, about which not the least shame is felt. A peculiar nomenclature has arisen from these singular connections; a woman honours the brothers of the man to whom she is married with the indiscriminate name of husbands; but the men make a distinction, calling their own individual spouses *yungaras*, and those to whom they have a secondary claim, by right of brotherhood, *kartetis*.”<sup>1</sup> In this account of the marriage customs of the Parnkalla tribe at Port Lincoln the exogamous classes Mattiri and Karraru are clearly identical in name and substance with the Matteri and Kararu classes of the Dieri, while it is highly probable, as Dr. Howitt has pointed out,<sup>2</sup> that the *yungara* spouses correspond to the primary or specialised spouses (*tippa-malku*), and the *karteti* spouses to the secondary or group spouses (*pirrauru*) of the Dieri; and in this tribe, as in the Dieri, the Kurnandaburi, and the Yendakarangu tribes, the specialisation of women to men seems to have been effected by betrothal of them in their youth or infancy; for we are told that among the Port Lincoln natives “the mode of marrying is the most unceremonious in the world. Long before a young girl

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Schürmann, “The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln,” *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 222,

223.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 191.

arrives at maturity, she is affianced by her parents to some friend of theirs, no matter whether young or old, married or single, and as soon as she shows symptoms of puberty, she is bid to follow him without any further ceremony, and without consulting her own inclinations.”<sup>1</sup>

Altogether Dr. Howitt reckons that the tribes which practised a form of group-marriage like the *pirauru* of the Dieri must have occupied an area of some 500,000 square miles, extending for a distance of 850 miles from Oodnadatta, the northern boundary of the Urabunna, to the eastern frontier of the Dieri or of the Mardala tribe between the Flinders Range and the Barrier Range.<sup>2</sup> In this great area the old system of group-marriage appears to have survived till to-day, or at all events till within living memory, though side by side with this relic of sexual communism there now exists in these same tribes a more specialised form of marital union which approximates, without attaining, to the exclusive appropriation of a woman or of women to one man. This existing system of group-marriage (*pirauru*, *piraungaru*) clearly supplies the key to the classificatory system of relationship, since it shows us in actual operation those very group relationships which the classificatory system of relationship expresses in words. As Dr. Howitt has well put it: “The *pirauru* practice is clearly a form of group-marriage, in which a number of men of one exogamous division cohabit with a number of women of the other division. The children of this group necessarily also constitute a group in which the members are brothers and sisters, and between them marriage is prohibited. Here we find the idea which underlies the prohibition of marriage within the class division. All in it, in any given level of the generation, are brothers and sisters. The preceding level in the generation is the group-progenitor of the fraternal group, and this latter in its turn produces a group of children which stands in the filial relation to it. Here we have the actual fact as it exists in the *pirauru* group, and this pictures to us the

Extent of country occupied by tribes which have group-marriage.

This existing system of group-marriage supplies the key to the classificatory system of relationship.

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Schürmann, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 222 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, in *Folk-lore*, xviii. (1907) p. 184. The southern boundary,

which Dr. Howitt here omits to mention, was in his opinion the sea, from Port Lincoln on the east to Eucla on the west. See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 191.

former condition of the class divisions, which condition has been fossilized, so to say, in the relationship terms used. The classificatory system of relationships, to use the term employed by the late Dr. Morgan, has been a great stumbling-block in the path of many anthropologists, who in following their lines of enquiry have been guided by ideas in which they have grown up from infancy, as to the nature of the relations which exist between individuals. It has probably not suggested itself to them that since our system of counting relationships arises out of and is fitted to the conditions of our society, it might be that savages whose social conditions are so different may require some terms to define their relationships quite different in their character to those which we have. This error has probably arisen from considering a savage as a human being who in a rude exterior thinks much as does a civilized man. Such an idea cannot have a sound foundation. We see its results perhaps in the most marked form in the writings of Rousseau, but even later writers are not free from it." <sup>1</sup>

A powerful instrument in restricting the old system of group-marriage appears to have been the practice of betrothal.

If we ask how it is that in these tribes a more specialised, though not yet individual, form of marriage (*tippa-malku*) has arisen side by side with the system of group-marriage, one answer suggested by Dr. Howitt is that a powerful instrument in thus restricting the old group rights appears to have been the practice of betrothal, in other words "the rise and establishment of the right to give away a girl in marriage to some particular individual of the group which intermarries with the group to which she belongs. This is a very common custom in Australian tribes, and must have been a powerful agent in producing a feeling of ownership in the husband. The further rise of individual possession would also bring about a sense of individual paternity as regards the wife's children which could not exist under group-marriage." <sup>2</sup> In fact, when a man came to regard his wife as his individual property, he would naturally come to regard her children as also belonging exclusively to him, and thus, as I have already pointed out, <sup>3</sup> he might well look

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological*

*Institute*, xx. (1891) p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 167.

upon his children as his property long before he knew that they were his offspring; and on their side the children might recognise him as their master long before they were aware that he was their begetter. The recognition of social paternity by no means carries with it the recognition of physical paternity; for whereas social paternity is a fact patent to the eyes of the whole community, physical paternity in the strict sense is a physiological process which no human eye has seen, and of which the true nature can hardly be understood by a savage.

Another agency which, as Dr. Howitt has indicated,<sup>1</sup> may well have contributed to the restriction of group rights and to the rise of individual marriage is the dispersal of the people in small groups or even in single couples over the country in their search for food. For the separation which such a dispersal entails could hardly fail to weaken the ties which bound each of these scattered groups to the rest of the tribe, while the prolonged and intimate association between individuals, which their isolation favoured, would naturally often endear them to each other and render them unwilling to resign the objects of their affection to the embraces of others who, although they were members of the same tribe, had through long absence become almost strangers.

However the change has been brought about, we shall hardly err in regarding the specialised form of marriage (*tippa-malku*) in these tribes as an encroachment on the old communal rights of the tribe and as a step towards that system of purely individual marriage which is found among other Australian tribes, particularly among tribes which inhabit more fertile regions than the burning and arid wastes of Lake Eyre; though even in these more advanced communities an unwonted and startling event, such as the sudden illumination of the nightly sky by the Southern Streamers, sufficed to produce a temporary reversion to the older practice of partial promiscuity, as if thereby they sought to expiate the habitual neglect of their ancestral customs.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) p. 103.

other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) p. 101. Compare *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 276 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and

The dispersal of the people in small groups or single couples may also have helped to restrict the old communal rights over women.

Specialised marriage of the *tippa-malku* type is probably an encroachment on the old communal rights.

The Yendakarangu or Yandairunga tribe, its classes, totems, and rules of marriage.

Thus far we have dealt with the totemic and social system of the Dieri. Concerning the other tribes of the Lake Eyre basin, which possess a similar system, our information is far less abundant, and accordingly we shall despatch them more summarily. Thus, to begin with the Yendakarangu or Yandairunga tribe, which is a southern branch of the Urabunna, inhabiting the country to the west of Lake Eyre, the Yendakarangu are divided, just like the Dieri, into two exogamous intermarrying classes or moieties called respectively Kararu and Matteri, with descent in the female line, and, just as with the Dieri, each exogamous class includes a number of totem clans. But in one important respect the marriage rules of the Yendakarangu tribe differ from those of the Dieri and agree with those of the Urabunna. For whereas with the Dieri a man is free to marry a woman of any totem in the other exogamous class, in the Yendakarangu he is not so free, but is restricted in his choice of a wife to one or more definitely assigned totems. The following table exhibits a list of Yendakarangu totems with the marriages appropriate to each.<sup>1</sup>

## YENDAKARANGU (YANDAIRUNGA) TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.	Marries with
Kararu	Cloud	Wadnamura.
	Crow	Wadnamura and Eagle-hawk.
	Red ochre	Cormorant and <i>Eagle-hawk</i> .
	Rat	Cormorant and Bull-frog.
	Wallaby	Iguana and <i>Lizard</i> .
	Emu	Eagle-hawk and <i>Bull-frog</i> .
	Musk duck	Eagle-hawk and <i>Dog</i> .
	Snake	Wadnamura.
Matteri	Eagle-hawk	Red ochre, Musk duck, and <i>Crow</i> .
	Cormorant	Rat and Red ochre.
	Iguana	Wallaby.
	Dog	Musk duck.
	Wadnamura	Snake, Cloud, <i>Crow</i> .
	Mulga tree	Emu.
	Bull-frog	Rat.
	Lizard	Wallaby.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 187 sq. Compare *id.*, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 39, 41.

On this list Dr. Howitt observes: "This table is evidently imperfect. According to the almost universal rule, which obtains also with the Yendakarangu, that sisters are exchanged as wives, there should be reciprocity between the totems in their marriages. In the list this is the case as to some of each class, and therefore one is fairly justified in believing that it is so with the others. On this view I have added those totems which have been omitted, but which appear to be reciprocal, and which are in italics to distinguish them."<sup>1</sup>

As children in the Yendakarangu tribe take their class and totem from their mother, not from their father, it follows that if, for example, a Kararu man of the red ochre totem marries a Matteri woman of the cormorant totem, their children will be Matteri and Cormorants; if a Matteri man of the bull-frog totem marries a Kararu woman of the rat totem, then their children will be Kararu and Rats; and similarly with the rest. In this tribe there is the like feeling of fellowship between persons of the same totem which prevails among the Dieri. When a stranger arrives at a camp, he is entertained by men of the same totem as himself.<sup>2</sup> And like other Australian tribes the Yendakarangu have the classificatory system of relationship. For example, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *kuyia* to his father and to his father's brothers. In his own generation he applies the same term *nuthi* to his elder brothers, to the sons of his father's brothers, and to the sons of his mother's sisters; he applies the same term *kaku* to his elder sisters, to the daughters of his father's brothers, and to the daughters of his mother's sisters; and he applies the same term *nupa* to his wife and to his wife's sisters (whom, however, he may also call *bilya*, the term which he applies to the daughters of his father's sisters and to the daughters of his mother's brothers). In the generation below his own he applies the same term *wardu* to his own sons and to his brothers' sons. On her side a woman applies the same term *nupa* to her husband and to her husband's

Rules of descent among the Yendakarangu.

Classificatory terms of relationship among the Yendakarangu.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and

other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) p. 42.

brothers.<sup>1</sup> As usual, these terms express the relationship of the individual not to individuals merely but to groups. Every man has many wives, and every woman has many husbands; every child has many fathers and many mothers, and so forth. And as usual these terms expressive of group relationships doubtless originated in group-marriage, one form of which actually exists, or existed till lately, in this particular tribe.<sup>2</sup>

The Wonkamala tribe, its classes and totems.

To the north-west of Lake Eyre there is a tribe called the Wonkamala whose social organisation resembles that of the Dieri; for it is divided into the same two exogamous moieties or classes, Kararu and Matteri, with totem clans in each class and descent in the female line. The totems of the Kararu class are rain, carpet-snake, crow, and red ochre. The totems of the Matteri class are a caterpillar (*padi*),<sup>3</sup> cormorant, emu, a pouched mouse (*kokula*), *Duboisia Hopwoodii* (of which the native name is *pitcheri*), and *wolkutyi*, of which the English equivalent seems to be unknown.<sup>4</sup> The Wonkamala, like the Dieri, apply the same name *murdu* to their exogamous classes and to their totems.<sup>5</sup>

The Ngameni tribe, its classes and totems.

To the north of Lake Eyre is the Ngameni tribe, with a similar social organisation and rule of descent. The two exogamous classes are the same (Kararu and Matteri), and the totem clans included under each are exhibited in the following table.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 50 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 368 sq. It is to be remembered that the Yendakarangu are a southern branch of the Urabunna. As to group-marriage among the Urabunna, see above, pp. 308 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> This caterpillar (*padi*), which is a totem also of the Dieri is said to be the witchetty grub, which is an important totem and article of food of the Arunta.

See A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) p. 38; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 783, who, however, elsewhere (*Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 91, 799) gives *muluru* as the Dieri name for the witchetty grub.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 94.

## NGAMENI TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.
Kararu	Rain, carpet-snake, crow, native companion, a small frog ( <i>tidnamara</i> ), seed of <i>Claytonia</i> sp., a bat ( <i>tapairu</i> ), the pan-beetle, <i>milkityerpara</i> (?), a frog, the rabbit-bandicoot, slow-worm, a small pouched mouse ( <i>bal-yara</i> ), kangaroo.
Matteri	A caterpillar ( <i>muruwali</i> ), cormorant, emu, eagle-hawk, a fish ( <i>markara</i> ), a variety of acacia, dingo, native cat, <i>kirrhapara</i> (?), a small marsupial ( <i>kokula</i> ), kangaroo rat, <i>Duboisia Hopwoodii</i> ( <i>pitcheri</i> ), expedition for red ochre, a lizard ( <i>wompirka</i> ), iguana-lizard, curlew, shell-parakeet, a crane (black with white on the wings).

The Ngameni, like the Dieri, apply the same name *murdu* to their exogamous classes and to their totems.<sup>1</sup>

To the south of the Ngameni, in the desert country between Cooper's Creek on the south and the Diamantina River on the north, is or used to be the Wonkanguru tribe with a similar organisation and rule of descent. Its totems, arranged under the same two exogamous classes, Kararu and Matteri, are exhibited in the following table.<sup>2</sup>

The Wonkanguru tribe, its classes and totems.

## WONKANGURU TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.
Kararu	Rain, carpet-snake, crow, red ochre, small frog ( <i>tidnamara</i> ), seed of <i>Claytonia</i> sp., a rat ( <i>maiaru</i> ), a bat ( <i>tapairu</i> ), the rabbit-bandicoot.
Matteri	A caterpillar ( <i>wonamara</i> ), cormorant, emu, eagle-hawk, dingo, a small marsupial ( <i>kokula</i> ), <i>Duboisia Hopwoodii</i> ( <i>pitcheri</i> ).

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 92.

The Wonkanguru, like the Dieri, apply the same name *murdu* to their exogamous classes and to their totems.<sup>1</sup>

The Yaurorka tribe, its classes and totems.

Another tribe in the country between Cooper's Creek and the Diamantina, but to the east of the Wonkanguru and higher up the basins of the rivers, is the Yaurorka tribe. It has the same two exogamous classes, Kararu and Matteri, with totem clans and descent in the female line. Its totems are exhibited in the following table.<sup>2</sup>

YAUORKA TOTEMS

Classes,	Totems.
Kararu	Rain, carpet-snake, native companion, red ochre, seed of <i>Claytonia</i> sp., pan-beetle, a frog ( <i>kuyarku</i> ), the rabbit-bandicoot, slow-worm, a small pouched mouse ( <i>baliyara</i> ), box eucalyptus, water-rat, shrew-mouse, mesembrianthemum.
Matteri	A caterpillar ( <i>muluru</i> ), cormorant, emu, eagle-hawk, a fish ( <i>ngampuru</i> ), dingo, native cat, <i>widla</i> , kangaroo rat, <i>Duboisia Hopwoodii</i> ( <i>pitcheri</i> ), <i>karingara</i> (?), iguana-lizard, curlew, <i>tillingaru</i> (?), a crane (black with white on wing), a large grey hawk.

The Yaurorka, like the Dieri, apply the same name *murdu* to their exogamous classes and to their totems.<sup>3</sup>

The Yantruwunta tribe, its classes and totems.

Still further to the east, higher up the course of Cooper's Creek, is the Yantruwunta tribe. It also has a similar social organisation with two exogamous classes, totem clans, and descent in the female line. But the names of the two classes are different, being Kulpuru and Tiniwa, instead of Kararu and Matteri. Its totems are exhibited in the following table.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 92. In the class Tiniwa it will be observed that the dingo occurs twice. This may be a mistake.

## YANTRUWUNTA TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.
Kulpuru	Rain, carpet-snake, a rat ( <i>kunamari</i> ), <i>kanunga</i> , the pan-beetle, a frog ( <i>kutyarku</i> ), the rabbit-bandicoot, shrew-mouse.
Tiniwa	A caterpillar ( <i>padingura-padi</i> ), a caterpillar ( <i>ngampuru</i> ), dingo, <i>widla</i> (?), a pouch-mouse ( <i>padi-padi</i> ), <i>Duboisia Hopwoodii</i> ( <i>pitcheri</i> ), a lizard ( <i>mungalli</i> ), iguana-lizard, curlew, shell-parakeet, a crane (black with white on wings), bream, dingo.

The Yantruwunta apply the same name *kamiri* to their exogamous classes and to their totems.<sup>1</sup>

Still further up the course of Cooper's Creek or the Barcoo River, within the territory of Queensland, is the Kurnandaburi tribe. Its social organisation is similar to that of the foregoing tribes, for it is divided into two exogamous classes with totem clans and descent in the female line. But the names of the two exogamous classes differ from those of the preceding tribes, being Yungo and Matara, of which Matara, however, is probably equivalent to the Matteri of the Dieri and other Lake Eyre tribes. The totems of the Kurnandaburi are exhibited in the following table.<sup>2</sup>

The Kurnandaburi tribe, its classes and totems.

## KURNANDABURI TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.
Yungo	Kangaroo, native companion, iguana, large black cormorant, small black cormorant, blue crane, dingo, carpet-snake, crow, small crow, small grubs found in trees ( <i>paringoro</i> ), a frog ( <i>orekomatu</i> ), a rat ( <i>parina</i> ), teal-duck.
Matara	Brown snake, emu, frilled lizard, kangaroo rat, speckled brown snake, opossum, small bandicoot, small burrowing rat ( <i>korinya</i> ).

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 91.

pare *id.*, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) pp. 31, 39.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 97. Com-

The Kurnandaburi apply the same name *gaura* to their exogamous classes and their totems. Dr. Howitt could not ascertain whether a man may marry a woman of any totem in the other class, or whether he is restricted to the women of one particular totem.<sup>1</sup> We have seen that a system of group-marriage obtains, or used to obtain, in this tribe.<sup>2</sup>

Classifica-  
tory terms  
of relation-  
ship among  
the Kur-  
nandaburi.

The Kurnandaburi have the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *kamundi* to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. In his own generation he applies the same term *kokundi* to his brothers, and to the sons of his father's brothers. He applies the same term *abaija* to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives. A woman applies the same term *abaija* to her husband, to her husband's brothers, and to her sisters' husbands. In the generation below her own a woman applies the same term *worua* to her sons and to her sisters' sons.<sup>3</sup>

### § 3. Tribes with two Classes (*Mukwara and Kilpara*) and Female Descent

Eastern  
group of  
tribes with  
two exo-  
gamous  
classes,  
Mukwara  
and Kil-  
para, and  
female  
descent.

To the eastward of the Dieri the boundaries of tribes with the two exogamous classes Kararu and Matteri are marked roughly by the Grey and Barrier Ranges. Beyond these mountains to the east is another group of tribes, which are also divided each into two exogamous classes with totem clans in both classes and with descent both of the class and of the totem in the female line; but whereas among the tribes to the west of the mountains the two exogamous classes are named Kararu and Matteri, among the tribes to the east of the mountains they are named Mukwara and Kilpara. This eastern group of tribes with the classes Mukwara and Kilpara is of great extent and appears to comprise at least three nations, namely the Itchumundi, the

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 96, 192.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group-Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 287 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 367 sq.

Karamundi, and the Barkinji. Almost all the territory of these nations seemingly lies within the boundaries of New South Wales, and together they occupy practically the whole course of the Darling River from the Barwon River to the junction of the Darling with the Murray, and for some fifty miles back from the Darling towards the Bogan and Lachlan Rivers.<sup>1</sup> Other tribes having the same two exogamous classes (Mukwara and Kilpara) also extended for some distance up the Murray River from its junction with the Darling River. Among these were the Wiimbaio, the Ta-tathi, and the Keramin.<sup>2</sup>

In this group of tribes, according to Mr. A. L. P. Cameron, "the class divisions are always strictly exogamous (Mukwara marrying Kilpara, and Kilpara marrying Mukwara), yet this general rule is restricted by nearness of blood, so that, apart from the class regulations, there are special laws prohibiting consanguineous marriages. The strictness with which the class laws are always carried out is surprising. Even at the present day, when the decrease of their numbers has made it very difficult to obey all their ancient customs, any infringement of the marriage law, if persisted in, is punished by death. . . . Even in casual amours, which are not of infrequent occurrence, the class laws are invariably observed. Instances might be found in each of the tribes I am concerned with, but one from the Ta-ta-thi will perhaps suffice to show the general resemblance of custom. In this tribe there is at times a good deal of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, but this is always within the class limits, any infringement of which always brings down upon the offenders the swift wrath of the tribe. My Ta-ta-thi informants tell me that members of this tribe were rarely ever known to break the law, but that if a man and a woman of forbidden classes did marry, the man would be put to death and the woman be beaten or speared, or both, till she was nearly dead; the reason given for not meting out to her the same punishment

In this group of tribes the rule of exogamy is very strictly enforced.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 49 sq., 97, 194; A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*,

xiv. (1885) pp. 344 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* pp. 346, 349; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 51 sq., 100 sq.

as to the man being that she was in a manner probably coerced.”<sup>1</sup> Similarly Dr. Howitt tells us that when the question was put to several men of one of these tribes, “What would be done if a Mukwara took a Mukwara for his wife?” the reply was an emphatic, “No good—suppose that, then we kill him.”<sup>2</sup>

Practice of betrothal in childhood.

In this group of tribes, as in the tribes of Lake Eyre, an advance towards individual marriage has been made by a custom of betrothing girls in childhood. When a betrothed girl becomes marriageable she is taken to her future husband's camp by her mother or mother's brother. “The father has nothing to do with the disposal of his daughter. The reason given is that the daughter belongs to the class of her mother's brother, not to that of her father. Notwithstanding this, they believe that the daughter emanates from her father solely, being only nurtured by her mother.”<sup>3</sup> In this view of fatherhood the Darling River tribes differ widely from the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia, while, on the other hand, they agree with the opinion which Aeschylus puts in the mouth of Apollo,<sup>4</sup> and which the sapient James Boswell inclined to accept, “that our species is transmitted through males only, the female being all along no more than a *nidus*, or nurse, as Mother Earth is to plants of every sort; which notion seems to be confirmed by that text of scripture, ‘He was yet *in the loins*

Belief that a child emanates from the father alone.

<sup>1</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, “Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) pp. 351 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 194. However, according to another observer of the Darling River tribes, offences against the law of the exogamous classes were not visited so severely. He says: “These tribes are divided into two classes called Muckwarra and Keelparra; the relationship between the two is called *Kengoojah*. A Muckwarra must marry a Keelparra, and *vice versa*. Children belong to the same class as their mother, and when quite young are often betrothed by their parents. It is considered a very serious offence for two persons

of the same class to marry, and one that cannot be forgiven. The offenders are spoken of by all as bad, and are generally despised. The loss to them of the love and respect of their friends is a very heavy punishment; illegal marriages are therefore rare.” See F. Bonney, “On some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) pp. 128 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 352. The custom of betrothal in these tribes is mentioned also by F. Bonney (*op. cit.*, p. 129), who says: “Children belong to the same class as their mother, and when quite young are often betrothed by their parents.”

<sup>4</sup> Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 657 (627), sqq.

of his FATHER when Melchisedeck met him ;' (Heb. vii. 10) and consequently, that a man's grandson by a daughter, instead of being his *surest* descendant, as is vulgarly said, has, in reality, no connexion whatever with his blood."<sup>1</sup>

But although in the Darling River tribes, with which we are here concerned, girls are very often betrothed in childhood, and wives are bound to be faithful to their husbands,<sup>2</sup> nevertheless among them "a custom, which seems to indicate a time when marriage was in the group, is that of exchanging wives, either at some grand assembly of the tribe, or in order to avert some threatened calamity. This custom is, I think, rare at present. It is also an occasional custom, that two tribal brothers having quarrelled, and wishing for a reconciliation, the one sends his wife to the other's camp, and a temporary change is effected. These facts seem to show, when taken in consideration with other tribal customs, that in New South Wales there was a time in the past when group marriage was in force, for even now one class is theoretically husband or wife to another class."<sup>3</sup> For instance, in the Barkinji nation every Mukwara man speaks of every Kilpara woman as "wife," while every Kilpara woman speaks of every Mukwara man as "husband."<sup>4</sup>

Traces of group-marriage in the Darling River tribes.

All these tribes appear to possess the classificatory system of relationship. At all events, Mr. A. L. P. Cameron, who has given us a valuable account of some of them, tells us that the system is found in all the tribes described by him, and he records in detail the classificatory terms of relationship in use among the Wathi-Wathi, a tribe which seems to have the same social organisation as the rest, though its territory lies further east on the Murray River.<sup>5</sup> With regard to the relationships expressed by the classificatory terms Mr. Cameron says: "They are as real to them as are our own to us, and any man who married a woman who was, according to this system, his sister, that is to say, the daughter of his father's brother, or of his mother's

Classificatory terms of relationship in these tribes, particularly in the Wathi-Wathi.

<sup>1</sup> James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, Ninth Edition (London, 1822), ii. 399 note <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*,

xiv. (1885) p. 352.

<sup>3</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 353.

<sup>4</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 352.

<sup>5</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 346; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 50, 52.

sister, would be deemed guilty of incest, and would incur the penalty of death. The same system of relationships is found in all the tribes I deal with in these notes, and in them all a man regards his mother's sister's child, or his father's brother's child, in precisely the same light as he regards his mother's child or his father's child."<sup>1</sup> Thus, to take the terms used by the Wathi-Wathi, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *mamui* to his father and to his father's brothers. In his own generation he calls his elder brother *wawi* and his younger brother *mamui*, and he applies the same terms to the sons of his father's brothers and to the sons of his mother's sisters, calling them either *wawi* or *mamui* according as they are older or younger than himself. Similarly, he calls his elder sister *tatui* and his younger sister *minukui*, and he applies the same terms to the daughters of his father's brothers and to the daughters of his mother's sisters, calling them *tatui* or *minukui* according as they are older or younger than himself. A husband applies the same term *nopui* to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives; and a wife applies the same term *nopui* to her husband and to her husband's brothers. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term *wa-ipui* to his own sons, to the sons of his brothers, and to the sons of his wife's sisters.<sup>2</sup> As usual, these classificatory terms express group relationships, and are probably derived from a system of group-marriage, of which, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> there are traces in these tribes of the Darling River.

Traditions  
of the  
*Bookoo-  
muri*, a  
wonder-  
working  
race of  
men who  
occupied

Like the tribes of Central Australia, the natives of the Darling River have traditions of a wonder-working race of men who occupied the country long ago, excelled in the magical arts, transformed themselves into animals, and gave rise to some of the natural features of the landscape. On this subject Mr. A. L. P. Cameron says: "There is a tradition very

<sup>1</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* pp. 354 *sq.* It is singular that the same term *mamui* should be applied to the father and to the younger brother. In his list of the Watu-Watu (Wathi-Wathi?) terms of relationship Dr.

Howitt gives only one term *wawi* as the equivalent of "brother." See A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group-Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) p. 288.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 383.

widespread among the tribes I am concerned with, that the earth was originally peopled by a race much more powerful, especially in the arts magic, than that which now inhabits it. This first race is in different localities known by different names, but as the legends regarding them are much the same, those of one tribe will serve for illustration. The Wathi-wathi call them *Bookoomuri*, and say they were famous for fighting, hunting, etc., and were eventually changed into animals by Tha-tha-puli, who then created the present race. Others say that the *Bookoomuri* effected the transformation themselves, and that as animals they felt an interest in the new race that succeeded them, and imparted to it much valuable knowledge. A belief exists that the magical powers of the doctors, disease-makers, and rain-makers has been handed down to them from the *Bookoomuri*.<sup>1</sup> In these marvellous *Bookoomuri* it is easy to see the equivalent of the *mura-mura* of the Dieri and the *alcheringa* ancestors of the Arunta. The writer who reports them further observes: "There are many traditions of the wonderful feats performed by the *Bookoomuri*, and I think that most, if not all, the tribes of New South Wales, and perhaps of Australia, believe that the country was formerly inhabited by a different race from that which occupies it at the present day." And he acutely asks: "Is it possible that the totemic divisions of a tribe are connected with this belief in a race of men who afterwards became animals? It might be, for instance, that the class which has for its totems Eagle-hawk, Kangaroo, Bandicoot, believes that the *Bookoomuri* who were transformed into those animals were the ancestors of that class. But I have no direct evidence of such a belief."<sup>2</sup> The conjecture thus cautiously put forward by Mr. Cameron many years ago has been to a large extent confirmed by the fuller knowledge which we have since acquired of the native Australian legends, though in these legends the founders of the totem clans appear oftener to have been animals or semi-animals who afterwards became men than men who were subsequently transformed into animals.

the country  
long ago,  
like the  
*mura-  
mura* of  
the Dieri  
and the  
*alcheringa*  
ancestors  
of the  
Arunta.

<sup>1</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*,

xiv. (1885) p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 369.

Wathi-wathi tradition of the origin of fire.

As an example of the stories which the Darling River natives tell about the wonderful *Bookoomuri* we may take the legend of the origin of fire. The Wathi-wathi say that once upon a time there were two *Bookoomuri*, of whom one was a water-rat and the other a codfish. They alone were in possession of fire, and they jealously guarded it in a clearing among the great thickets of reeds on the banks of the Murray River. The other *Bookoomuri* as well as the present race of men made many efforts to get a spark of the fire, but all in vain. At last one day a hawk, who of course had been a *Bookoomuri*, discovered the water-rat and the codfish in the act of cooking mussels, which they had procured from the river. Up he flew to a great height and caused a strong wind to blow sparks from the fire among the dry reed-beds. The conflagration which ensued was, however, extinguished by the efforts of the water-rat and the codfish. Then the hawk sent a wind from the opposite direction, and after that a whirlwind. Sweeping the sparks before it, the storm set the whole of the reed-beds in a blaze, and soon the roaring conflagration spread to the forests and laid waste vast tracts of country, so that a tree has never grown there since. That is why there are now immense treeless plains where once there were greenwoods. But the natives thus obtained fire and learned to make it by friction.<sup>1</sup> In this Australian legend the hawk plays the same beneficent part that is played in Greek legend by the fire-bringer Prometheus, who has himself been identified by an eminent scholar with the eagle which preyed on his vitals.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 368. A very similar legend is told by the Tati (ib. pp. 368 sq.). These stories have all the appearance of being native and genuine. But in the pit of fire in which, according to some of these people, bad men are roasted after death, we may perhaps detect a ray of Gospel truth illuminating with a somewhat lurid light the darkness of heathendom. See A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* pp. 364 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Salomon Reinach, *Prométhée* (Paris, 1907), pp. 24 sqq.; *id.*, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, iii. (Paris, 1908) pp. 68 sqq. As to the discovery or theft of

fire the Kurnai tell how the brown hawk recovered fire for them after it had been stolen by some thieves, who were making off with it and climbing up a cord into the sky, when the hawk swooped on them and dashed the fire with its wings from their hands. The fire fell to the ground, and the robin blew it into a flame and smeared it on his breast, where you may see the red mark of it to this day. See A. W. Howitt, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 54. The Wurunjerrri relate how the crow (*waang*) stole fire from some

We have seen that the Darling River tribes may be divided into three nations, the Itchumundi, the Karamundi, and the Barkinji.<sup>1</sup> Of these the Itchumundi nation occupies the country which lies back from the Darling River and is bounded on the west by the Grey and Barrier Ranges. It includes the Wilya, Kongait, Bulali, and Tongaranka tribes. Of these the Wilya occupied the country about the Grey Ranges, with its headquarters about Endeavour Lake.<sup>2</sup> Its totems, divided between the two exogamous classes Mukwara and Kilpara, are shown in the following table.<sup>3</sup>

The Itchumundi nation.

The Wilya tribe, its classes and totems.

#### WILYA TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.
Mukwara	Eagle-hawk, kangaroo, bandicoot, duck, frilled lizard, opossum, dingo.
Kilpara	Emu, carpet-snake, bone-fish, padi-melon, wallaby.

In this nation the two classes, Mukwara and Kilpara, were as usual strictly exogamous; that is, Mukwara might only marry Kilpara, and *vice versa*. But there was a further limitation of marriage in regard to the totems, for a man of one class was not always free to marry a woman of any totem of the other class. For example, a Mukwara of the eagle-hawk totem married a Kilpara of the bone-fish totem: a Mukwara of the kangaroo totem married a Kilpara of the emu totem; a Mukwara of the dog totem married a Kilpara of the padi-melon totem; and so on. As a child took its class and totem from its mother, it follows that if a Mukwara man of the eagle-hawk totem married a Kilpara woman of the bone-fish totem, the children would be Kilpara and Bone-fish: if a Mukwara man of the kangaroo totem married a Kilpara woman of the emu totem, the children would be Kilpara and Emus; and so on.<sup>4</sup>

Wilya rules of marriage and descent.

young women who are identified with the Pleiades. See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 430.

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 380 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 49, 98.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 194.

The Karamundi nation.

The Karamundi nation occupied the basin of the Darling River from the junction of the Culgoa with it downwards to Wilcannia and beyond. It included the Milpulko, Naualko, Guerno, and Barrumbinya. Of these the territory of the Milpulko bordered on the Darling River from Wilcannia downwards.<sup>1</sup> Its totems, divided between the two exogamous classes Mukwara and Kilpara, are shown in the following table.<sup>2</sup>

The Milpulko tribe, its classes and totems.

## MILPULKO TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.
Mukwara	Eagle-hawk, kangaroo, bandicoot, duck, frilled lizard.
Kilpara	Emu, carpet-snake, bone-fish, iguana, padi-melon, opossum, wallaby.

In this tribe, again, a child takes its class and totem from its mother. For example, if a Mukwara man of the kangaroo totem marries a Kilpara woman of the emu totem, the children will be Kilpara and Emus. The tribes of the Karamundi nation, to which the Milpulko belong, have a rule like that of the Itchumundi nation, according to which a member of either class may marry only in one totem clan of the other class. For example, a Mukwara man of the kangaroo totem may marry a Kilpara woman of the emu totem and of no other.<sup>3</sup>

The Paru-inji tribe, its classes and totems.

There is reason to believe that the Karamundi nation also includes tribes on the Paroo and Warrego Rivers, to the north of the Darling. Among them is the Paru-inji tribe, which occupies the course of the Paroo River from Hungerford, at the Queensland boundary, southward to Bootha-bootha.<sup>4</sup> It has the same two exogamous classes (Mukwara and Kilpara) as the preceding tribes, with totem clans and descent both of the classes and of the totems in the female line. Its totems, arranged under

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 49 sq., 98.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 50, 99.

the two exogamous classes, are exhibited in the following table.<sup>1</sup>

## PARUINJI TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.
Mukwara	Eagle-hawk, kangaroo, bandicoot, opossum, lizard.
Kilpara	Emu, bream, carpet-snake, iguana.

The Barinji, another tribe on the Paroo River, has the following totems distributed between the same two exogamous classes, Mukwara and Kilpara.<sup>2</sup>

The Barinji tribe, its classes and totems.

## BARINJI TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.
Mukwara {	Eagle-hawk, kangaroo, <i>bilbae</i> (a rabbit-like burrowing animal), turkey, whistling duck, bandicoot.
Kilpara	Emu, snake, lizard, wallaby, iguana, native companion.

The last of the three nations which occupied the lower basin of the Darling River was the Barkinji. This was a large nation, whose territory, averaging some fifty miles in breadth, skirted the Darling River on its south-eastern side from the junction of the Bogan River with it down to a point about half-way between Menindie and Pooncarrie. According to Mr. A. L. P. Cameron, tribes belonging to this nation occupied the country west as well as east of the Darling River for a mean breadth of eighty miles.<sup>3</sup> This

The Barkinji nation, its classes and totems.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 348, where the Barinji totems are given on the authority of Mr. J. D. Scott. Dr. A. W. Howitt has, apparently in error, assigned these totems to the Barkinji (*Native Tribes of South-*

*East Australia*, p. 99). But Mr. Cameron, to whom he refers, distinguishes the Barkinji from the Barinji and says that he cannot give the list of Barkinji totems.

<sup>3</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 346; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 50.

nation also had the two exogamous classes Mukwara and Kilpara, but all that we know of its totems is that Mukwara included emu and whistling duck, while Kilpara included lizard and kangaroo.<sup>1</sup>

The Wiimbaio tribe, its classes and totems.

The Wiimbaio tribe occupied the country at the junction of the Darling and Murray Rivers for a distance of about thirty miles up and down the Murray River on its south bank. Their territory did not go back southward from the river for more than a day's journey, or about twenty miles. They had the two exogamous classes Mukwara and Kilpara; and with regard to totems Mukwara included eagle-hawk, lizard, and others, while Kilpara included crow, bone-fish, and others. Children took their class and totem from their mother. Girls were betrothed in infancy. The Wiimbaio intermarried with the adjoining tribes both on the Murray and the Darling Rivers.<sup>2</sup> On the northern bank of the Murray River, from its junction with the Darling River upwards to Euston, lived the Ta-tathi, a strong tribe, which had the same two exogamous classes Mukwara and Kilpara with the following totems distributed between them.<sup>3</sup>

The Ta-tathi tribe, its classes and totems.

#### TA-TATHI TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.
Mukwara	Light brown eagle-hawk, teal-duck, jew lizard.
Kilpara	Crow, iguana, brown-coloured eagle-hawk.

Sex totems of the Ta-tathi.

In the Ta-tathi group of tribes, besides the regular totems, the bat was very much revered by the men, and was never killed by them. If a woman killed a bat, there used to be a great disturbance, in which the women were

<sup>1</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 348, note <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 51 sq., 100, 194.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 52, 100; A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on

some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 349. Dr. Howitt tells us that he is unable to assign the totems of this tribe to their respective class; but Mr. A. L. P. Cameron, to whom he refers, assigns them as in the text without any remark to indicate that he was in doubt.

sometimes wounded. Similarly the women revered a species of small owl, and attacked the men if they tried to kill one of the birds. They called the bat *rakur* and the small owl *dhraïl*. The Wathi-wathi called the bat *benalongi* and the small owl *yerailiri*. Thus the bat and the little owl were the sex totems of the men and women respectively. "In this group of tribes a man never kills his totem, but he does not object to eat it when killed by another. Everything in the universe is divided among the different members of the tribe; some claim the trees, others the plains, others the sky, stars, wind, rain, and so forth."<sup>1</sup>

Adjoining the Ta-tathi on the Murray River were the Keramin, a tribe which had the same two class divisions Mukwara and Kilpara, with the following totem clans distributed between them.<sup>2</sup>

The Keramin tribe, its classes and totems.

#### KERAMIN TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.
Mukwara	Dark-coloured eagle-hawk, red kangaroo, teal-duck, spoonbill, bandicoot, lizard.
Kilpara	Silverfish, emu, crow, padi-melon, whip-snake.

With regard to the totems in these tribes we are informed that in the Barkinji, Ta-tathi, and Keramin tribes any totem of Mukwara may marry any totem of Kilpara, and *vice versa*.<sup>3</sup>

Tribes with the same two exogamous classes (Mukwara and Kilpara) extended up the Murray River as far as the junction of the Loddon, a tributary which flows into the Murray from the south; but the totems of these tribes are unknown.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, another large tribe or nation called

<sup>1</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 350. As to sex totems see above, pp. 47 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* pp. 346, 349.

<sup>3</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on

some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 351; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 100 sq., 195 sq.

The  
Berriait  
nation.

the Berriait, which occupied a great extent of country between the Darling, Murray, and Lachlan Rivers, was also divided into two exogamous classes bearing the names of Mukwara and Kilpara, but the names of their totems have not been recorded. The wide region over which the Berriait roamed is almost waterless, and the natives were driven to wring a substitute for water from the roots of trees, particularly from the mallee (a species of eucalyptus) and from a species of *Hakea* locally known as the "needle bush." These roots they cut and allowed to drip an unpalatable but welcome fluid into vessels placed to receive it. When even this precarious supply failed, there was nothing left for them but to fight their way through hostile tribes to the rivers or perish miserably of thirst.<sup>1</sup>

§ 4. *Tribes with two Classes (Eagle-hawk and Crow) and Female Descent*

Tribes of  
the Alpine  
tablelands.

Beyond the sources of the Yarra and the Goulbourn Rivers the lofty Dividing Range of South-Eastern Australia widens out into great Alpine tablelands, where grassy downs alternate with mountain summits. In winter these uplands are buried deep under snow, in summer they are carpeted with Alpine flowers. The lower slopes and tablelands are habitable throughout the year. These high plateaux, extending from about Woodpoint in Victoria to New South Wales, where they culminate in Mount Kosciusko, were inhabited by several tribes, among whom were the Ya-itma-thang, the Ngarigo, and the Wolgal.<sup>2</sup> Of these the Ya-itma-thang, commonly called the Omeo tribe, inhabited the mountainous country in which the rivers Mitta-Mitta and Tambo take their rise. Unfortunately for them gold was discovered in their country in 1852, a great rush of miners set in, the natives went down before them, and when ten years had passed only four or five members of the once numerous tribe remained alive. Very little has been recorded of this hapless folk, but among their totems were

The Ya-  
itma-thang  
tribe.

<sup>1</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) pp. 346 sq., 349; A. W.

Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 77.

the rabbit-rat and the bat. The same totems are found in the neighbouring Ngarigo tribe, with which the Theddora branch of the Ya-itma-thang intermarried. The rule of marriage was that of the two-class tribes with female descent, but it is not known whether a man was free to marry a woman of any totem in the other class, or whether he was restricted to certain totems. In this tribe, as in the Urabunna, a man's proper wife was the daughter, own or tribal, of his mother's brother. In the Theddora branch of the Ya-itma-thang a girl was betrothed by her father, usually at or after her birth, and was given to her husband when she had grown up. A man to whom a girl had been promised endeavoured to obtain a lock of her hair, and if she afterwards jilted him, he would wrap the hair in an eagle-hawk's feather and put it in a water-hole. As the hair rotted, the jilt would sicken and die. Dr. Howitt tells us that he knew a woman of this tribe named Old Jenny, who had broken the tribal law by marrying a man to whom she stood in the classificatory relation of mother. Years afterwards her sin, or at all events her kinsfolk, found her out at the Black Mountain station on the Snowy River. They essayed to correct their erring sister with the persuasive argument of clubs, but the stout old lady gave such an exceedingly good account of herself with a digging-stick that they were fain to desist.<sup>1</sup>

The Ngarigo and Wolgal tribes were divided each into two exogamous classes which bore the names of Eagle-hawk and Crow respectively. Each class included a number of totem clans; and the men of either class were free to marry women of any totem in the other class. Children took both their class and their totem from their mother.<sup>2</sup> The Ngarigo tribe occupied the Manero tableland, between the Wolgal on the north, the Ya-itma-thang on the north-west, the Kurnai on the west and south-west, and the Yuin or Coast Murring on the south-east.<sup>3</sup> Their totems were distributed between the two exogamous classes Eagle-hawk and Crow as follows:—<sup>4</sup>

Eagle-hawk and Crow classes.

The Ngarigo tribe, its classes and totems.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 77, 101, 196, 197.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 101

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 101 sq.

## NGARIGO TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.
Eagle-hawk ( <i>Merung</i> )	Lyre-bird, bat, flying squirrel ( <i>bulemba</i> ), tuan, black snake, a fish ( <i>mulan</i> or <i>munja</i> ), the mopoke, black opossum, red wallaby.
Crow ( <i>Yukembruk</i> )	A small hawk, rabbit-rat, flying squirrel ( <i>baua</i> ), kangaroo, emu, lace-lizard, native companion, spiny ant-eater, sleeping lizard.

Betrothal among the Ngarigo.

The practice of betrothing girls in childhood prevailed among the Ngarigo, the rule being that a man married the daughter of his mother's brother. When a betrothed girl was marriageable her father took her to her husband's camp and handed her over to him. The widow of a Ngarigo man did not go to his brother who was of the same mother, but to the son of his father's elder brother, that is, to the man who, under their system of relationship, was the elder brother of the deceased.<sup>1</sup>

The Wolgal tribe, its classes and totems.

The Wolgal tribe inhabited the tablelands of the highest Australian Alps and their northern slopes, their boundaries beginning at Kauwambat, near Pilot Mountain, and running along the Indi River to Wallerengang.<sup>2</sup> By 1870 the tribe was nearly extinct, but among the few survivors was the bard or singer of the tribe, with whom Dr. Howitt was acquainted. The Wolgal totems were distributed between the two exogamous classes Eagle-hawk and Crow as follows :—<sup>3</sup>

## WOLGAL TOTEMS

Classes.	Totems.
Eagle-hawk ( <i>Malian</i> )	Kangaroo, emu, hawk, dingo, flying squirrel, lyre-bird, bat.
Crow ( <i>Umbe</i> )	Wombat, brown snake, a star (? Venus), bandicoot, spiny ant-eater, rabbit-rat.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 196, 198 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 102.

In these tribes a man was free to marry a woman of any totem in the other class; but his proper wife was the daughter, own or tribal, of his mother's brother. In the Wolgal tribe it was usual to betroth a girl in her childhood to a full-grown or even old man of the proper class. When she was old enough to be married, her father, accompanied by his brother, took her to her future husband's camp and left her there. A Wolgal man, speaking to Dr. Howitt, said that a father could do what he liked with his daughter, because the child is his, and "he only gives it to his wife to take care of for him." Contrasted with the practice of the Dieri, among whom the mother alone disposes of her infant daughter, this Wolgal custom marks an advance towards paternal descent.<sup>1</sup>

Wolgal  
rules of  
marriage  
and  
betrothal.

Among all these tribes the rule that a man must avoid his wife's mother was strictly observed. For example, in the Ngarigo tribe a woman might not see her son-in-law nor even hear his name pronounced. If any one chanced to mention his name in her hearing, she would put her fingers in her ears and say, "Be quiet."<sup>2</sup>

Avoidance  
of mother-  
in-law.

In the dense forests, jungles, and swamps which intervene between the high Australian Alps and the coast of Gippsland, in South-Eastern Victoria, there lived a tribe of broken men called the Biduelli. They appear to have been a medley composed of refugees who had fled from the neighbouring tribes. Both their language and their totems were mixed. They dwelt dispersed in small open glades of the thick jungle which covers their dreary inhospitable country. Their classes and totems descended in the female line. Among them Dr. Howitt found one family with the class-name Crow (*yukembruk*) and the totem rabbit-rat, which accords with the Ngarigo system. The Biduelli also had the two sex totems of the Kurnai, namely, emu-wren (*yirung*) and superb warbler (*djiitgun*).<sup>3</sup>

The  
Biduelli  
tribe.

### § 5. Tribes with four Subclasses and Female Descent

From tribes which are organised in the simplest fashion, namely, in two exogamous moieties or classes, with descent

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 197 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 79-81, 102 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 199.

Tribes with four subclasses and female descent.

The Kamilaroi nation of New South Wales.

Extent and nature of their country.

in the female line, we now pass to the consideration of tribes which possess a more complex social organisation, the two primary exogamous classes being among them subdivided into four exogamous subclasses with descent in the female line.

We may begin with the Kamilaroi, a large nation of North-Eastern New South Wales, consisting of many tribes under the same designation, which is derived from the negative *kamil* or *kumil*. The territory of the Kamilaroi included nearly the whole of the pastoral district of Liverpool Plains; it stretched north to the Queensland border, and westward down the Darling River from Walgett to Bourke.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the extent and physical nature of the country occupied by tribes which possessed the Kamilaroi type of social organisation, Dr. Howitt writes as follows: "To the eastward of the boundary which I have marked for the Barkinji type,<sup>2</sup> the country is better watered and has far greater food-supply for an aboriginal population, until at the eastern coast the food-supply reaches its maximum. I am now speaking generally, and not with reference to isolated spots, which might be picked out where the coast is barren. Over this better watered and provisioned country extends the Kamilaroi type of system, with a range also along the northern watershed to the boundary of South Australia, and probably beyond it to the westward. It appears to touch the eastern coast line, and to follow it to about Rockhampton, where it leaves the coast and, striking southwards along the coast range, follows its general direction until at about the Hunter River, in New South Wales, it reaches its most southerly limit. Thence the boundary of the Kamilaroi type strikes westward to the junction of the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers, where it joins the south-eastern boundary of the Barkinji type. Thus the true Kamilaroi organisation, with small variations, mainly in dialectic forms of the class names, spreads over an area in Eastern Australia at the very least 1000 miles north and south by 500 miles east and west. This area comprises some of the best watered and

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> As to the Barkinji type of social

organisation, with its two exogamous classes Mukwara and Kilpara, see above, pp. 389 sq.

most fertile tracts, exclusive of the rich lands of the coast line."<sup>1</sup>

In the Kamilaroi type of social organisation the two primary exogamous moieties or classes, which bear the names of Kupathin and Dilbi, are subdivided each into two subclasses, which bear the names of Ipai, Kumbo, Muri, and Kubi. Included under the classes (moieties) and subclasses there are, as usual in Australian tribes, a number of totem clans. The following table exhibits the classes (moieties), subclasses, and totem clans of the Kamilaroi type as they existed on the Gwydir River, a tributary of the Darling River in the north-east of New South Wales.<sup>2</sup>

Kamilaroi  
classes,  
subclasses,  
and totems.

#### KAMILAROI SYSTEM

Classes (Moieties).	Subclasses.	Totems.
Kupathin	{ Ipai Kumbo	Emu, carpet-snake, black snake, red kangaroo, honey, walleroo, frog, cod-fish.
Dilbi	{ Muri Kubi	Kangaroo, opossum, bandicoot, padimelon, iguana, black duck, eagle-hawk, scrub turkey, yellow-fish, honey-fish, bream.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 32 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1883) p. 500; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 104. In the latter passage Dr. Howitt has transposed, apparently by accident, the totems of Kupathin and Dilbi, and omitted the iguana from the list of Dilbi totems. Compare the Kamilaroi totems mentioned by the Rev. W. Ridley, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ii. (1873) p. 264, and quoted by Dr. A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 202, 204. Miss

Mary E. B. Howitt has kindly consulted her father's manuscripts for me and has confirmed the names and the distribution of the totems which I have given in the text. The table which stands on p. 104 of *Native Tribes of South-East Australia* should therefore be corrected accordingly. Miss Howitt's letter to me is dated April 27th, 1908. In the Kamilaroi tribe corresponding to the masculine names of the subclasses (Ipai, Kumbo, Muri, and Kubi) there are feminine names (Ipatha, Butha, Matha, and Kubitha). See Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 36, 37 note; and above, p. 62. Here, again, in the text I omit the feminine forms for the sake of simplicity. In his *Native Tribes of*

Dr. Howitt on the relation of the four-class system to the two-class system.

On this system Dr. Howitt observes: "Kupathin and Dilbi divide the tribal community into two moieties, just as Matteri and Kararu or any other of the pairs of class names do. Omitting for a moment the four subclasses, there remain only the two classes, each with its group of totems, and the analogy to the two-class system is at once apparent. It is clear that the difference consists in the interpolation between the totems and the two classes of four subclasses; or perhaps the more correct statement would be that each primary class has been divided into two moieties, and that the totems either remain with the primary, and are common to both, as in some tribes, or, as in others, have been divided between the subclasses. When this occurs it is evidently a further stage in the process of subdivision."<sup>1</sup>

Kamilaroi rules of marriage and descent.

The rules of marriage and descent in the Kamilaroi system have been already explained,<sup>2</sup> but it may be well to repeat them. The marriage system in outline is this. An Ipai man marries a Kubi woman and their children are Muri. A Kumbo man marries a Muri woman and their children are Kubi. A Muri man marries a Kumbo woman and their children are Ipai. A Kubi man marries an Ipai woman and their children are Kumbo. To put this in tabular form:—

Husband.		Wife.	Children.
Kupathin	{ Ipai Kumbo	Kubi Muri	Muri Kubi
Dilbi	{ Muri Kubi	Kumbo Ipai	Ipai Kumbo

*South-East Australia*, pp. 200 sqq., Dr. Howitt has used the feminine forms without explanation.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 104 sq. But it is doubtful whether in these tribes the totems are really subdivided between the subclasses. See below, pp. 408 sq., 419, 433 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 62, 68 sq. See W.

Ridley, "Report on Australian Languages and Traditions," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ii. (1873) pp. 263 sqq.; *id.*, *Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages*, Second Edition (Sydney, 1875), pp. 161 sq.; Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 36 sq.; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 200 sq.

Hence it appears that a man always marries a woman belonging to one of the two subclasses which make up the other moiety of the tribe, and that the children belong to the subclass neither of their father nor of their mother, but to the other subclass of their mother's moiety. For example, the children of an Ipaï man and a Kubi woman are Muri, which is the complementary subclass of their mother's subclass, since Muri and Kubi together make up one moiety or class (namely, Dilbi) of the tribe. Similarly, the children of a Muri man and a Kumbo woman are Ipaï, which is the complementary subclass of their mother's subclass. Thus we have here what I have called indirect female descent,<sup>1</sup> since the children belong to their mother's moiety (class) of the tribe, but not to her subclass. The rules of marriage and descent are precisely analogous to those which prevail among the Southern Arunta, except that in the Southern Arunta there is indirect male descent instead of indirect female descent, since the child belongs to its father's class and to his complementary subclass,<sup>2</sup> instead of, as among the Kamilaroi, to its mother's class and to her complementary subclass. As I have already observed, it seems evident that rules of marriage and descent at once so complex and so regular cannot be the result of a train of accidents, but must have been deliberately devised in order to effect a definite purpose. That purpose appears to have been to prevent the marriage of parents with children, and it was effectually attained by arranging that children should always belong to a subclass into which neither their father nor their mother might marry. If that simple rule was observed, the marriage of parents with children was thenceforth impossible. Only we must remember that in speaking of fathers, mothers, and children in this connection we employ these terms of relationship not in our narrow sense of the words, but in the much wider classificatory sense which the Australian aborigines give to them, and in accordance with which every person has a whole group of "fathers" and a whole group of "mothers." Hence, when we say that the complex rules of the four subclasses were deliberately devised to prevent the marriage of mothers with sons and of fathers with daughters,

The rule of indirect descent, which is characteristic of the four-class system, seems to have been devised to prevent the marriage of parents with their children. At least it effects this by always placing parents and children in different subclasses.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 260.

we do not mean that they were intended merely to hinder a son from marrying the mother who bore him and a daughter from marrying the father who begat her, but that they were also intended to hinder a man from marrying any one of his group-mothers and a woman from marrying any one of her group-fathers.<sup>1</sup>

The aversion to marriages between parents and their children was probably felt before legal expression was given to it by the four-class system.

In the light of this explanation we can understand the object of that great restriction on freedom of marriage which the four-class system imposes on the tribes which have adopted it. Under the simple two-class system a man is theoretically free to marry any woman in the other moiety of the tribe, though practically at the present day he is debarred from a number of these women by customs which operate independently of the class system. For example, if the two-class system is combined with female descent, a man's daughter will belong to his wife's class, and will therefore be marriageable to him. Or, again, if the two-class system be combined with male descent, a woman's son will belong to her husband's class, and will therefore be marriageable to her. But such marriages, though theoretically possible under the two-class system, are practically forbidden even in those Australian tribes which have only the two-class system. This proves that the aversion to such marriages may and does exist before it finds, so to say, legal expression in a tribal ordinance forbidding them. The subdivision of the two original exogamous classes into four exogamous subclasses, with the rule that a child is born into the subclass neither of its father nor of its mother, appears to be nothing more than a successful attempt to give legal expression to what had previously been only a moral or instinctive feeling. The council of elders, it would seem, in certain tribes came to the conclusion that it was not enough to trust to this purely instinctive feeling, and that it was advisable to incorporate it in the formal law of

<sup>1</sup> That this, and not the mere prohibition of marriage between actual parents and their children, was the aim of the subdivision of the tribe into four subclasses was long ago perceived by Dr. Howitt, who observes: "The secondary divisions into subclasses were

intended to prevent the possibility of intermarriage between parents (own and tribal) and children." See A. W. Howitt, "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1883) p. 504. See further above, pp. 285 *sqq.*

the tribe. This they did by an ingenious extension of the existing class system, dividing the two old classes into four subclasses, and ordaining that children should never belong to the subclass of either parent, so that marriage between parent and child would be henceforth impossible. The new rule, in all probability, only gave formal sanction to what had long been the informal custom of the tribe.<sup>1</sup> Hence it is that, whereas under the two-class system a man is theoretically, though at the present day not practically, free to marry any woman of the other class, under the four-subclass system he is not so free either in theory or in practice. Instead of having, as under the two-class system, one half of the women of the tribe open to him as wives, he has now, roughly speaking, only one quarter of them so open. The new rule excludes him from one quarter of the women who previously were marriageable with him. If descent is in the female line, as among the Kamilaroi, then in the quarter from which under the new rule he is excluded are comprised all the women who under the classificatory system are reckoned his daughters. If descent is in the male line, then in the quarter from which under the new rule he is excluded are comprised all the women who under the classificatory system are reckoned his mothers. With female descent a man is already prevented by the two-class system from marrying his mother, because she belongs to his own class. With male descent a man is already prevented by the two-class system from marrying his daughter, because she belongs to his own class. Hence the innovation which the introduction of the four-class system effected was to bar the marriage of a man either with his daughter or with his mother, according as descent was reckoned in the female or in the male line.

If this view of the development of the four-subclass system out of an original two-class system be correct, it raises a presumption that the two-class system itself had a

If the four-class system was devised to

<sup>1</sup> This also has been clearly recognised by Dr. Howitt, who observed long ago: "I think that the subdivision of the classes was intended to render impossible those unions which were perhaps even then forbidden by public opinion; for, while these subdivisions have only a local range, the

social prohibition which forbids the intermarriage of parents and children, or brother and sisters, is universal throughout Australia." See A. W. Howitt, "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1883) p. 502.

prevent the marriage of parents with their children, it is probable that the two-class system was devised to prevent the marriage of brothers with their sisters.

similar origin; in other words, that just as the community seems to have split itself into four in order to render marriage between parents and children impossible, so it may previously have split itself into two in order to render marriage between brothers and sisters impossible. Both segmentations of the community, on this theory, were reformatory in the sense that they were deliberately instituted in order to give legal and formal sanction to what had hitherto been an informal custom of the tribe. The agents who brought about the reforms were not single despots or legislators, of whom there is no evidence in aboriginal Australian society, but the council of elders, who in the opinion of the most competent observers possess both the sagacity to conceive and the power to initiate such changes of tribal custom.<sup>1</sup> At least this view of the evolution of the apparently complex marriage laws of the Australian aborigines has the merit of simplicity and consistency. We can thus explain by a few clear principles the otherwise bewildering complexity of a social system which some have attempted to account for by theories as complicated and cumbrous as the cycles and epicycles which a misplaced ingenuity invented to explain the solar system, till Copernicus swept these cobwebs away for ever by the convincing simplicity of truth.

Kamilaroi descent of the totem.

In the Kamilaroi tribes, with their system of female descent, children take their totems as well as their primary class (moiety) from their mother. Thus if a Kupathin man of the emu totem marries a Dilbi woman of the kangaroo totem, the children will be Dilbi Kangaroos. If a Kupathin man of the emu totem marries a Dilbi woman of the opossum totem, the children will be Dilbi Opossums. If a Dilbi man of the iguana totem marries a Kupathin woman of the black snake totem, the children will be Kupathin Black Snakes. And so on.<sup>2</sup> From this it appears that, so far as the primary classes (moieties) and totems are concerned, descent is precisely the same in the four-class system with female descent as in the two-class system with female

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 352 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> W. Ridley, "Report on Australian Languages and Traditions," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ii. (1873)

pp. 264 *sq.*; Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 43; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 202.

descent ; in both of them descent is direct in the maternal line, since children take their primary class (moiety) and their totem from their mother. In neither the primary class nor the totem is descent at all affected by the interpolation between the two of the four subclasses.

In one of the Kamilaroi tribes a remarkable exception to the exogamy of the subclasses has been recorded. A man of any subclass was allowed to marry any woman of his own subclass provided her totem was different from his. Thus, for example, an Ipai man of the emu totem might marry an Ipai woman of the black snake totem but not of the emu totem. A Kubi man of the kangaroo totem might marry a Kubi woman of the iguana totem, but not of the kangaroo totem. And so with the rest. Curiously enough this violation of the exogamy of the subclasses did not affect the children, for they took the same subclass and totem which they would have taken if their mother had married a man of the proper subclass instead of a man of her own subclass ; that is to say, the children took their mother's totem and the subclass which was complementary to her subclass. For example, the children of an Ipai man and an Ipai woman were Kumbo, which is the complementary subclass of their mother's subclass Ipai, and if her totem was black snake, their totem was black snake too. The children of a Kubi man and a Kubi woman were Muri, which was the complementary subclass of their mother's subclass Kubi, and if her totem was iguana, so was theirs. This exception to the exogamy of the subclasses seems to be unique, but it is well attested. It shows that in the tribe which admitted of it, the exogamy of the totem was more firmly established than the exogamy of the subclass, since the exogamy of the totem was strictly maintained, while that of the subclass was relaxed.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Kamilaroi "a female captive would be the property of her captor, if she were of the proper class-name ; but in any case he must be a noted fighting-man to be

Exception to the exogamy of the subclasses in one of the Kamilaroi tribes.

Rule as to female captives.

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 45-48, 63 sq.; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 203 sq. The authorities for this remarkable exception to the

exogamy of the subclasses are Mr. T. E. Lance and the Rev. W. Ridley, both experienced and trustworthy observers.

Punish-  
ment for  
breach of  
marriage  
laws  
among the  
Kamilaroi.

allowed to have more than one wife. If the woman did not belong to the proper class, he had to give her back to her relations. If a man among the Kamilaroi took a woman to wife contrary to the tribal laws, her kindred would complain to the local division to which he belonged, and they were bound to take the matter up. If they did not do this, a fight would be sure to arise between members of the two subclasses concerned. In some cases, however, if a man persisted in keeping a woman as his wife who was of one of the subclasses with which his subclass could not marry, he was driven out of the company of his friends. If that did not induce him to leave the woman, his male kindred followed him and killed him. The female kindred of the woman also killed her."<sup>1</sup>

Avoidance  
of mother-  
in-law.

In the Kamilaroi nation, as in many if not all Australian tribes, a woman might neither speak with nor look at her daughter's husband. The rule was rigidly observed. If a man met his mother-in-law by chance, they instantly turned round, back to back, and remained at a distance. If one of them desired to communicate with the other, the message had to be sent through a third party. They seemed to think that it would be extremely indelicate for a mother-in-law and a son-in-law to speak together. So far did they carry this custom of mutual avoidance that from the hour that an infant girl was betrothed by the promise of her parents, the man to whom she was betrothed had strictly to avoid the sight of his future mother-in-law.<sup>2</sup> Among the Kamilaroi of the Gwydir River the custom was enforced with the most rigorous severity, for we learn that these people inflicted the penalty of death on any man who spoke or held any communication with his wife's mother.<sup>3</sup> It is worth while observing that with a custom of female descent, such as prevails among the Kamilaroi, a woman and her

<sup>1</sup> Cyrus E. Doyle, quoted by Dr. A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 208. Similarly the Rev. W. Ridley, speaking of the Kamilaroi marriage customs, says: "Any breach of these laws incurs sentence of death, or of exposure to an ordeal that may end in death" ("Report on Australian Languages and

Traditions," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ii. (1873) p. 267). The ordeal consists in standing exposed to a shower of spears, which the culprit is allowed to parry or avoid.

<sup>2</sup> W. Ridley, *Kamilaroi*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 157 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 208, referring to Cyrus E. Doyle as his authority.

daughter's husband necessarily belong to different primary classes and are therefore so far marriageable to each other, though their union is actually barred by the subdivision into four subclasses. This suggests that the institution of four subclasses may have been designed to prevent the marriage of a man with his wife's mother as well as with his daughter.

If a man killed another maliciously and unfairly, an obligation rested on the men of the same subclass and totem as the victim to avenge his death by slaying a man of the same subclass and totem as the murderer. For example, if an Ippai man of the emu totem murdered a Kubi man of the padi-melon totem, then the other Kubi Padi-melons would kill an Ippai Emu, thus satisfying the demands of justice, as justice is conceived by the Kamilaroi.<sup>1</sup>

Rule of blood feud.

The Kamilaroi had the classificatory system of relationship, though the terms appear not to have been fully recorded. In the generation above his own a man applied the same term *umbathi* to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. In his own generation he applied the same term *ungina* to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives; and a wife applied the same term *golid* to her husband, to her husband's brothers, and to her sisters' husbands.<sup>2</sup>

Classificatory system of relationship among the Kamilaroi.

To the west and south-west of the Kamilaroi lay the Wiradjuri, a very large and powerful tribe or nation of tribes occupying a vast extent of country in Central New South Wales, and distinguished by a common language which was spoken in various dialects. To the westward this tribe or nation bordered on those tribes of New South Wales who have the two-class Mukwara and Kilpara system, which has been already described.<sup>3</sup> The territory of the Wiradjuri extended from Mudgee to Hay and for a long way down the Lachlan River. The name Wiradjuri is derived from *wirai*, a word which in the tribal language means "no."<sup>4</sup>

The Wiradjuri nation.

<sup>1</sup> W. Ridley, "Report on Australian Languages and Traditions," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ii. (1873) p. 268; compare *id.*, *Kamilaroi*,<sup>2</sup> p. 159.

Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 287 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 380 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales,"

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group-

Classes,  
subclasses,  
and totems  
of the  
Wiradjuri.

Like the Kamilaroi the Wiradjuri are divided into two primary classes and four subclasses, all exogamous, with descent in the female line; and the names of the subclasses are the same, or nearly the same, as those of the Kamilaroi subclasses. Included under the classes and subclasses there are, as usual, a number of totem clans. The social system of that tribe of the Wiradjuri nation which occupied the greater part of Riverina is shown in the subjoined table.<sup>1</sup>

WIRADJURI SYSTEM, RIVERINA DISTRICT

Classes.	Subclasses.	Totems.
Moiety A	Yibai	eagle-hawk mallee-hen opossum fly English bee kangaroo-rat native bee
	Wumbi	bloodsucker-lizard padi-melon crow
Moiety B	Murri	red kangaroo a small lizard young emu
	Kubbi	flying squirrel bush-rat chicken-hawk bandicoot

Wiradjuri  
rules of  
marriage  
and  
descent.

The names of the primary classes or moieties in this tribe have not been ascertained. The rules of marriage and descent, so far as the classes and subclasses are concerned,

*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*,  
xiv. (1885) p. 345; A. W. Howitt,  
*Native Tribes of South-East Australia*,  
pp. 55 sq., 105.]

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of  
South-East Australia*, pp. 105 sq.

The name of one of the subclasses  
is given variously as Wumba, Wumbi,  
and Wumbo. For the sake of uni-  
formity I have adopted the form  
Wumbi, which is used repeatedly by  
Dr. Howitt (*op. cit.* p. 209).

are the same as in the Kamilaroi system. An Yibai man marries a Kubbi woman and the children are Murri: a Wumbi man marries a Murri woman and the children are Kubbi: a Murri man marries a Wumbi woman and the children are Yibai: a Kubbi man marries an Yibai woman and the children are Wumbi.<sup>1</sup> To put this in tabular form:—

Husband.	Wife.	Children.
{ Yibai Wumbi	Kubbi Murri	Murri Kubbi
{ Murri Kubbi	Wumbi Yibai	Yibai Wumbi

But in respect of the totems the marriage rules of the Wiradjuri differ from those of the Kamilaroi. For whereas among the Kamilaroi a man is apparently free to marry a woman of any totem in the other class or moiety of the tribe, among the Wiradjuri, at least in the southern branch of the tribe, each totem is restricted to marriage with certain totems of the other class. The following table exhibits the intermarriage and descent of the totems in the southern branch of the Wiradjuri tribe, so far as Dr. Howitt could ascertain them, but with regard to some of the totems he was not able to obtain the necessary information.<sup>2</sup>

Marriage and descent of the totems in the Wiradjuri tribe.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 106, 209. In this tribe, as in the Kamilaroi, there are feminine as well as masculine forms of the names of the subclasses. The feminine forms are Yibatha, Butha, (corresponding to the masculine Wumbi), Matha (corresponding to

Murri), and Kubbitha. For the sake of simplicity I use only the masculine forms in the text.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 208 sq. I again omit the feminine forms of the names (Yibatha, Butha, Matha, and Kubbitha) for the sake of simplicity.

## WIRADJURI TRIBE, SOUTHERN BRANCH

*Marriage and Descent*

	Husband.		Wife.		Children.	
A	Yibai	eagle-hawk	Kubbi	bush-rat	Murri	bush-rat
	Yibai	mallee-hen	Kubbi	flying-squirrel	Murri	flying-squirrel
	Yibai	opossum	Kubbi	bush-rat	Murri	bush-rat
	Yibai	opossum	Kubbi	flying-squirrel	Murri	flying-squirrel
	Wumbi	bloodsucker-lizard	Murri	young emu	Kubbi	young emu
B	Murri	young emu	Wumbi	bloodsucker-lizard	Yibai	bloodsucker-lizard
	Kubbi	bush-rat	Yibai	eagle-hawk	Wumbi	eagle-hawk
	Kubbi	flying-squirrel	Yibai	mallee-hen	Wumbi	mallee-hen
	Kubbi	bush-rat	Yibai	opossum	Wumbi	opossum
	Kubbi	bandicoot	Yibai	opossum	Wumbi	opossum

In the four-class system the totems of each class alternate between the subclasses of that class in alternate generations.

From this table it may be observed that while the totems remain constantly within the same class (moiety) from generation to generation, they alternate from one subclass to its complementary subclass with each generation reckoned from a mother to her children. For example, in the one moiety the eagle-hawk totem belongs to a woman of the Yibai subclass in one generation and to her children of the Wumbi subclass in the next: in the other moiety the totem bush-rat belongs to a woman of the Kubbi subclass in the one generation and to her children of the Murri subclass in the next. This alternation of the totems between the subclasses is not peculiar to the Wiradjuri; it necessarily occurs wherever hereditary totemism exists with the four-class system. For since under these conditions a child always takes its totem from one of its parents, while its subclass always differs from theirs, the totem shifts like a shuttle backwards and forwards with each generation between the complementary subclasses of its mother's class or between the complementary subclasses of its father's class, according as descent is in the maternal or in the paternal line. In the Wiradjuri tribe descent is in the maternal line, and accordingly the totem shifts in alternate generations

between the complementary subclasses of the mother's class. For example, the daughter of a Kubbi bush-rat woman is a Murri bush-rat woman, and the daughter of this Murri bush-rat woman is a Kubbi bush-rat woman, just as was her maternal grandmother. Thus the bush-rat totem swings backwards and forwards like a pendulum between the complementary subclasses Kubbi and Murri. And the same rule holds of all the other totems.<sup>1</sup> This shews, as I shall point out again later on, that though the clan totems may be and commonly are permanently divided between the primary classes or moieties, they cannot be so divided between the two complementary subclasses which compose each of the two primary classes, since they are constantly fluctuating with each generation between these two complementary subclasses. Hence tables which represent the clan totems as divided between the two subclasses of a primary class must, it would seem, be so far erroneous.

In the Southern Wiradjuri children were betrothed to each other in very early youth. When the boy is old enough to marry, that is, when his beard has grown after he has passed through the initiation ceremony, and the consent of the kindred on both sides has been given, he fetches his betrothed to be his wife. Commonly a brother of the bride accompanies his sister to her new home in order to receive a sister of the bridegroom to wife in exchange. This custom of exchanging sisters had a special name, *gun-gun-mur*.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the initiation ceremonies of the Wiradjuri, which they call *burbung*, it is a rule that the members of a class, subclass, or totem cannot initiate their own boys, but must invite the members of the intermarrying class, subclass, and totem to assist in the ceremonies.<sup>3</sup>

In the Wiradjuri tribes of the Lachlan River the names of the two primary classes or moieties are Mukula and Budthurung, and the totems are arranged under them as follows:—<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 584.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 210 sq. 107.

Betrothal  
among the  
Wiradjuri.

Wiradjuri  
tribes  
of the  
Lachlan  
River, their  
classes,  
subclasses,  
and totems.

## WIRADJURI SYSTEM, LACHLAN RIVER

Classes.	Subclasses.	Totems.
Mukula	Ipai	mallee-hen padi-melon opossum
	Kumbo	mallee-hen emu opossum
Budthurung	Murri	red kangaroo ( <i>murri</i> ) bandicoot black duck snake lace-lizard
	Kubbi	red kangaroo black duck ( <i>budthurung</i> ) <sup>1</sup> lace-lizard bandicoot

Marriage and descent in the Wiradjuri tribes of the Lachlan River.

In the marriage system of these Lachlan River tribes there is an anomalous feature: in his choice of a wife a man is not restricted to one of the two subclasses of the other moiety; he is free to marry into either of them. This, it is obvious, is so far to abandon the four-subclass system and revert to the original two-class system, under which a man is theoretically at liberty to marry any woman of the other moiety. The reversion may, as Dr. Howitt suggests,<sup>2</sup> have been caused by a diminution of numbers, which perhaps rendered the restrictions imposed by the four-subclass system incompatible with the continued existence of the tribe. The following table exhibits the rules of marriage and descent in the Wiradjuri tribes of the Lachlan Rivers, as they were ascertained by Mr. A. L. P. Cameron.<sup>3</sup> In the table the anomalous marriages are indicated by italics.

<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that *budthurung* (black duck) is the name of the primary class as well as of the totem. Of this fact Dr. Howitt has found no explanation. Similarly *murri* (red kangaroo)

is the name of a subclass as well as of a totem.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 211 sq.

## WIRADJURI TRIBE, LACHLAN RIVER

## Marriage and Descent

	Husband.	Wife.	Children.
Mukula.	Ipai mallee-hen or Ipai padi-melon	Kubbi black duck Kubbi red kangaroo Kubbi lace-lizard <i>Murri bandicoot</i>	The children are always of their mother's class and totem, and of the subclass which is complementary to her subclass. Thus if she is Ipai, they are Kumbo; if she is Kumbo, they are Ipai. If she is Murri, they are Kubbi; if she is Kubbi, they are Murri.
	Ipai opossum	Kubbi bandicoot <i>Murri black duck</i> <i>Murri red kangaroo</i> <i>Murri snake</i>	
	Kumbo mallee-hen or Kumbo emu	Murri red kangaroo Murri black duck Murri snake <i>Kubbi bandicoot</i>	
	Kumbo opossum	Murri bandicoot <i>Kubbi black duck</i> <i>Kubbi red kangaroo</i> <i>Kubbi lace-lizard</i>	
	Budthurung.	Murri red kangaroo Murri black duck	
Murri snake		<i>Ipai opossum</i>	
Murri bandicoot		Kumbo opossum <i>Ipai mallee-hen</i> <i>Ipai padi-melon</i>	
Kubbi red kangaroo Kubbi black duck		Ipai padi-melon Ipai mallee-hen	
Kubbi lace-lizard		<i>Kumbo opossum</i>	
Kubbi bandicoot		Ipai opossum <i>Kumbo mallee-hen</i> <i>Kumbo emu</i>	

Some confusion seems to have crept into Dr. Howitt's table. I have endeavoured to correct it, but cannot feel sure that I have succeeded. For the

sake of simplicity I have again omitted the feminine forms (Ipatha, Butha, Matha, and Kubbitha) which Dr. Howitt uses without explanation.

Personal  
totems of  
medicine-  
men  
among the  
Wiradjuri.

In the Wiradjuri, as in other tribes of South-East Australia, the medicine-men had what Dr. Howitt calls their secret personal totems in addition to their clan totems. For example, we hear of a Wiradjuri medicine-man whose clan totem was kangaroo, but whose secret personal totem was tiger-snake. The account which he gave to Dr. Howitt of the way in which he received his personal totem (*budjan*) and became a medicine-man is instructive.<sup>1</sup> He said: "When I was about ten years old I was taken to the initiation ceremony (*burbung*) and saw what the old men could bring out of themselves; and when my tooth was out<sup>2</sup> the old men chased me with the quartz-crystals (*wallungs*) in their mouths, shouting '*Ngai, Ngai*,' and moving their hands towards me. I went into the bush for a time, and while there my old father came out to me. He said, 'Come here to me'; and he then showed me a piece of quartz-crystal in his hand, and when I looked at it he went down into the ground and I saw him come up all covered with red dust. It made me very frightened. He then said, 'Come to me,' and I went to him, and he said, 'Try and bring up a quartz-crystal (*wallung*).' I did try, and brought one up. He then said, 'Come with me to this place.' I saw him standing by a hole in the ground, leading to a grave. I went inside and saw a dead man, who rubbed me all over to make me clever, and who gave me some quartz-crystals. When we came out my father pointed to a tiger-snake (*gunr*) saying, 'That is your *budjan* (secret personal totem); it is mine also.' There was a string tied to the tail of the snake and extending to us. It was one of those strings which the doctors bring up out of themselves, rolled up together. He took hold of it saying, 'Let us follow him.' The tiger-snake went through several tree-trunks, and let us through. Then

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "On Australian Medicine Men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887) p. 50; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 406 sq. There are small verbal differences in the account as reported in these two passages. I have used my discretion as to which to follow in the text, and I have occasionally inserted the equivalent English

word instead of, or in addition to, the native Australian term.

<sup>2</sup> In many tribes of South-East Australia one or sometimes two teeth are knocked out of the mouth of each novice at initiation. See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 538 sqq., 563, 564, 565, 566, 569, 571, 576, 586 sq., 588, 589, 592, 613, 616, 641, 655 sq., 675 sq.

we went to a great Currajong tree,<sup>1</sup> and went through it, and after that to a tree with a great mound or swelling round its roots. It is in such places that Daramulun<sup>2</sup> lives. Here the tiger-snake went down into the ground, and we followed him, and came up inside the tree, which was hollow. There I saw a lot of little Daramuluns, the sons of Baiame.<sup>3</sup> After we came out again the tiger-snake took us into a great hole in the ground in which were a number of tiger-snakes, which rubbed themselves against me, but did not hurt me, being my *budjan* (personal totem). They did this to make me a clever man and a doctor or wizard (*wulla mullung*).” The name *budjan*, which the Wiradjuri apply to their personal totems, is applied by the Murring or Yuin tribe to their totems, both personal and hereditary.<sup>4</sup>

To the north of the Wiradjuri of the Lachlan River is

<sup>1</sup> *Brachychiton populneum*.

<sup>2</sup> The mound or swelling in which the mythical Daramulun is said to live is the circular mound on which in the Wiradjuri tribe boys were placed at the rites of initiation. On these occasions a figure of Daramulun was moulded or cut in the ground, representing him as a one-legged being with a sharp-pointed bone instead of a second leg. See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 584 sq.; *id.*, “On some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 452 sq. The medicine-man’s narrative, quoted in the text, shews that there were supposed to be many Daramuluns, some of them small, and that they lived in the ground. The belief in a mythical being called Daramulun is shared by other tribes than the Wiradjuri. The Yuin say that Daramulun used to live on earth and taught them what to eat and how to celebrate the initiation ceremonies. When he died and was put in the ground, his ghost went up to the sky. Others say that he ascended up to heaven in the flesh, just as the medicine-men still do. See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 494 sq. The Theddora, according to an old woman of the tribe, called Daramulun

“father” (*papang*), and thought that he came down with a noise like thunder to make the boys into men. See A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 493. The thundrous noise with which Daramulun came down for this purpose was the booming sound of the bull-roarers which were swung at the initiation ceremonies; their roar was supposed to represent thunder, which was the voice of Daramulun. See A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 538; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 446.

<sup>3</sup> Baiame is a mythical being in whom the Kamilaroi believed. Some missionaries have regarded him as an aboriginal god, the maker and preserver of all things. Dr. Howitt explained him as the native ideal of a headman. See W. Ridley, *Kamilaroi*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 135 sq.; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 494, 499 sqq., 506 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 489 sq. As to personal or, as I have called them, individual totems, see above, pp. 49 sqq. The subject will be more fully discussed when we come to deal with totemism in America, where such personal totems or guardian spirits, as perhaps they should rather be called, are much commoner than in Australia.

The  
Wong-  
hibon  
tribe, its  
classes,  
subclasses,  
and totems.

the country of the Wonghibon tribe, which may be roughly defined by the townships of Mossgiel, Ivanhoe, Cobar, Nymagee, and Nyngan. The only permanent water in this district is at its north-eastern extremity, where it skirts the Bogan River for some way. Hence the natives of the southern parts must have either gone to the Lachlan or Darling in time of drought, or else lived on the water extracted from the mallee and other roots. The Wonghibon appear to be an offshoot or branch of the Wiradjuri nation, with whom they live on friendly terms.<sup>1</sup> Their system of classes, subclasses, and totems, as reported by Dr. A. W. Howitt, is as follows :—<sup>2</sup>

## WONGHIBON SYSTEM

Classes.	Subclasses.	Totems.
Ngielbumurra {	Ipai Kumbo	mallee-hen emu opossum
Mukumurra . {	Murri Kubbi	black duck bandicoot red kangaroo

From this it appears that the Wonghibon totems are similar to those of the Wiradjuri, and that their subclasses are the same as those of the Kamilaroi. We are told that the same names for the subclasses "are also used by tribes

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 56, 107 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 108, 214. Mr. A. L. P. Cameron gives the Wonghibon totems differently as follows :—

Subclasses.	Totems.
Ipai . . . .	crow
Kumbu . . . .	kangaroo
Murri . . . .	iguana
Kubbi . . . . {	bandicoot
	opossum

See A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 348. Probably both lists are incomplete.

which are wholly unacquainted with the Kamilaroi language, but among whom the organisation of society is the same as in the Kamilaroi tribes."<sup>1</sup>

In regard to marriage and descent the Wonghibon tribe presents the same anomalous feature as the Wiradjuri of the Lachlan River; that is to say, a man is free to marry a woman of either subclass of the other moiety, provided that her totem differs from his. The following table exhibits the rules of marriage and descent in the Wonghibon tribe, so far as they have been ascertained by Mr. A. L. P. Cameron and revised by Dr. Howitt.<sup>2</sup> In the table the anomalous marriages are indicated by italics.

Marriage  
and  
descent  
in the  
Wong-  
hibon  
tribe.

WONGHIBON TRIBE  
*Marriage and Descent*

Husband.		Wife.		Children.
Ngielbumurra.	Ipai mallee-hen	Kubbi <i>Murri</i> <i>Murri</i>	black duck <i>kangaroo</i> <i>bandicoot</i>	The children are always of their mother's class and totem, and of the subclass which is complementary to her subclass. Thus if she is Ipai, they are Kumbo; if she is Kumbo, they are Ipai. If she is Murri, they are Kubbi; if she is Kubbi, they are Murri.
	Ipai emu	Kubbi Kubbi <i>Murri</i>	black duck bandicoot <i>kangaroo</i>	
	Ipai opossum	Kubbi <i>Murri</i> <i>Murri</i>	kangaroo <i>black duck</i> <i>bandicoot</i>	
	Kumbo mallee-hen	Murri <i>Kubbi</i> <i>Kubbi</i>	black duck <i>bandicoot</i> <i>kangaroo</i>	
	Kumbo emu	Murri Murri <i>Kubbi</i>	black duck bandicoot <i>kangaroo</i>	
	Kumbo opossum	Murri <i>Kubbi</i> <i>Kubbi</i>	kangaroo <i>black duck</i> <i>bandicoot</i>	

<sup>1</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* pp. 347 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 213-215.

In the table I have omitted the feminine forms (Ipatha, Butha, Matha, and Kubbitha) of the subclass names for the sake of simplicity.

WONGHIBON TRIBE (*continued*)*Marriage and Descent*

	Husband.		Wife.		Children.
Mukumurra.	Murri	kangaroo	Kumbo <i>Ipai</i> <i>Ipai</i>	opossum <i>mallee-hen</i> <i>emu</i>	The children are always of their mother's class and totem, and of the subclass which is complementary to her subclass. Thus if she is <i>Ipai</i> , they are <i>Kumbo</i> ; if she is <i>Kumbo</i> , they are <i>Ipai</i> . If she is <i>Murri</i> , they are <i>Kubbi</i> ; if she is <i>Kubbi</i> , they are <i>Murri</i> .
	Murri	bandicoot	Kumbo <i>Ipai</i> <i>Ipai</i>	emu <i>mallee-hen</i> <i>opossum</i>	
	Murri	black duck	Kumbo Kumbo <i>Ipai</i>	<i>mallee-hen</i> emu <i>opossum</i>	
	Kubbi	wild duck	<i>Ipai</i> <i>Ipai</i> <i>Kumbo</i>	<i>mallee-hen</i> emu <i>opossum</i>	
	Kubbi	bandicoot	<i>Ipai</i> <i>Kumbo</i> <i>Kumbo</i>	emu <i>opossum</i> <i>mallee-hen</i>	
	Kubbi	kangaroo	<i>Ipai</i> <i>Kumbo</i> <i>Kumbo</i>	opossum <i>mallee-hen</i> <i>emu</i>	

Practical reversion to two-class system.

Just as with the Wiradjuri of the Lachlan River, so with the Wonghibon the permission to marry a woman of either subclass of the other moiety is, in so far as it removes the subclass restrictions on marriage, practically a reversion to the old two-class system, which in theory allows a man to marry any woman of the other moiety.

Avoidance of mother-in-law.

In the foregoing tribes we again meet with the custom that mother-in-law and son-in-law mutually avoid each other. The custom, says Mr. A. L. P. Cameron, "is of universal occurrence so far as I know throughout the whole of Australia, certainly in every tribe of aborigines I have ever come in contact with in New South Wales and Queensland. A man never speaks to his wife's mother if he can

possibly avoid it, and she is equally careful in shunning all communication with him.”<sup>1</sup>

A similar system of two classes and four subclasses, with totem clans and descent in the female line, is found among the Kuinmurbura, a tribe which claimed the peninsula between Broad Sound and Shoalwater Bay on the coast of Queensland, to the north of Rockhampton. But while the Kuinmurbura system resembles that of the Kamilaroi, the Wiradjuri, and the Wonghibon, the names both of the classes and of the subclasses are quite different, as may be seen from the following table :—<sup>2</sup>

KUINMURBURA SYSTEM

Classes.	Subclasses.		Totems.
Yungeru	Kurpal Kuialla	the barrimundi a hawk	black eagle-hawk laughing-jackass
Witteru	Karilbura Munal	good water iguana	curlew clear water ( <i>kauara</i> ) scrub wallaby a hawk ( <i>kolpobora</i> )

The Kuinmurbura is one of the few tribes in which the names for the classes or subclasses are those of animals or other natural objects. Other tribes in which the classes or subclasses or both are so named are the Wolgal and Ngarigo in New South Wales,<sup>3</sup> the Kulin tribes of Victoria,<sup>4</sup> and the Annan River tribe of Queensland.<sup>5</sup>

In the Kuinmurbura tribe the rules of marriage and

<sup>1</sup> A. L. P. Cameron, “Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 60, 111. Feminine forms of the subclass names are formed by post-fixing *an* to them, as masculine *Kurpal*, feminine *Kurpalan*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 393 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 435.

<sup>5</sup> The system of the Annan River tribe near Cooktown is this :

Classes.	Subclasses.	
<i>Walar</i> , a bee	{ <i>Wandi</i> , <i>Walar</i> ,	eagle-hawk a bee
<i>Murla</i> , a bee	{ <i>Jorro</i> , <i>Kutchal</i> ,	a bee salt-water eagle-hawk

Descent is in the male line. See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 118.

Marriage and descent in the Kuinmurbura tribe.

descent are as follows :—A Kurpal man marries a Karilbura woman and the children are Munal. A Kuialla man marries a Munal woman and the children are Karilbura. A Karilbura man marries a Kurpal woman and the children are Kuialla. A Munal man marries a Kuialla woman and the children are Kurpal. This is the ordinary rule of marriage and descent in a four-subclass system with female descent; a man of any particular subclass always marries a woman of a particular subclass in the other moiety of the tribe, and the children belong to the subclass which is complementary to their mother's subclass. And as regularly happens under such a system, children take their totem as well as their primary class (moiety) from their mother. The following table exhibits the rules of marriage and descent in the tribe,<sup>1</sup> from which it would seem that men were not free to marry women of any totem in the subclass with which they intermarried, but that they might only marry the women of one particular totem. But the rules appear to be incomplete, for nothing is said of the marriage of women of the water and wallaby totems.

KUINMURBURA TRIBE  
*Marriage and Descent*

	Husband.		Wife.		Children.	
Yungeru.	Kurpal	eagle-hawk	Karilbura	hawk	Munal	hawk
	Kurpal	laughing-jackass	Karilbura	curlew	Munal	curlew
	Kuialla	eagle-hawk	Munal	hawk	Karilbura	hawk
	Kuialla	laughing-jackass	Munal	curlew	Karilbura	curlew
Witteru.	Karilbura	curlew	Kurpal	laughing-jackass	Kuialla	laughing-jackass
	Karilbura	water	Kurpal	eagle-hawk	Kuialla	eagle-hawk
	Karilbura	wallaby	Kurpal	laughing-jackass	Kuialla	laughing-jackass
	Karilbura	hawk	Kurpal	eagle-hawk	Kuialla	eagle-hawk
	Munal	curlew	Kuialla	laughing-jackass	Kurpal	laughing-jackass
	Munal	water	Kuialla	laughing-jackass	Kurpal	laughing-jackass
	Munal	hawk	Kuialla	eagle-hawk	Kurpal	eagle-hawk

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 218. Here again I omit the feminine forms of the

subclass names (Kurpala, Kuialla, Karilbura, and Munala) for the sake of simplicity.

From this table it may be seen that, as regularly happens in the normal four-subclass system, the totems oscillate between the two subclasses of a moiety in alternate generations. Thus if the mother is a Hawk of the Karilbura subclass, her children are Hawks of the Munal subclass, and her daughters' children are Hawks of the Karilbura subclass, just like their maternal grandmother; so that in three generations the pendulum (represented by the hawk totem) has swung from Karilbura through Munal and back to Karilbura. And the other totems perform similar oscillations.

Alternation of the totems between the two subclasses of each class.

In the Kuinmurbura tribe, and the neighbouring tribes which had the same social system, marriage was commonly preceded by betrothal of the girl in her infancy. The ceremony of betrothal was performed by the girl's male cousin, that is, either by her mother's brother's son or by her father's sister's son. When the girl was mature, all the unmarried men of the same class and totem as her future husband had access to her as a matter of right before she was handed over to him. This custom is probably a rudimentary survival of group-marriage; the men who, in virtue of their class and totem, belong to the group which is marriageable with the girl's group, exercise the old group right over the woman for the last time before resigning her to her husband. The relation in which they stand to her bears the name of *durki*, which seems to answer to the *noa* relationship of the Dieri, the *nupa* of the Urabunna, and the *unawa* of the Arunta.<sup>1</sup> In the Kuinmurbura tribe a widow went to the elder brother (*murang*) or to the younger brother (*woern*) of her deceased husband. A female captive was the property of her captor, if she was of the proper class and totem.<sup>2</sup>

Betrothal among the Kuinmurbura.

Survival of group-marriage among the Kuinmurbura.

The Kuinmurbura had the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applied the same term *bená* to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters; and he applied the same term *aia* to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. In his own generation he applied the same term *murang* to his

Classificatory system of relationship among the Kuinmurbura.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 219 sq.

As to *noa*, *nupa*, and *unawa*, see

above, pp. 178, 297, 298, 362, 363.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 220.

brothers, to the sons of his father's brothers, and to the sons of his mother's sisters. He applied the same term *gingil* to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives; and a wife applied the same term *nupa* to her husband, to her husband's brothers, and to her sisters' husbands. In the generation below his own a man applied the same term *manbon* to his sons, to his brothers' sons, and to the sons of his wife's sisters; and similarly a woman applied the same term *nugin* to her sons and to her sisters' sons.<sup>1</sup>

The Kongulu tribe, its classes, subclasses, and totems.

To the south-west of the Kuinmurbura, between the Mackenzie River and the Lower Dawson, there lived down to 1895 a tribe called the Kongulu which had a similar social organisation, consisting of two primary classes (moieties), four subclasses, and totem clans with descent in the female line. The names of the two primary classes, Yunguru and Wutthuru, are clearly equivalent to the Yunguru and Witteru of the Kuinmurbura. These classes were each divided into two subclasses as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

## KONGULU SYSTEM

Class.	Subclasses.	Class.	Subclasses.
Yunguru {	Bunya Tarbain	Wutthuru {	Kaiyara Bunjur

Marriage and descent in the Kongulu tribe.

The rules of marriage are normal. A Bunya man marries a Kaiyara woman and the children are Bunjur. A Tarbain man marries a Bunjur woman and the children are Kaiyara. A Kaiyara man marries a Bunya woman and the children are Tarbain. A Bunjur man marries a Tarbain woman and the children are Bunya. To put this in tabular form:—<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group-Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 287 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 111, 220. In the former passage the names Tarbain and Kaiyara appear as Jarbain

and Kairawa.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 220. The feminine forms of the subclass names are formed by adding *gun* to the masculine forms, thus Bunyagun, Tarbaingun, Kaiyaragun, and Bunjurgun. For the sake of simplicity I omit these feminine forms.

## KONGULU TRIBE

*Marriage and Descent*

Husband.	Wife.	Children.
Yunguru { Bunya Tarbain	Kaiyara Bunjur	Bunjur Kaiyara
Wutthuru { Kaiyara Bunjur	Bunya Tarbain	Tarbain Bunya

In the Kongulu tribe the totems were called *baikain*, and were transmitted from mother to child. They were usually animals, but sometimes trees. The totem names appear to have been grouped under certain collective names, such as Mirunjul, the effect of which has not been explained. The following list gives the totems and collective names, so far as they have been ascertained:—<sup>1</sup>

Grouping of the totems in the Kongulu tribe.

Collective Names.	Totems.
Mirunjul . . . . . {	black or brush wallaby black iguana eagle-hawk sandal-wood
Jiimi . . . . . {	great owl frilled iguana brigalow
Kulpuwura . . . . . {	crow scrub wallaby

West of the Great Dividing Range, and separated by it from those Queensland tribes whose social system has just been described, there were many tribes with the four sub-

Four-class tribes in Queensland to the

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 112.

west of the  
Great  
Dividing  
Range.

class system on the waters of the Belyando, Barcoo, Thomson, and Flinders Rivers. Strictly speaking, these Queensland tribes belong rather to North-Eastern Australia than to South-Eastern Australia, with which we are here concerned; but since they have been dealt with by Dr. A. W. Howitt they may find a place in this chapter. Of these tribes the Wakelbura on the Belyando River, above its junction with the Suttor River, may serve as an example. The name of the tribe is derived from *wakel* "eels" and the possessive postfix *bura*. Formerly their name was Kerbulbura, derived from *kerbul*, the edible root of a water-lily which grows in the swamps and watercourses.<sup>1</sup>

The  
Wakelbura  
tribe, its  
classes,  
subclasses,  
and totems.

The Wakelbura tribe is divided into two primary exogamous classes (moieties) called Mallera and Wuthera, and four subclasses called Kurgilla, Banbe, Wungo, and Obu. Thus the names both of the classes and of the subclasses are entirely different from those of the Kamilaroi; but on the other hand one of the class names (Wuthera) seems clearly to be equivalent to Witteru and Wutthuru in the Kuinmurbura and Kongulu tribes.<sup>2</sup> The two class names Mallera and Wuthera extend as far as Charters Towers, where the Akulbura tribe speaks a different dialect and has different names for the classes and subclasses. At about Muttapura, on the Thomson River, and near Clermont, these class names cease with the Bathalibura tribe, which has the same names for its four subclasses as the Wakelbura, but calls its two primary classes Yungaru and Wutheru.<sup>3</sup> The classes, subclasses, and totems of the Wakelbura tribe are shown in the following table:—<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 62, 112.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 417, 420.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 112 sq.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 112, on the authority of Mr. J. C. Muirhead, who elsewhere (*Journal of the Anthro-*

*pological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 191, note<sup>1</sup>) repeatedly spells the name of one of the primary classes Mallera, not Malera, as Dr. Howitt here gives it. For the classes and subclasses of the Wakelbura, see also Mr. J. [C.] Muirhead, cited by E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 26 sq.

## WAKELBURA SYSTEM

Classes.	Subclasses.	Totems.
Mallera	Kurgilla	opossum, spiny ant-eater, eagle-hawk, turkey, iguana, black bee, kangaroo
	Banbe	forest kangaroo, ringtail opossum, iguana
Wuthera	Wungo	emu, carpet-snake, gidya-tree, wallaby
	Obu	black duck, carpet-snake, large bee, emu, walleroo, gidya-tree, wallaby

"In the Wakelbura tribe the totem animal is spoken of as 'father.' For example, a man of the *Binnung-urra* (Frisled-lizard totem) holds that reptile as sacred, and he would not only not kill it, but would protect it by preventing another person doing so in his presence. Similarly a man of the Screech-owl totem would call it 'father,' and likewise hold it sacred and protect it. So far does the feeling go, that when a man could not get satisfaction for an injurious action by another, he has been known to kill that beast, bird, or reptile which that man called 'father,' and thus obtain revenge, and perhaps cause the other to do the same, if he knew of it. A man who was lax as to his totem was not thought well of, and was never allowed to take any important part in the ceremonies."<sup>1</sup>

Respect  
shewn  
by the  
Wakelbura  
for their  
totems.

The rules of marriage and descent of the classes in the Wakelbura tribe are such as usually prevail in tribes with the four-subclass system and female descent. Thus a Kurgilla man marries an Obu woman and the children are Wungo. A Banbe man marries a Wungo woman and the children are Obu. A Wungo man marries a Banbe woman and the children are Kurgilla. An Obu man marries a Kurgilla woman and the children are Banbe. Thus the children as usual belong to their mother's class (moiety)

Marriage  
and  
descent  
in the  
Wakelbura  
tribe.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 147 sq., on the authority of Mr. J. C. Muirhead. The frilled-lizard and screech-owl

totems here mentioned do not appear in Dr. Howitt's list of Wakelbura totems given above.

and to the subclass which is complementary to her subclass. To put this in tabular form:—

Husband.		Wife.	Children.
Mallera	{ Kurgilla Banbe	Obu Wungo	Wungo Obu
Wuthera	{ Wungo Obu	Banbe Kurgilla	Kurgilla Banbe

Peculiar assignment of the totems in the Wakelbura tribe.

But in the Wakelbura tribe the descent, or perhaps rather the determination, of the totems is abnormal, for the children take their totems neither from their mother nor from their father. No reason has been ascertained for this peculiarity, and the tribe is now extinct. The following table was compiled from data furnished by the marriages and descents in four generations in one case, five in another, and two in a third.<sup>1</sup>

## WAKELBURA TRIBE

*Marriage and Descent*

Husband.		Wife.		Children.	
Mallera.	{ Kurgilla	Obu	emu	Wungo	carpet-snake
	{ Kurgilla	Obu	carpet-snake	?	?
	{ Kurgilla	Obu	hill kangaroo	?	?
	{ Kurgilla	Obu	carpet-snake	?	?
	{ Banbe	Wungo	carpet-snake	Obu	emu
Wuthera.	{ Wungo	Banbe	iguana	Kurgilla	opossum
	{ Obu	Kurgilla	opossum	Banbe	emu

In the Wakelbura tribe a wife was obtained only by betrothal, except in the rarer cases of elopement and capture.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 221. I omit the feminine forms of the subclass names, which are formed by the post-

fix *an* attached to the masculine forms, thus, Kurgillan, Banbean, Wungoan, Obuan.

It was the mother who chose a husband for her daughter as soon as the child was born, and when the girl was marriageable her betrothed husband took her away with him. If she eloped, her betrothed husband fought her paramour, and the victor kept her. If after she had consented to marry the man to whom she had been betrothed in infancy she eloped with some other man, even of the proper class and totem, she would be almost cut to pieces by her own brothers and her father's brothers, and also by the men of her betrothed husband's totem. Her brothers might even almost kill her, because by her elopement they would lose the woman by whose exchange they might have obtained a wife for one of them.<sup>1</sup>

Betrothal  
in the  
Wakelbura  
tribe.

The tribal law among the Wakelbura was extremely strict as to irregular connections or elopements between persons too nearly related to each other. "Such persons would be, for instance, those whom we call cousins, both on the father's and the mother's side, or who are of the class, subclasses, or totems which do not intermarry. For instance, if a Kurgilla-*tunara* man ran off with an Obuan-*wallaroo* (hill kangaroo) woman, who ought properly in due course to have married a Kurgilla-*burkun* (plains-turkey) man, his own and tribal brothers would be against him, as well as the brothers, own and tribal, of the woman, and those also of the promised husband. In short, he would have to fight with all of them." In such fights, when the missiles were exhausted, the combatants closed on each other with knives, a dense ring of blacks forming round them to see fair play. The knives were formerly of stone, but in later times of iron, sometimes made out of a sheep-shears blade, ground to a sharp edge. The fight was sometimes to the death. The offender always came off worst, there were so many against him. In any case the woman was terribly gashed with the knives. Her own mother would cut and sometimes kill her. If she survived, she was compelled to go with her betrothed or to return to her husband, if she were already married.<sup>2</sup>

Punish-  
ment of  
irregular  
marriages  
in the  
Wakelbura  
tribe.

At festive meetings of the Wakelbura tribe men of the

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 221 sq. 224. It does not appear what is the English equivalent of the totem name

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-*tunara*.

Exchange of wives, etc., among the Wakelbura.

same totem exchanged wives for two or three days, and they also lent women to friendly visitors, provided these were of the proper class, subclass, and totem. A widow went to the brother of her deceased husband, or, if there were none, to his best friend of the same totem. The brother must be of the same mother, but might be of a different father. If children of an unlawful amour or unlawful marriage were allowed to live, they were called "mongrels" (*kongara*), and belonged to their mother's subclass; for instance, if she were Wungo, her illegitimate child would be Wungo also, but it would have no totem.<sup>1</sup>

Group-marriage in the Wakelbura tribe.

"In this tribe, as will be seen from the following example, there was group-marriage. Say that there are seven men, all Mallera-kurgilla-small-bee, and who are, some own, and some tribal brothers. One of these men is married, his wife being Wutheran-obukan-carpet-snake. None of the other six men is married. They and the woman married to their brother call each other husband and wife, and the six men have and exercise marital rights as to her. Her child calls each of these six men father, as well as the seventh man, who is the actual husband of its mother, and the six men have to protect the child. This clearly is a form of the *pirrauru* marriage of the Lake Eyre tribes. The importance of this occurrence in a tribe, so distant from those of Lake Eyre, is that the Wakelbura is one of a large group of tribes who have the same organisation."<sup>2</sup>

Capture of wives from other tribes.

In the group of tribes to which the Wakelbura belonged women were sometimes captured by the tribes who came to attend an initiation or other ceremony. This was done when the ceremonies were over, and the people were going homewards. But it was the visitors who captured women from their hosts, not the hosts who captured them from their guests. However, an opportunity for such a rape did not always present itself, for the practice was well known and the women were closely guarded. Yet at times a woman would wait till the visitors were gone two or three days on their homeward journey, and then steal after the man who had won her heart, and who lingered behind the rest for her.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 224.

A captured woman belonged to her captor, if she were of the class and totem with which he might marry. But he did not keep her if she had been severely mauled with knives. The issue of such a union was called *ungkara* or *unguru*, which also means "mongrel."<sup>1</sup>

The initiation ceremonies of the Wakelbura tribe are called *Umba*. They can only be held by men of the primary class Mallera or of the primary class Wuthera, not by both combined. Men of one primary class initiate the boys of the other primary class. Thus men of the primary class Wuthera initiate boys of the Kurgilla and Banbe subclasses, which together compose the other primary class Mallera. This is in accordance with the usual rule of Australian tribes that men of one moiety initiate the youths of the other moiety. The reason for the rule, as Dr. Howitt has pointed out, "seems to be that it is only when the youth has been admitted to the rights and privileges of manhood in the tribe that he can obtain a wife. As his wife comes to him from the other moiety, it is the men of that moiety who must be satisfied that he is, in fact, able to take his place as the provider for, and the protector of, the woman, their sister, who is to be his wife. In this connection one can therefore see why it is that the future wife's brother, who is also his sister's husband, is the guardian of the youth in the ceremonies."<sup>2</sup>

Initiation ceremonies of the Wakelbura.

In the Wakelbura and kindred tribes everything in the world, both animate and inanimate, is arranged under the two classes Mallera and Wuthera, and belongs in a manner to the members of one or other of these classes.<sup>3</sup> From

Subtotems among the Wakelbura.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 224 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 607 sq.

In this passage Dr. Howitt says that the Wakelbura practice is an exception to the rule that men of one moiety initiate the youths of the other moiety. But the example which he gives (the initiation of Kurgilla-Bambe boys by Wuthera men), if it is correctly reported, refutes his statement, since Wuthera is the other moiety from Kurgilla-Bambe. He says: "The ceremonies are called *Umba*, and can

only be held by Malera or Wuthera men, not by both combined. Thus if there are Kurgilla and Banbe boys to be made men, it would be Wuthera men who would hold the *Umba*, that is to say, the men of the one subclass Kurgilla initiate the boys of the other subclass Banbe, or *vice versa*." There seems to be some confusion in this statement.

<sup>3</sup> J. C. Muirhead, cited by Dr. A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 438 note<sup>2</sup>; *id.*, xviii. (1889) p. 61 note<sup>3</sup>.

this curious classification of the universe are derived various practical rules, which confer certain privileges and impose certain restrictions on members of the classes and subclasses. Thus in regard to diet all the game and other food is divided into two sorts called Mallera and Wuthera respectively, and the Mallera primary class eats Mallera food, while the Wuthera primary class eats Wuthera food. Moreover, each subclass has its special sorts of food allotted to it, of which alone it is permitted to partake. The Banbe subclass is restricted to opossum, kangaroo, dog, honey of small bee, etc. The Wungo subclass has for its food emu, bandicoot, black duck, black snake, brown snake, etc. The Obu subclass eats carpet-snakes, honey of the stinging bee, etc. And the Kurgilla subclass lives on porcupine, plain-turkey, etc. To the Kurgilla also belong apparently water, rain, fire, and thunder, and they enjoy the reputation of being able to make rain at pleasure. If a Wungo man, camped out by himself, were to dream that he had killed a porcupine, he would believe that next day he would see a Kurgilla man, since the porcupine is one of the animals on which Kurgilla men live.<sup>1</sup> On this subject we read further that "certain animals are the especial game of each class. Obu, for instance, claims as his game emu and wallaby, and if he wishes to invite his fellows of the same subclass, in a neighbouring tribe, to hunt the common game, he must do this by means of a message-stick, made from the wood of a tree which is, like themselves, of the Obu subclass."<sup>2</sup> "If a young man or young woman of the Wakelbura tribe eats forbidden game, such as emu, black-headed snake, porcupine, they will become sick, and probably pine away and die, uttering the sounds peculiar to the creature in question. It is believed that the spirit of the creature enters into them

Among the Wakelbura each class and subclass has its own special kinds of food.

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 27, on the authority of Mr. James [C.] Muirhead, where the names of the subclasses are given as Kargilla, Banbey, Wongoo, Oboo.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 113. "I learn from Mr. J. C. Muirhead that the practice of sending a message through a totem [*i.e.* by a messenger of the same totem as the sender of the message]

occurs in Northern Queensland, and further, that even the message-stick which is carried by the messenger must be made of some tree which belongs to the same class division as both the sender and the bearer of the message. In the tribes referred to, the whole universe is, so to say, arranged under the two primary class" (A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 438 note<sup>2</sup>.)

and kills them.”<sup>1</sup> A similar belief, as we have seen, used to prevail in Samoa as to the effect of eating the flesh of a tabooed or sacred animal.<sup>2</sup>

Further, when a Wakelbura man desires to perform a magical rite, he must use for the purpose only things which are of the same class as himself, and when he dies he is laid on a stage made of the branches and covered with the leafy boughs of a tree of his class.<sup>3</sup> For example, if the deceased was of the Banbe subclass, boughs of the broad-leaved box-tree would be used to cover him, because that tree is of the Banbe subclass. Men of the primary class Mallera would lay the boughs on the corpse, since the Mallera class includes the two subclasses Banbe and Kurgilla. Further, after placing the body on the stage, they carefully work the ground underneath with their feet into dust, and smooth it so that the slightest mark or print on it can be observed. Then they make a large fire near the spot and retire to their camp. But before they leave the place they mark the trees in such a way that this “blazed line” leads back to the frame with the corpse. This they do to prevent the dead man from following them. Next morning the relations of the deceased inspect the ground under the corpse. If the track or mark of a beast, bird, or reptile is visible in the dust, they infer from it the totem of the person who caused the death of their kinsman by witchcraft. For example, if a black or brown snake has been there, the culprit must be a Wungo man; if a carpet-snake has crawled over the dust, the guilty man must be an Obu, because carpet-snakes are Obu; if a native dog has left the print of his feet, the murderer must be a Banbe man, since dogs are of the Banbe subclass; and so on. But if no animal had left its tracks on the prepared ground, the friends of the deceased would try to frighten the ghost out of his bark shroud. Failing in the attempt, they would again smooth down the dust and return morning and evening to the spot, till they caught the ghost and learned from him

Subtotems of the Wakelbura in magical and funeral rites.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 113, and in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, p. 769.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 17 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 113, and in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 61 note<sup>3</sup>, citing Mr. J. C. Muirhead as his authority.

who had been the cause of his death. When they had ascertained this to their satisfaction, they would bury the body temporarily for two months, then dig it up, chop it in pieces, and making as small a parcel of it as possible give it to the mother or sister of the deceased to carry to all the meetings of the tribe, till the death was avenged. Sometimes a man's remains would be carried about thus for two years. When the woman tired of her burden, she would drop it down the stem of a hollow tree and strip a ring from the bark of the trunk to mark the spot.<sup>1</sup>

Subtotems  
in other  
tribes.

This remarkable distribution of all the objects of nature under the exogamous classes and subclasses of the tribe is not peculiar to the Wakelbura. Examples of similar classifications in other Australian tribes have already been noticed.<sup>2</sup> The various objects which, without being a man's totem, are yet reckoned to his class and subclass have been called by Dr. Howitt subtotems.<sup>3</sup> The precise relation in which a man's subtotems stand to his totem is not clear to us, and probably the ideas of the natives themselves on the subject are vague; but we are told that "among all the natural objects of his class, there is some one which is nearer to him than any other. He bears its name, and it is his totem."<sup>4</sup>

The Port  
Mackay  
tribe in  
Queens-  
land, its  
classes and  
subclasses.

The class system of the Wakelbura was found also, with some variation of nomenclature, in the tribe which inhabited the district of Port Mackay on the eastern coast of Queensland, to the north of Broad Sound. In this tribe the names of the two primary classes were Yungaru and Wutaru, of which the latter clearly corresponds to the Wuthera of the Wakelbura. The names of the subclasses were Gurgela, Bunbai, Wungo, and Kubaru, which answer to the Kurgilla, Banbe, Wungo, and Obu of the Wakelbura. And the rules of marriage and descent were the same. Thus a Gurgela man married a Kubaru woman and the children

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Muirhead, quoted by Dr. A. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 191 note <sup>1</sup>; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 28 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 78-80, 133-136. See also below, pp. 431 sq., 451 sqq., 462

sq., 470 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group Relations," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1883*, p. 818.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 113.

were Wungo. A Bunbai man married a Wungo woman and the children were Kubaru. A Wungo man married a Bunbai woman and the children were Gurgela. A Kubaru man married a Gurgela woman and the children were Bunbai. To put it in tabular form :—<sup>1</sup>

## PORT MACKAY TRIBE

*Marriage and Descent*

Husband.	Wife.	Children.
Yungaru { Gurgela Bunbai	Kubaru Wungo	Wungo Kubaru
Wutaru { Wungo Kubaru	Bunbai Gurgela	Gurgela Bunbai

In this tribe it was deemed shameful and unnatural if a man cohabited with a woman of a wrong class. Every Gurgela man called every other Gurgela his brother, every Kubaru woman his wife, and every Wungo his son, unless the Wungo man belonged to the preceding generation, in which case the Gurgela man called him father.<sup>2</sup> Hence it appears that the Port Mackay tribe employed the classificatory system of relationship in the Port Mackay tribe.

Like the Wakelbura, the Port Mackay tribe appeared to imagine that the system of their exogamous classes was a universal law of nature, so they divided everything between them. They said that wind belongs to one class, and the rain to the other ; that alligators are Yungaru and kangaroos

<sup>1</sup> Mr. G. F. Bridgman, cited by E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 45 sq., and by R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 91. In the latter passage the name of one of the subclasses is given as Bembia instead of Bunbai. Compare Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 34. As with the Wakelbura, the feminine forms of the subclass names are formed by post-fixing *an* to the masculine. As usual I have omitted these feminine forms for the sake of simplicity.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 47. Compare Mr. G. F. Bridgman, quoted by R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 91: "On the system just described hinges [*sic*] all their ideas of relationship. Their terms for father, mother, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, etc., etc., are by no means synonymous with ours, but convey different ideas," etc.

Wutaru; that the sun is Yungaru and the moon Wutaru; and so on with the constellations, with the trees, and with the plants. If you pointed out a star to them, they would tell you to which class it belonged.<sup>1</sup>

The Buntamurra tribe of Queensland, its subclasses and totems.

Another tribe whose subclass system conforms to that of the Wakelbura is the Buntamurra in South-Western Queensland. The territory of the tribe reaches from about Thargominda in the south to Kaiabara Creek on the north-west, to the Paroo River on the east, and a good way up the Bulloo River northwards. The tribe is distant about four hundred miles in a straight line from the Wakelbura, and marks the extreme southern limit of this particular type of the four-subclass system. On the other side, towards the south, it borders on the two-class system of the Darling River tribes.<sup>2</sup> The names of the two primary classes of the Buntamurra have not been ascertained, but the names of the four subclasses are Gurgela, Banbari, Wongo, and Guberu, which correspond to the Kurgilla, Banbe, Wungo, and Obu of the Wakelbura. The following is a list of the totem clans arranged under the subclasses:—<sup>3</sup>

#### BUNTAMURRA TRIBE

Subclasses.	Totems.
{ Gurgela	Kangaroo, padi-melon, wallaby, eagle-hawk.
{ Banbari	Crow, mountain snake, porcupine ( <i>Echidna sp.</i> ).
{ Wongo	Wild goose, wild turkey, white duck, swan, opossum, diving duck.
{ Guberu	Bandicoot, iguana, smallest iguana.

As in the Kongulu tribe, the feminine forms of the subclass

<sup>1</sup> G. F. Bridgman, quoted by R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 91, and by Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 167 sq.; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 45.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 113 sq., 226. In the former passage Gurgela, Banbari, and Guberu are spelled Gurgilla, Banbari, and Guberu.

names were formed by postfixing *gun* to the masculine form, as masculine Guberu, feminine Guberugun.<sup>1</sup>

The rules of marriage and descent of the classes and subclasses in the Buntamurra are normal; that is, a Gurgela man marries a Guberu woman and the children are Wongo. A Banbari man marries a Wongo woman and the children are Guberu. A Wongo man marries a Banbari woman and the children are Gurgela. A Guberu man marries a Gurgela woman and the children are Banbari. To put this in tabular form:—<sup>2</sup>

Marriage and descent in the Buntamurra.

THE BUNTAMURRA TRIBE

*Marriage and Descent*

Husband.	Wife.	Children.
{ Gurgela Banbari	Guberu Wongo	Wongo Guberu
{ Wongo Guberu	Banbari Gurgela	Gurgela Banbari

As usually happens under this system, children take their totem from their mother, while their subclass is the complementary subclass of hers. For example, if a Wongo-opossum man married a Banbari-crow woman, the son and daughter of the marriage would be Gurgela-crows; and if this Gurgela-crow woman married a Guberu-bandicoot man, the son and daughter would be Banbari-crows, just like their maternal grandmother. Thus in the direct female line the totem (in this case crow) would never change, but it would alternate between the two subclasses (in this case Banbari and Gurgela) of a moiety in alternate generations. Yet the native informant in this as in other tribes with the four-subclass system asserted that each subclass had its own totems, and in accordance with this statement the totems of the Buntamurra are arranged

Alternation of the totems between the two subclasses of a moiety.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 114. As to the feminine subclass names of the

Kongulu, see above, p. 420 note <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 226.

under the various subclasses in the table above. It is difficult to understand why certain totems should be thought to belong to a particular subclass, when the regular rule of descent in the four-subclass system necessitates the alternation of the totem between the two subclasses of a moiety in alternate generations; from which it seems to follow that though the totems are certainly divided between the two moieties or classes, they are not subdivided between the two subclasses which compose a moiety or class. The only explanation of the native statements that each subclass has its own totems would seem to be the one suggested by Dr. Howitt, namely, that the native who has been questioned on the subject has had in his mind his own subclass and the subclasses of some of his acquaintances, and that he has accordingly assigned to these subclasses the particular totems which he himself and they happened to possess, forgetting that these totems would in every case pass into another subclass in the next generation.<sup>1</sup>

### § 6. Tribes with two Classes and Male Descent

Tribes with  
two classes  
and male  
descent.

We have now concluded our survey of tribes with a normal class system and female descent in South-Eastern Australia. The tribes which combine the regular class system with male descent appear to be far less numerous, and we shall therefore be able to dismiss them more rapidly. Just as in dealing with tribes which have female descent, we shall begin with the simpler social organisation in two primary classes before we take up the more complex organisation in two primary classes and four subclasses.

The Kulin  
nation, its  
territory.

The Kulin nation, which was organised in two classes with male descent, occupied a large area of Central and Southern Victoria, ranging from Colac and Murchison on the west to Mount Baw Baw and Wangaratta on the east, and touching the sea at Port Phillip and Western Port on the south.<sup>2</sup> Thus their country comprised a great part of

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 210, 221, 226 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 70.

the high Victorian mountains with their woods and waters. The lofty and extensive uplands from which Mount Baw Baw rises are still covered with dense forests of gum-trees, traversed by paths and roads leading to the camps of the miners.<sup>1</sup> Here the great spurs sent out by the central mountains enclose valleys through which rivers flow northward to join the Murray or southward into Bass Strait. Tribes of the Kulin nation claimed these rivers to their sources in the Alpine heights, where they hunted in summer as soon as the inhospitable snows of winter had melted.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately very little has been recorded of the class organisation of the Kulin people. However, Dr. Howitt obtained some scanty information from a few survivors of Wurunjerri, Thagunworung, and Galgalbaluk tribes, which are now practically extinct. As to the other tribes of the nation all he could learn was that they had the names of the two primary classes Bunjil (Eagle-hawk) and Waang (Crow). These two class names, Eagle-hawk and Crow, appear to have extended, with slight variations, over Victoria north and south for a distance of a hundred and seventy miles, from Echuca to Port Phillip Heads, and east and west for a distance of two hundred miles from St. Arnaud to Buffalo.<sup>3</sup> In the Jajaurung tribe the class name Bunjil (Eagle-hawk) was replaced by Wrepil, which also meant Eagle-hawk. As to the totems of the Kulin nothing definite is known, except that in the Wurunjerri tribe there was a totem the swamp-hawk (*thara*) in the Eagle-hawk class.<sup>4</sup> However, traces of totemism may perhaps be detected in the legends told of certain mythical animals, which are called the sons or the boys of Bunjil, and are said to have been carried up with him when he went aloft in a whirlwind, being wafted to the upper regions by a blast which the Musk-crow at his order let out of a skin-bag. Among the sons of Bunjil are the green parroquet, the blue mountain parrot, the

The Kulin were divided into two classes, Eagle-hawk and Crow.

Traces of totemism among the Kulin.

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Gregory, *Australasia*, i. 388.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 36 sq., 72.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 126, 252. However, elsewhere Dr. Howitt, writ-

ing of this group of tribes, observes that "the two intermarrying divisions were Eaglehawk (Bunjil) and Crow (Waa), and there was one totem attached to the Crow division" (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 47).

swamp-hawk, the nankeen kestrel, the flying mouse, and the brush-tailed Phascologale; and all of them, with the possible exception of the flying mouse, may be seen to this day shining as stars in the sky. Bunjil himself, according to the Wurunjerrri, is the star Altair; the brush-tailed Phascologale is Achernar; the swamp-hawk and the nankeen kestrel glitter in the constellation of the Centaur; while the green parroquet and the blue mountain parrot add fresh lustre to the nocturnal glories of the Southern Cross.<sup>1</sup>

Rules of marriage and descent among the Kulin.

In respect of marriage the Kulin nation observed the usual law of the classes; for an Eagle-hawk (Bunjil) man must marry a Crow (Waang) woman, and a Crow man must marry an Eagle-hawk woman. But contrary to the custom of the tribes of South-Eastern Australia which we have hitherto been considering, children took their class from their father and not from their mother; hence the children of an Eagle-hawk man and a Crow woman were Eagle-hawks, and the children of a Crow man and an Eagle-hawk woman were Crows.<sup>2</sup> A curious rule of etiquette was observed by Eagle-hawk and Crow men of the Wurunjerrri tribe. When they were encamped at the same fire, each man had his own stick to stir it with and to cook his food. If he touched the stick of a man of the other class he thought that his fingers would swell, and that he would have to go to the medicine-man in order to have the wood drawn out from his hand.<sup>3</sup>

The institution of the exogamous classes was ascribed by the Kulin to Bunjil, a celestial headman.

The institution of the marriage laws was attributed by the Kulin to the sagacity of Bunjil. In spite of his name, which means Eagle-hawk, Bunjil appears in the legends as a kindly old man, the head of his tribe, who lived up in the sky with his two Black Swan wives, and his son the Rainbow. He made earth, trees, and mankind, fashioning men out of clay and then causing them to live, while his brother the Bat (Vallina) brought women up out of the water to be the wives of these Australian Adams. The interest of Eagle-

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 128. For the ascension of Bunjil to heaven, see *id.*, pp. 491 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 252; *id.*, "Further Notes on the Australian Class

Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 47 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 401.

hawk or Bunjil in the human race did not cease with his creation of them out of clay. He taught them the arts of life, and when they married without any regard to kinship he showed them a better way. It is said that a deputation consisting of two medicine-men, waited upon him in his mansion aloft, and received from him the sage advice that Eagle-hawk should be on this side and Crow on that, and that Eagle-hawk should always marry Crow, and Crow marry Eagle-hawk. Which accordingly they did ever afterwards. In their simple speech the name of Bunjil or Eagle-hawk, the creator and benefactor of mankind, was a synonym for wisdom or knowledge, and they called him "Our Father."<sup>1</sup> We need not suppose that the Kulin learned these childish fancies from the whites.

While in the northern tribes of the Kulin nation, for example in the Bangerang tribe, Eagle-hawks and Crows were intermixed and scattered over the tribal country, in the southern tribes of the nation, for example, in the Wurunjerri and Bunurong, the members of these two exogamous classes Eagle-hawk and Crow were segregated from each other and dwelt in separate districts, so that the rule of class exogamy was combined with a rule of local exogamy; that is, a man had to marry a woman not only of the other class but also of another district.<sup>2</sup> This is the first instance we have hitherto met with of that custom of local exogamy which we shall find in the sequel practised by several coastal tribes of South-Eastern Australia. Amongst the exogamous districts of these Southern Kulin tribes were the following.<sup>3</sup> The watershed of the Yarra River, which flows through Melbourne from the eastern highlands, was occupied by the Warunjerri-baluk, who were all Crows. The western slopes of Mount Macedon, the summit of which looks down from the north on the spreading bay of Port Phillip, and westward over the beautiful and fertile lands of Australia Felix,<sup>4</sup> were inhabited by another Crow people, the Gunung-willam-

In the Southern Kulin tribes exogamy of the classes was combined with local exogamy: a man had to marry a woman of another district as well as of another class.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 484, 491 sq. Compare *id.*, "On some Australian Beliefs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) pp. 192, 193, 194.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 126 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> J. W. Gregory, *Australasia*, i. 63.

baluk. Some forty miles to the east of Melbourne yet another Crow people, the Ngaruk-willam, had their home on the southern side of that vast pile of igneous rocks known as the Dandenong Ranges, where in the ravines the gum-trees soar to a height of over four hundred feet.<sup>1</sup> And the Bunurong people, who were all Eagle-hawks, inhabited the sea coast from the Werribee River to Anderson's Inlet, and inland till they touched the southern boundaries of the Crows.

Inter-marriage of the tribes near Melbourne.

With regard to the intermarriage of these clans or tribes of Eagle-hawks and Crows, each occupying its separate territory, Protector Thomas, quoted by Dr. Howitt, has said that "between the five nearest tribes to Melbourne there is a kind of confederacy or relationship. Thus the Yarra, Western Port, Geelong, Goulburn, and Devil's River tribes, though continually quarrelling, nevertheless are in a degree united. A Yarra black must get himself a wife, not out of his own tribe, but either of the other tribes. In like manner a Goulburn man must get his lubra<sup>2</sup> from the Yarra, Devil's River, Western Port, or Geelong tribe. Thus a kind of social compact is formed against any distant tribe who might intrude upon their country, when all united to expel the intruder."<sup>3</sup>

Girls given in marriage

In the Kulin nation it was the father of a girl who disposed of her in marriage "through and by his elder brother," but before doing so he talked the matter over with his wife. However, the actual exchange of girls in marriage took place only by the authority of the respective fathers, when the assembled old men had decided that the damsels were old enough to be married. Each girl would then be sent away under the care of her elder brother, who brought back his brother's future wife.<sup>4</sup> In these tribes all

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i, 49 sq.; J. W. Gregory, *Australasia*, i, 388.

<sup>2</sup> That is, wife.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 252 sq. Mr. Thomas's evidence was given before a committee of the Legislative Council of Victoria in 1858.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 253. However, on p. 255 Dr. Howitt writes: "The actual ceremony of marriage was by the girl's father and some of the old men taking the girl to the camp of her promised husband, and there saying to her, 'That is your husband; if you run away from him, you will be punished.'"

marriages between first cousins, without exception, whether the children of two brothers, or of two sisters, or of a brother and a sister respectively, were absolutely forbidden, it being held that the children of brothers and sisters were too near to each other to marry.<sup>1</sup> Hence it would seem that by a simple prohibition the Kulin attained the same object which the Arunta and other central tribes secured by the more complicated machinery of the eight-class system; that is, they prevented a man's children from marrying his sister's children, for the other marriages between first cousins (viz. the marriage between the children of two brothers and the marriage between the children of two sisters) were already barred by the two-class system as well as by the four-class system, whether with male or female descent.<sup>2</sup> Indeed the Kulin went even further and forbade the marriage not only of a man's children with his sister's children, but also of the descendants of these children on both sides as far as the relationship could be traced; for such descendants were still held to be "too near" and only a little removed from "brother and sister."<sup>3</sup> This extended prohibition marks an advance on the system of the Urabunna, which not only allows but enjoins the marriage of a man's children with his sister's children, though the brother and sister whose children marry each other need be brother and sister only in the classificatory sense of the terms.<sup>4</sup> The adoption of male descent by the Kulin may also, though it need not necessarily,<sup>5</sup> be another stage on the upward road of these savages towards civilisation. Certainly their unhesitating recognition of physical paternity is a clear gain to knowledge which distinguishes them from the Arunta and other central tribes. They told Dr. Howitt that "the child comes from the man, and the woman only takes care of it." On this subject one of Dr. Howitt's native informants said, "I remember what old Boberi, the brother of Billibilleri, said at Dandenong, when

All marriages between cousins forbidden.

Recognition of physical paternity.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 180 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 257. This statement seems to apply particularly to the Bangerang tribe, which

lived at the junction of the Goulburn and Murray Rivers. It was one of the northern tribes of the Kulin (A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 126).

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 177 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 167, 248 sq., 335 sq.

some of the boys were grumbling and would not mind him. The old man got vexed, and said to his son, 'Listen to me! I am here, and there you stand with my body!'"<sup>1</sup>

Punish-  
ment of  
unlawful  
marriages.

If a girl eloped with a man who was within the forbidden degrees, all the young men gave chase, and if they overtook the culprits they mauled or even killed them. Sometimes a man of one local tribe would carry off a woman from another local tribe. When that happened, the headman of the injured tribe sent a challenge to the offender to come and fight. The people on both sides then mustered and fought, the men attacking the men with boomerangs, spears, and shields, while the women belaboured each other with digging sticks. A widow went to the brother of her deceased husband. If there were no brother, her father or her brother disposed of her.<sup>2</sup>

Mutual  
avoidance  
of mother-  
in-law and  
son-in-law,  
etc.

In the Kulin nation, as in Australian tribes generally, a man might hold no communication with his wife's mother and her sister, nor might a woman look at or speak to her daughter's husband and his brother. If she did so, it was thought that her hair would turn white. Hence when a man sent a present of game to his father-in-law, the mother-in-law would rub charcoal over her face, and especially over her mouth, before she would venture to partake of the meat; after that she might eat of it safely without her hair blanching.<sup>3</sup>

Blood-  
revenge  
among the  
Wurun-  
jerri.

In the Wurunjjerri tribe, when a man of one class, say an Eagle-hawk, was called on to appear and answer for having killed a man of the other class, say a Crow, all his fellow Eagle-hawk men would stand on one side under their headman, and all the Crow men, the kindred of his victim, would stand on the other side also under their headman. Then the avengers would throw spears at the culprit till he was either killed or so hurt that he could no longer defend himself, or until his headman called out "Enough."<sup>4</sup> The Wurunjjerri, like so many Australian tribes, were governed by the old men, among whom individuals distinguished for

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 255-257.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 256 sq.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 336.

their sagacity and good character were especially listened to and obeyed. Each local group had its headman, and of these headmen one was recognised as the head of all. Some of these men were great warriors, others great orators, and greatest of all, at the time when Melbourne was founded, was a celebrated bard.<sup>1</sup>

The Wurunjerri tribe had the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applied the same term *mamen* to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters; and he applied the same term *babun* to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. In his own generation he applied the same term *bangan* to his brothers, to the sons of his father's brothers, and to the sons of his mother's sisters. He applied the same term *bimbang* to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives; and a wife applied the same term *nangurung* to her husband, to her husband's brothers, and to her sisters' husbands. In the generation below his own a man applied the same term *mumum* to his sons, to his brothers' sons, and to the sons of his wife's sisters. Similarly a woman applied the same term *wurungin* to her sons and to her sisters' sons.<sup>2</sup>

### § 7. Tribes with four Subclasses and Male Descent

In South-Eastern Queensland, round about Maryborough, there was a group of tribes with four subclasses and male descent. Their territory stretched along the coast as far south as Brisbane and northward somewhat beyond latitude 25°. Inland it extended for a distance of about two hundred miles.<sup>3</sup> The country occupied by these tribes belongs in respect of climate and fertility to the most

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 307, 308.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group-Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 287 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 58-60, 115, with the map facing p. 90. Dr. Howitt observes (pp. 117 sq.): "I am not able

to define the northern limits of this class system, but it must be south of Rockhampton, for a new set of names comes in there with female descent, of which the Kuinmurbura tribe, which occupied the peninsula between Broad Sound and Shoalwater Bay, is the example." As to the system of the Kuinnmurbura tribe, see above, pp. 417 sqq.

Natural  
fertility of  
their  
country.

favoured regions of Australia. Compared with the rest of Queensland this eastern or coastal district "is the most varied, the most fertile, and in every way the most important. It has the best climate, the richest soil, the highest mountains, and the most beautiful scenery, and it comprises the larger portion of the settled country. Its abundant rains and high temperature make it suited to the growth of almost all tropical and sub-tropical products, while sheep and cattle also thrive in it. It is almost wholly covered with wood, either scrub or forest, and has much fine woodland scenery and a very luxuriant vegetation. The coast is thickly strewn with islands, which often form fine harbours; and within the tropics the great Barrier coral-reef extends itself at some miles from the coast, producing a calm sea, in which are numerous islands of various sizes, and offering scenes of great beauty."<sup>1</sup> As a great part of Queensland lies within the tropics, its climate is more uniformly hot than that of the southern portions of the continent. Yet it may be doubted whether the heat is so oppressive here as further south, for Queensland suffers neither from the scorching winds nor from the sudden and extreme changes of temperature which are such trying features in the climate of other parts of Australia. Though the rainfall in all the coast districts is heavy, yet during much of the year the weather is fine, the sky cloudless, the atmosphere dry and exhilarating. At Brisbane the winter is a delightful season, with cool mornings and evenings, bright and warm days, the sky always blue, and the air wonderfully transparent.<sup>2</sup>

Great  
diminution  
of these  
tribes.

About the year 1859 the blacks who inhabited this happy land might be counted by thousands, and they strictly observed their native customs; but by the year 1888 the whole of the Maryborough tribes, with which we are here concerned, could not muster a hundred and fifty individuals all told.<sup>3</sup> Surrounding them on the inland side were tribes with the system of four subclasses and female descent,<sup>4</sup> which has already been dealt with.<sup>5</sup> Of the tribes with four subclasses

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. 349. The Barrier Reef does not skirt the territory of the tribes we are here concerned with; it begins further north.

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Wallace, *op. cit.*, i. 352,

353.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> Above, pp. 395 *sqq.*

and male descent the Kaiabara may be taken as a type. They inhabited the Bunya-Bunya mountains about sixty miles inland from Maryborough. The triennial harvest of the *bunya-bunya* tree, which grows in their country, was the occasion of great gatherings and festivities, to which other tribes were summoned from a distance by messengers.<sup>1</sup> The tree (*Pinus Bidwelliana*) is the principal constituent of a vast, scrubby, almost impassable forest which extends, or used to extend, between Wide Bay and the head of the River Boyne. Rising to a height sometimes of seventy feet, with a stem as straight as a mast, the *bunya-bunya* branches out at the top into a mass of cone-shaped foliage, and every three years it is laden with a magnificent crop of fruit, which was greedily eaten by the natives. The fruit grows in the shape of a pine-apple cheese, consisting of some fifty or more little triangular nuts, which adhere together in a bunch till they are quite ripe, when a sharp blow easily severs them. For six months, from November to May, all the blacks within a hundred miles used to eat these fruits and nothing else. It was their great jubilee, a season of gladness and festivity.<sup>2</sup> The Kaiabara were divided into two primary classes called Kubatine and Dilebi, four subclasses called Bulkoin, Bunda, Baring, and Turowain, and totem clans. The names of the two primary classes (moieties) Kubatine and Dilebi are clearly identical with the Kupathin and Dilbi of the Kamilaroi system. The Kaiabara system may be exhibited in tabular form as follows :—<sup>3</sup>

## KAIABARA SYSTEM

Classes.	Subclasses.	Totems.
Kubatine {	Bulkoin Bunda	Carpet-snake, flood water, native cat, white eagle-hawk.
Dilebi {	Baring Turowain	Turtle, lightning, rock carpet-snake, bat, black eagle-hawk.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 60, 595, 768.

*Australia* (London, 1846), pp. 147 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 115 sq.;

<sup>2</sup> C. P. Hodgson, *Reminiscences of*

The Kaiabara tribe, its classes, subclasses, and totems.

Marriage  
and descent  
among the  
Kaiabara.

The rules of marriage and descent of the subclasses in the tribe are as follows. A Bulkoin man marries a Turowain woman and the children are Bunda. A Bunda man marries a Baring woman and the children are Bulkoin. A Baring man marries a Bunda woman and the children are Turowain. A Turowain man marries a Bulkoin woman and the children are Baring. To put this in tabular form :—<sup>1</sup>

KAIABARA TRIBE  
*Marriage and Descent*

Husband.	Wife.	Children.
Kubatine { Bulkoin { Bunda	Turowain Baring	Bunda Bulkoin
Dilebi { Baring { Turowain	Bunda Bulkoin	Turowain Baring

The four-class system, whether with male or female descent, was apparently devised to prevent the marriage of parents with children.

Thus a man must always marry a woman from one of the two subclasses in the other moiety of the tribe, and the children belong to the subclass neither of their father nor of their mother, but to the subclass which is complementary to their father's subclass. Hence the children always belong to their father's class (moiety), though never to his subclass. For example, if the father is Kubatine-Bulkoin, the children will be Kubatine-Bunda; if the father is Dilebi-Baring, the children will be Dilebi-Turowain. From this we see that the classes descend directly and the subclasses indirectly in the male line; in other words, every child belongs to its

*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 336. In the latter passage Dr. Howitt interprets the class names Dilebi and Cubatine as meaning "flood-water" and "lightning" respectively, while Baring is interpreted as "turtle," Turowain as "bat," Bulkoin as "carpet-snake," and Bunda as "native cat." But these interpretations are not repeated by Dr. Howitt in his book. Perhaps in his earlier statement (*Journal of the Anthropological In-*

*stitute*, l.c.) the names of the classes and subclasses were confused with those of the totems, of which none were given.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 228 sq. The Kaiabara had a mode of recording the four subclasses and their marriages in a diagrammatic form on a stick, the markings being made in such a manner as to represent a man with his arms crossed. See A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 230 sq.

father's class and to the subclass which is complementary to his. The general principle is the same as in the system of four subclasses with female descent; for in both systems a man is restricted in his choice of a wife to, roughly speaking, one fourth of the women of the tribe, and in both systems the children belong neither to the subclass of their father nor to that of their mother. The only difference is that in the one system the children belong to their father's complementary subclass and in the other system to their mother's complementary subclass; in the former accordingly there is male descent, in the latter there is female descent. In both systems the subclasses with their peculiar rule of descent appear to have been instituted for the purpose of preventing marriages between parents and children, and this purpose was effected very simply by the arrangement that children should always belong to a section of the community into which neither their father nor their mother was allowed to marry. To speak more exactly, the two-class system with female descent prevents a man from marrying his mother (because she is of the same class with him), but not from marrying his daughter (because she is of the other class). Conversely, the two-class system with male descent prevents a man from marrying his daughter (because she is of the same class with him), but not from marrying his mother (because she is of the other class). Hence where female descent prevailed, the introduction of the four subclasses was intended to prevent the marriage of a man with his daughter; where male descent prevailed, the introduction of the four subclasses was intended to prevent the marriage of a man with his mother. Marriages between brothers and sisters had already been prevented by the simpler division of the tribe into two exogamous classes; for under that system brothers and sisters always belonged to the same exogamous class, and therefore could not marry each other. That older two-class system was retained when the new four-class system was introduced, so that every man in the tribe had his class as well as his subclass, and was thus effectually debarred from marrying his sister, his mother, or his daughter. Only in speaking of brothers and sisters, and parents and children, we must remember that these terms are used in their wide classificatory

More exact statement of the effects of the two-class and four-class systems respectively.

sense so as to include many persons whom we should not designate by them. The intention first of the two-class and afterwards of the four-class system was to debar from each other whole groups of men and women between many of whom we should recognise no blood relationship whatever.<sup>1</sup>

Peculiar rule as to the descent of the totems in the Kaiabara tribe.

But while the rules of marriage and descent in the Kaiabara tribe are normal so far as the classes and subclasses are concerned, they are abnormal with respect to the totems. For whereas the rule of male descent, direct or indirect, prevails as to the classes and subclasses, the rule of female descent, with a certain peculiarity, prevails as to the totems, as may be seen by the following table:—<sup>2</sup>

KAIABARA TRIBE  
*Marriage and Descent of Totems*

Husband.		Wife.		Children.	
Kubatine.	Bulkoin carpet-snake	Turowain black eagle-hawk	Bunda white eagle-hawk	Bunda white eagle-hawk	white eagle-hawk
	Bunda native cat	Baring rock carpet-snake	Bulkoin scrub carpet-snake	Bulkoin scrub carpet-snake	scrub carpet-snake
Dilebi.	Baring turtle	Bunda white eagle-hawk	Turowain black eagle-hawk	Turowain black eagle-hawk	black eagle-hawk
	Turowain bat	Bulkoin female carpet-snake	Baring scrub carpet-snake	Baring scrub carpet-snake	scrub carpet-snake

Hence it appears that though the child takes his father's class and the subclass which is complementary to his father's subclass, he takes a totem which is neither that of his father nor that of his mother, but which is more akin to that of his mother, since it is a beast or bird of the same species as hers but of a different colour or sex. For example, if a Carpet-snake man marries a Black Eagle-hawk woman, the children are White Eagle-hawks; if a Turtle man marries a White Eagle-hawk woman, the children are Black Eagle-hawks. And so with the rest. The custom seems to be an attempt to extend to the totems the rule of alternation

<sup>1</sup> See also above, pp. 271 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 229 *sq.*

in alternate generations which prevails with the subclasses, so that just as the child takes a subclass which is neither that of his father nor that of his mother, but which is akin to one of them, so he should take a totem which is neither that of his father nor that of his mother, but which is akin to one of them. Only it is curious that, with male descent of the class and subclass, the totem of the child should be akin to that of its mother instead of to that of its father.

The Kaiabara had the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applied the same term *baboin* to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters; and he applied the same term *avang* to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. In his own generation he applied the same term *nuni* to his brothers and to the sons of his father's brothers. He applied the same term *malemungan* to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives; and a woman applied the same term *malaume* to her husband, to her husband's brothers, and to her sisters' husbands. In the generation below his own a man applied the same term *nogoin* to his sons and to his brothers' sons. Similarly a woman applied the same term *nogoin* to her sons and to her sisters' sons.<sup>1</sup>

Classificatory system of relationship among the Kaiabara.

In the tribes between the Kaiabara and the sea the names of the subclasses, though substantially the same as those of the Kaiabara, varied slightly in form; but the rules of marriage and descent, so far as concerns the classes and subclasses, appear to have been in some of the tribes identical. This may be seen by the following table:—<sup>2</sup>

The tribes about Maryborough in Queensland, their classes and subclasses.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group-Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 287 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 116 sq., 231. However, in regard to the tables of marriage and descent which were collected for him by Mr. H. E.

Aldridge among these tribes and in Great Sandy Island, Dr. Howitt observes that they "differed considerably amongst themselves in the arrangement of the subclasses and in the marriages and descents. So much so that the correctness of some of them seemed doubtful."

## TRIBES ABOUT MARYBOROUGH

*Marriage and Descent*

Husband.		Wife.	Children.
Kupathin	{ Balgoin Bunda	Theirwain Parang	Bunda Balgoin
Tilbi	{ Parang Theirwain	Bunda Balgoin	Theirwain Parang

Direct descent of the class and indirect descent of the subclass.

From this it will be seen that, just as among the Kaiabara, children belong to their father's class and to his complementary subclass. For example, if he is Kupathin-Balgoin and his wife Tilbi-Theirwain, the children will be Kupathin-Bunda; that is, they will be of their father's class Kupathin and of the subclass Bunda, which is complementary to his subclass Balgoin. Thus descent both of the class and of the subclass is in the male line; but whereas the descent of the class is direct (since the children belong to their father's class), descent of the subclass is indirect (since the children belong not to their father's subclass but to the one which is complementary to it).

Personal totems (*pincha*) among the Maryborough tribes.

A remarkable feature in the totemism of these tribes is reported by Dr. Howitt. He says: "In the tribes within fifty miles of Maryborough (Queensland), each boy has a totem called *Pincha*, which is given to him by his father, and which he calls *Noru*, that is, 'brother.' For instance, say that a man's *Pincha* is Fish-eagle (*kunka*), he gives to each of his sons a *Pincha*; for instance, to one a kangaroo (*guruman*), to another a large white grub (*pu-yung*) which is found in gum-trees, and so on. A man does not kill or eat his *Pincha*. Moreover, he is supposed to have some particular affinity to his father's *Pincha*, and is not permitted to eat it."<sup>1</sup> From this account it would seem that in these tribes every man had a personal totem which was assigned to him by his father, though on what principle the

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 147, on the authority of Mr. Harry E. Aldridge.

assignment was made does not appear, and the personal totems of brothers differed from each other as well as from that of their father. Parallel to the personal totems (*pincha*) of these Maryborough tribes are the *budjan* or *jimbir* of the Wiradjuri and the Yuin and the *thundung* or "elder brothers" of the Kurnai.<sup>1</sup>

In the Muruburra tribe, living at White Cliffs on Great Sandy Island, the names of the four subclasses were practically the same as in the Kaiabara and Maryborough tribes, and descent was in the male line both for the subclass and the totem; but the names of the two primary classes have not been ascertained. The following list of subclasses and totems was obtained by Dr. Howitt from a member of the Muruburra tribe, who was of the Theirwain class and the fire totem:—<sup>2</sup>

The Muruburra tribe, its subclasses and totems.

#### MURUBURRA TRIBE

##### *Class System*

Classes.	Subclasses.	Totems.
}	Balgoin	water-snake, carpet-snake, red kangaroo, emu, turtle, iguana.
	Bunda	black dingo, black duck, thunder, yellow dingo.
}	Baring	fish-hawk, bream.
	Theirwain	fire, opossum.

In this Queensland group of tribes with four subclasses and male descent, just as in the Kulin nation of Victoria with two classes and male descent,<sup>3</sup> the marriage of all cousins was forbidden; that is, not only were the children of two sisters and the children of two brothers forbidden to marry, as they necessarily are in all Australian tribes with a two- or four-class system, but the children of a brother and a sister were equally forbidden to marry, and for the

Marriage between cousins prohibited.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 412 *sq.*, and below, *South-East Australia*, pp. 117, 230. p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of* <sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 438 *sq.*

same reason, namely, that they were too near of kin. It sometimes, however, happened that cousins fell in love with each other and made a runaway match of it, but if they were caught they were severely punished and sometimes killed.<sup>1</sup>

Betrothal  
of girls and  
capture of  
women.

In these tribes wives were obtained in various ways. Sometimes girls were betrothed in their infancy to suitable men. A woman captured from a hostile tribe belonged to her captor, if she were of the proper class. Nearly all their fights resulted from the capture of women; indeed these people made forays for the purpose of carrying off wives.<sup>2</sup> Also there was a curious practice of capturing women after two tribes had met at the *Dora* or initiation ceremonies of young men. On the last evening, when the last dance was over, and the assembly was dispersing in the darkness, spreading out like a fan from the ceremonial ground, the young men of both sides of the community used to lie in wait for the women, then rush out and carry them off as they returned to their camps. This had to be done quietly, or the girls' friends would hear and rescue them. If the ravishers were confident in their numbers, they defended their captives; if not, they let them go and fled for their lives, sometimes receiving very ugly wounds from their pursuers. The women thus taken might be either married or single, but a preference was always shown for single women. A young man would learn beforehand which was the right girl for him, and when he seized her he would ask her of what class she was; for if she was not of the class into which he might marry he would at once let her go. His object was to get a wife of the right class. At such gatherings there was always some one who could tell everybody's class, subclass, and totem.<sup>3</sup>

Custom  
of the  
levirate.

When a man died, his surviving brother, whether elder or younger, might marry the widow; but he must be either

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 232. Yet Dr. Howitt tells us (*op. cit.* p. 230) that in the Muruburra tribe a man's proper wife was the daughter of his mother's brother. Perhaps the Muruburra were exceptional in permitting, or rather recommending, this case of

cousin-marriage.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 232, 235 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 233 *sq.* As to the *Dora* or initiation ceremonies of these tribes, see *id.* pp. 599-606.

a full or a half-brother in our sense of the word, and not merely a tribal brother.<sup>1</sup>

The tribes about Maryborough observed the usual rule of avoidance between son-in-law and mother-in-law. The two would never look at or towards each other. A man would hide himself anywhere or anyhow, if his wife's mother were near. The relation between them was called *mulong*.<sup>2</sup>

Mutual avoidance of mother-in-law and son-in-law.

### § 8. Tribes with Anomalous Class Systems and Female Descent

We have now completed our survey of the tribes with normal class systems, whether of the two-class or of the four-class type, in South-Eastern Australia. It remains to notice some tribes whose class systems present certain anomalous features. We begin with those which trace descent in the female line. Among these the first to be considered will be the Wotjobaluk, whose tribal name is derived from *wotjo*, "man," and *baluk*, "people."<sup>3</sup>

Tribes with anomalous marriage systems.

The Wotjobaluk occupied a considerable area of what is known as the Wimmera district of North-Western Victoria. Their country extended from the Wimmera to the Richardson River and northward to the salt lakes in which these streams lose themselves before they reach the Murray.<sup>4</sup> The whole of this district, as we have seen, consists of vast sandy plains, sparsely covered with grass and intersected with belts of scrub and forests of Casuarina, Banksia, and eucalyptus. The climate is very dry, the rainfall very low, and the drought sometimes severe.<sup>5</sup>

The Wotjobaluk of Victoria.

The Wotjobaluk were divided into two exogamous classes (moieties) called Krokitch and Gamutch respectively, and each of these classes included a number of totem clans, the members of which claimed to own various natural species and natural phenomena. The things which the

The Wotjobaluk, their classes and totems.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 236. Similarly among the tribes about Brisbane a man and his mother-in-law never looked at or spoke to each

other (A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 237).

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. 267 sq., 273. See above, pp. 316 sq.

members of a totem clan thus claimed as belonging to them may be called their subtotems. Examples of similar subtotems have met us before.<sup>1</sup> "The whole universe," says Dr. Howitt, "including mankind, was apparently divided between the classes. Therefore the list of subtotems might be extended indefinitely. It appears that a man speaks of some as being 'nearer to him' than others. I am unable to ascertain the precise meaning of this expression. When pressed upon this question, a black would say, 'Oh, that is what our fathers told us.'"<sup>2</sup> The social system of the Wotjobaluk tribe with its classes, totems, and subtotems is set forth in the following table:—<sup>3</sup>

## WOTJOBALUK SYSTEM

Classes.	Totems.	Subtotems.
Krokitch	the sun	{ the star Fomalhaut ( <i>Bunjil</i> ), plains turkey, opossum, a grub ( <i>gur</i> ), a tuber ( <i>garuka</i> ), grey kangaroo, red kangaroo.
	galah (or white) cockatoo	{ native companion, bandicoot, emu, mussel, musk duck, mountain duck, magpie goose.
	a cave	subtotems not known.
	pelican	" "
	carpet-snake	" "
	the hot wind	{ a venomous snake, a small snake, Pennant's lorikeet, a small bird ( <i>wurip</i> ), the moon.
a tuber ( <i>munya</i> )	subtotems not known.	

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 78-80, 133-136, 430, 431 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 454 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 121. Compare, *id.*, "Australian Group Rela-

tions," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1883*, pp. 818 sq.; *id.*, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 60-64.

WOTJOBALUK SYSTEM (*continued*)

Classes.	Totems.	Subtotems.
Gamutch	deaf adder	{ native cat, black swan, tiger-snake, sulphur-crested cockatoo, crow, dingo.
	the sea	subtotems not known.
	pelican	{ thunder, magpie, native cat, fire, white gull, white-bellied cormorant, small black cormorant, large cormorant, bulloak ( <i>Casuarina glauca</i> ), a wader, grey heron, chough.
	black cockatoo	{ a small iguana, lace-lizard, black duck, a small snake, teal duck, a bird ( <i>jering</i> ).

In this tribe the classes, totems, and subtotems are all called *mir*.<sup>1</sup> On the Wotjobaluk system Dr. Howitt observes that it appears to be a peculiar development of the two-class system of the Darling River tribes with totem clans but no subclasses.<sup>2</sup> But in the case of the Wotjobaluk, he says, "some of the totems have advanced almost to the grade of subclasses, and they have a markedly independent existence. The new features are the numerous groups of subtotems attached to the classes Gamutch and Krokitch respectively. It seems as if some of the totems of a two-class system had grown in importance, leaving the remaining totems behind in obscurity; and probably this has arisen through this tribe dividing the whole universe between the two classes, as, for instance, the Wiradjuri do."<sup>3</sup>

Peculiar features of Wotjobaluk totems.

As to the respect which a Wotjobaluk entertained for his totem animal, we are told that he "would not harm his totem if he could avoid it, but at a pinch he would eat it in default of other food. In order to injure

Intimate connection between a man and his totem.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 380 sqq.

another person he would, however, kill that person's totem. To dream about his own totem means that some one has done something to it for the purpose of harming the sleeper or one of his totemites. But if he dreams it again, it means himself, and if he thereupon falls ill, he will certainly see the wraith of the person who is trying to 'catch' him. The same beliefs are held by the other tribes of this nation."<sup>1</sup> Such beliefs illustrate the intimate connection which is supposed to subsist between a man and his totem; the totem animal appears to be to some extent identified with the man, since any injury done to it will be felt by him.

Relation  
of certain  
totems  
with each  
other.

Further, several of the totems are thought to be specially related to each other. Thus the sun totem (*ngau*) is in some way associated with the white cockatoo (*garchuka*) totem. For a man of the sun totem has been known to claim the white cockatoo as a second name of his totem (*mir*); he maintained that both Sun and White Cockatoo were his names, but that Sun was specially his name and White Cockatoo "came a little behind it." On the other hand, another man who claimed to be both Sun and White Cockatoo, said that he was especially White Cockatoo, and that Sun "came a little behind his White Cockatoo name." The exact relation of the two Dr. Howitt was not able to ascertain. He inclines to regard the two as "very slightly divergent branches of the same totem," or as "slightly divergent appendages of the class Krokitch, under new names."<sup>2</sup>

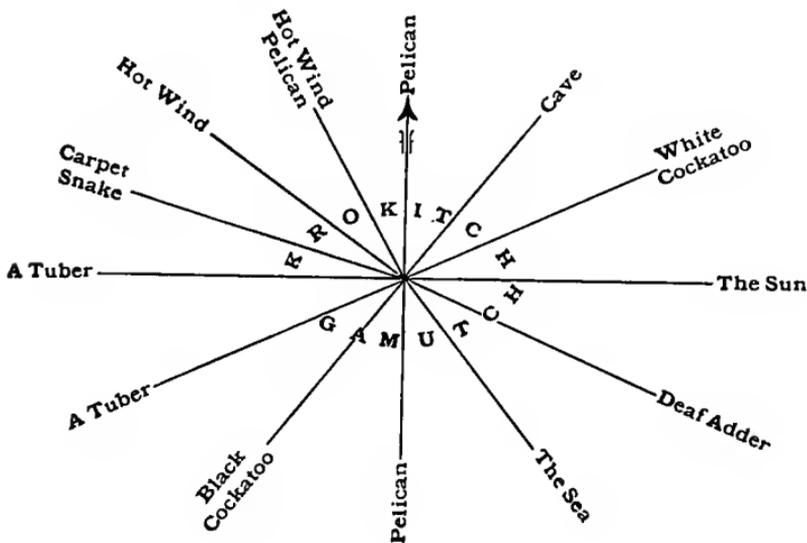
Totemic  
burial  
customs  
among the  
Wotjo-  
baluk.

Some light is thrown on the relation of the totems to each other by the mechanical method which the Wotjobaluk employed to preserve and explain a record of their classes and totems. It was their custom to bury the dead with their heads pointing in different directions according to their class and totem, and the various directions were all fixed with reference to the rising sun. Two of Dr. Howitt's informants, who were old men, spent about two hours in laying out the mortuary directions on the ground with sticks, and Dr. Howitt took their bearings with a compass. The

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 145 sq. *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 122 ;

diagram which he thus constructed, he tells us, may not be altogether correct because the list of totems is probably incomplete. It is as follows:—<sup>1</sup>



Thus it will be observed that men of the Sun totem are laid in the grave with their heads to the east; men of the White Cockatoo totem are buried with their heads to the north-east; men of the Hot Wind totem are buried with their heads to the north-west, which was appropriate, since in the country of the Wotjobaluk the hot wind blows from that quarter. And similarly with the other totems. It will be noticed that the pelican totem is found in both the two primary classes Krokitch and Gamutch. No explanation of this repetition is given by Dr. Howitt. He tells us that the Sun was the principal totem, and that from it all the other totems are counted.<sup>2</sup> When a man died, he was no longer called by his old totem name, but received a new name, which varied with the particular totem. These new names are called by Dr. Howitt "mortuary totems." Thus when a man of the sun totem died, he would no longer be

Mortuary  
totems of  
the Wotjo-  
baluk.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 453 sq.; *id.* "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp.

62 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 63.

spoken of as Sun (*ngau*) but as "Behind the sun" (*wurti-ngau*), that is, as a shadow cast behind the speaker by the sun. When a man of the Krokitch class and the pelican totem died, he would no longer be called Pelican (*batchangal*, *batya-ngal*) but "Bark of the mallee" (*mitbagragr*); and so on with the other totems. The custom probably originated in the extreme dislike of the aborigines to name the dead.<sup>1</sup>

Relation  
of men  
to their  
subtotems.

The relation in which people stand to their subtotems as distinguished from their totems is, as usual, somewhat vague and indefinite. A man claims to own his subtotem, but he does not identify himself with it or name himself after it, as he names himself after his totem. For example, a man of the Sun totem claims kangaroos as his property because they are his subtotems, but he is not called Kangaroo; he is called Sun after his totem the sun. Similarly a man of the sun totem claims the star Fomalhaut (*Bunjil*) as his, but he is not named after the star. Again, a man of the hot wind totem claims two sorts of snakes, two sorts of birds, and the moon as his, but he is not called after any of them; he is called Hot Wind. "The true totem," says Dr. Howitt, "owns him, but he owns the subtotem."<sup>2</sup>

Sex totems  
among the  
Wotjobaluk:  
the bat is the  
"brother"  
of the men,  
the owlet-  
nightjar  
is the  
"sister"  
of the  
women.

The totemic system of the Wotjobaluk is still further complicated by the possession of what I have called sex-totems.<sup>3</sup> Among them the sex-totem or, as they called it, the "brother" of the men was the bat, and the sex-totem or "sister" of the women was the owlet-nightjar, which was also called the "wife" of the men. These sex-totems of the Wotjobaluk, says Dr. Howitt, "were real totems, although of a peculiar kind. They were called *yaur* or flesh, or *ngirabul* or *mir*, just as were the totems proper." The only difference was that, whereas the bat was the brother of all the men and the owlet-nightjar the sister of all the women, an ordinary totem was the brother or sister only of the men

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 64; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 123; *id.*, in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian*

*Institution for 1883*, pp. 818 sq.; *id.*, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 61 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 47 sq.

and women who bore its name. In regard to their sex-totems the Wotjobaluk said that "the life of the bat is the life of a man, and the life of the owlet-nightjar is the life of a woman," and that when either of these creatures is killed the life of some man or of some woman is shortened. In such a case every man or every woman in the camp feared that he or she might be the victim, and from this cause great fights arose in the tribe between the men on one side and the women on the other. For example, some men might kill an owlet-nightjar and then boast of their exploit in camp. The women would then in their turn kill a bat and carry it to the camp on the point of a stick, and with a piece of wood in its mouth to keep it open. This was held aloft in triumph, the oldest woman walking at the head of the procession and the younger women following, while they all shouted *Yeip Yeip* (hurrah)! The men then turned out, armed with clubs, boomerangs, and even spears, and engaged the women, who fought with their digging-sticks, belabouring the men with them and cleverly parrying or breaking the spears that were thrown at them. Sometimes, however, the spears went home and the women were wounded or killed. But at other times they got the better of their male adversaries, who had to retire discomfited with broken heads and sore bones. These curious fights between men and women over their sex-totems seem to have occurred in all the tribes of South-Eastern Australia among whom sex-totems have been found.<sup>1</sup> The true character of the sex-totem, as Dr. Howitt justly observes, appears to be shown by the statement of the Wotjobaluk that "the life of a bat is the life of a man," and that "the life of an owlet-nightjar is the life of a woman"; for such a belief fully explains the rage of either sex when one of their sex-totems has been killed.<sup>2</sup> Thus

The life of men and women is thought to be bound up with the life of their sex-totem.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 57 sq.; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 148, 150, 151. In the first of these passages we read: "The Wotjob said that the Bat was the man's 'brother' and that the Nightjar was his 'wife.'" From this it is not quite clear whether the Nightjar was deemed the wife of

the man or of the Bat.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 148: "The true character of the sex totem is shown by the Wotjobaluk expression, 'The life of a bat is the life of a man,' meaning that to injure a bat is to injure some man, while to kill one is to cause some man to die. The same saying applies to the Owlet-nightjar with respect to women."

among the Wotjobaluk the conception of a sex-totem, as well as of an ordinary totem,<sup>1</sup> seems to involve a more or less complete identification of a man or woman with his or her totem animal. His or her life is apparently thought to be so bound up with that of the animal that an injury done to the animal injures correspondingly the man or woman, while its destruction entails his or her death. On these and similar facts I formerly based a theory that a totem may have been supposed to contain the external soul of the person who claimed it.<sup>2</sup>

Marriage  
and  
descent  
among the  
Wotjo-  
baluk.

The rule of marriage in the Wotjobaluk tribe was that a man of one class (Krokitch or Gamutch) must marry a woman of the other class (Gamutch or Krokitch), but that he was free to marry a woman of any totem in that class. The children took their class and totem from their mother. For example, if a Krokitch man of the sun totem married a Gamutch woman of the black swan totem, the children would be Gamutch Black Swans. If a Gamutch man of the tiger-snake totem married a Krokitch woman of the bandicoot totem, the children would be Krokitch Bandicoots, and so on.<sup>3</sup> In all negotiations with a view to marriage the first question was, "What is the *yauerin* ('flesh') of the two persons?" For *yauerin* meant class and totem as well as flesh, and no marriage could take place between persons of the wrong class or totem. But besides this class restriction on marriage there was in the Wotjobaluk tribe a local restriction also, since a man was forbidden to marry a woman of the same place as his mother: they thought his flesh (*yauerin*) was too near to the flesh of the women who lived there. Hence he had to go for a wife to some place where there was no flesh (*yauerin*) near to his. The same rule applied to the woman.<sup>4</sup> Thus we find that in the Wotjobaluk, as in the southern tribes of the Kulin nation,<sup>5</sup> class exogamy is combined with local exogamy. This is

Local  
exogamy  
among the  
Wotjo-  
baluk.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 453 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Golden Bough*,<sup>2</sup> iii. 413 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group Relations," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1883*, p. 819; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 60

*sq.*; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 241 *sq.* In the last of these passages Dr. Howitt omits to state the rule of marriage with respect to the totems.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 241.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 437 *sq.*

the anomalous feature in the class system of the Wotjobaluk, which in other respects appears to be normal.

Besides the restrictions imposed by the class and the maternal district, the Wotjobaluk, like all other Australian tribes, prohibited marriage between persons who stood in certain degrees of kinship to each other. In particular they laid great stress on forbidding the marriage of a *marrup* with a *marrup-gurk*; that is, a man might not marry the daughter of his mother's brother nor of his father's sister. Two such persons might not mix their flesh, their *yauerin* being too near. Nay more than that, their descendants were prohibited from marrying each other so long as the relationship between them could be traced. However, the native informants added "that they remembered that one or two cases had occurred in which such a marriage had been permitted, but in them the parties were from places far distant from each other, for instance, the Wimmera and Murray Rivers, and that in those cases their respective parents were distant tribal brothers and sisters."<sup>1</sup> This Wotjobaluk prohibition to marry the daughter of a mother's brother or of a father's sister is, as Dr. Howitt observes,<sup>2</sup> a great remove from the custom of the Urabunna, among whom, on the contrary, a man's proper wife is precisely the daughter of his mother's (elder) brother or of his father's (elder) sister.<sup>3</sup> The same view as to the propriety of marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother or of a father's sister was held also by the Jupagalk, a tribe which bordered on the Wotjo nation, but they said that the woman should be obtained from a distant place so as not to be too near him in flesh.<sup>4</sup> We have seen that the Kulin, like the Wotjobaluk, also prohibited not only the marriage of first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister, but also the marriage of the descendants of such cousins, so far as the relationship could be traced.<sup>5</sup>

In the Wotjobaluk tribe, when it had been ascertained that there were no impediments of any kind to the marriage of two persons, whether a girl and a boy, or a girl and a

Wotjo-  
baluk  
prohibition  
of marriage  
between  
cousins,  
the  
children  
of a  
brother  
and a  
sister.

Betrothal  
and  
marriage  
among the  
Wotjo-  
baluk.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 241-243.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 177 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 243.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 438 *sq.*

man, they were betrothed by their respective fathers, whose consent was essential. Yet it was the elder brothers of the pair who made the arrangements. Such engagements might be made at any time, but they were most commonly arranged at the great gatherings when the intermarrying tribes met together to feast or perform ceremonies. In anticipation of these meetings the young men used to ascertain what unmarried girls had not been betrothed, which of them were of the class with which theirs might marry, and what were the places from which they might take a wife. Having ascertained these particulars two young men would meet at one of these assemblies and agree to give their sisters in exchange to be the wives of their respective younger brothers.<sup>1</sup> The ceremony of marriage was simple. The bride was taken to the bridegroom's camp by her father, accompanied by the father, father's brothers, brothers, and male paternal cousins of the bridegroom. At the camp the father's sister of the bride said to her, "That is your husband. He will give you food. You must stop with him." No one but the bridegroom had access to the bride at marriage in this tribe. Men too were very strict in requiring fidelity from their wives, and would not lend them to friends or visitors from a distance.<sup>2</sup>

Punishment of elopement and of unlawful marriages among the Wotj-baluk.

It happened not uncommonly that a girl who had been betrothed to a man in her infancy liked some one else better and eloped with him. All her male kindred pursued the runaway couple, and if they caught them, the lover had to fight them or rather to parry the spears which they threw at him. The girl's father and brothers were the first to cast their spears at him, and the others followed. If he passed through the ordeal successfully, he was allowed to keep the girl, provided always that he was of the right class and not within the prohibited degrees of relationship. But he had to find a sister to give in exchange for her.<sup>3</sup> Very different was the case if the man who ran away with a girl was of

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 241 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 245. However, in the Mukjarawaint tribe, which was the southern branch of the Wotjo nation, men of the same totem

as the bridegroom had access to the bride at marriage. See A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 243, 245 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 245 sq.

the wrong class or within the prohibited degrees of relationship. Such an offence against the tribal morality was punished with great severity. All the men of both the intermarrying classes gave chase, and if they caught the culprit they would kill and bury him. "My Wotjobaluk informants said that this was always done in the old times before white men came; but that they did not do as their western neighbours did, namely, eat him. It was the duty of the woman's father and brothers, in such a case, to kill her. This was confirmed to me by a Mukjarawaint man, who said that if a man took a woman who was of the same *yauerin* as himself, the pursuers, if they caught him, killed him, and with the exception of the flesh of the thighs and upper arms, which were roasted and eaten, they chopped the body into small pieces, and left them lying on a log. The flesh was eaten by his totemites, including even his brothers. This he said was also the custom of the Jupagalk."<sup>1</sup>

It was not customary in the Wotjobaluk tribe for a widow to be taken by her deceased husband's brother. They had a feeling against the practice. An old man explained to Dr. Howitt that it was unpleasant to lie in the place of a dead brother, and so to be always reminded of him.<sup>2</sup> Similarly some of the Queensland tribes near Brisbane considered it monstrous that a man should marry his brother's widow, and such marriages never took place among them; but the brother of the deceased had a voice in giving the widow to another.<sup>3</sup>

Widow not married by her late husband's brother.

The Wotjobaluk had the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applied the same term *maam* to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters; and he applied the same term *bap* to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. In his own generation he applied the same term *wau* to his brothers, to the sons of his father's brothers, and to the sons of his mother's sisters. He applied the same term *matjun* to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives. A woman applied the same term *nanitch* to her husband, to her husband's brothers,

Classificatory system of relationship among the Wotjobaluk.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 246 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 237.

and to her sisters' husbands. In the generation below his own a man applied the same term *ngaluk* to his sons, to his brothers' sons, and to the sons of his wife's sisters. Similarly a woman applied the same term *nunungyep* to her sons, to her sisters' sons, and to the sons of her husband's brothers.<sup>1</sup>

The Mukjarawaint.

In the south-western part of Victoria, to the south of the Wotjobaluk, there was a tribe or subtribe who were reckoned to the Wotjobaluk, but who called themselves Mukjarawaint. They lived in the northern parts of the picturesque Grampian Mountains and at the sources of the Wimmera River.<sup>2</sup> Their system of classes and totems has not been recorded; but we hear of a black cockatoo totem and a white cockatoo totem among them, and learn incidentally that a White Cockatoo man might marry a Black Cockatoo woman.<sup>3</sup>

The Mara nation.

From the southern limits of the Mukjarawaint to the sea on the south, and from Mount Gambier on the west to Eumerella Creek on the east, there was a nation who called themselves Mara, a name which in their language signified "man" or "men."<sup>4</sup> A small tribe of this nation bore the name of Gournditch-mara, and had its headquarters at Gournditch or Lake Condah.<sup>5</sup> This tribe was divided into two exogamous classes, Krokitch and Kaputch, the names of which are clearly identical with the Krokitch and Gamutch of the Wotjobaluk. Two totems are recorded, namely, White Cockatoo and Black Cockatoo, each of which claimed a number of subtotems. The system may be exhibited in tabular form as follows:—<sup>6</sup>

The Gournditch-mara tribe, their classes and totems.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group-Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 287 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 54 sq., 243. As to the Grampian Mountains compare A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. 267, 269.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 245 sq.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 69, 124.

<sup>5</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 69. See the account of this tribe by the Rev. J. H. Stähle, of the Church Mission, Lake Condah, reported by Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 274-278.

<sup>6</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 124, on the authority of the Rev. J. H. Stähle.

## GOURNDITCH-MARA TRIBE

*Classes and Totems*

Classes.	Totems.	Subtotems.
Krokitch	white cockatoo	pelican, laughing-jackass, parrot, owl, mopoke, large kangaroo, native companion.
Kaputch	black cockatoo	emu, whip-snake, opossum, brush kangaroo, native bear, swan, eagle-hawk, sparrow-hawk.

In this tribe the child took its class and totem from its mother, but belonged to the local division of its father and spoke his language. Wives were obtained from distant places, because such women were thought not to be so "close in flesh" as those who lived in the same or neighbouring districts. Here, accordingly, as in the Wotjobaluk and the southern tribes of the Kulin nation, a rule of local exogamy was superadded to the rule of class exogamy. Children were betrothed by their parents, sister being exchanged for sister in the usual way. "There was no sexual licence allowed at any time in this tribe, although occasionally a man lent his wife to others, but this was always the occasion of fight between him and the better-thinking of the tribes-people."<sup>1</sup>

Marriage and descent among the Gourditch-mara.

The Gournditch-mara belonged to a large group of tribes in South-Western Victoria, which have been well described by Mr. James Dawson.<sup>2</sup> He tells us that the aborigines are divided into tribes, each of which has its own country distinguished by the name or language of the tribe.<sup>3</sup> "Every person is considered to belong to his father's tribe, and cannot marry into it. Besides this division, there is another which is made solely for the purpose of preventing marriages with *maternal* relatives. The aborigines are

Tribes of South-Western Victoria, their exogamous classes or clans.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 69, 249.

<sup>2</sup> James Dawson, *Australian Abori-*

*gines* (Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide, 1881).

<sup>3</sup> J. Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 1.

everywhere divided into classes ; and every one is considered to belong to his mother's class, and cannot marry into it in any tribe, as all of the same class are considered brothers and sisters. There are five classes in all the tribes of the Western District, and these take their names from certain animals—the long-billed cockatoo (*kuurokeetch*), the pelican (*kartpoerapp*), the banksian cockatoo (*kappatch*), the boa snake (*kirtuuk*), and the quail (*kuunamit*).” Of these five classes the first two, namely, Long-billed Cockatoo and Pelican, were looked upon as sister classes and no marriage between them was permitted. The same was true of the third and fourth classes, namely Banksian Cockatoo and Boa Snake ; they were sister classes and no marriage between them was allowed. The fifth class, namely Quail, was not so related to another class, and might therefore marry into any class but its own. The first two classes (Long-billed Cockatoo and Pelican) were allowed to marry into any of the remaining three classes, and so were the third and fourth classes (Banksian Cockatoo and Boa Snake).<sup>1</sup> To put this in tabular form :—

TRIBES OF SOUTH-WESTERN VICTORIA

*Classes or Totems*

{	Long-billed Cockatoo ( <i>kuurokeetch</i> )
{	Pelican ( <i>kartpoerapp</i> )
{	Banksian Cockatoo ( <i>kappatch</i> )
{	Boa Snake ( <i>kirtuuk</i> )
	Quail ( <i>kuunamit</i> )

It is doubtful whether these divisions were exogamous classes or totem clans.

It might be doubted at first sight whether these divisions, which Mr. Dawson calls classes, are what we call classes or subclasses or totem clans. Their uneven number is against the view that they are what we now call classes or subclasses, since such classes are regularly found in groups of two and subclasses in groups of four or eight. Probably Dr. Howitt is right in treating Mr. Dawson's classes as totem clans. He points out that the first four of the animals which give their

<sup>1</sup> J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, pp. 26 sq. The feminine forms of these class names are formed by add-

ing *heear* to the masculine form ; for example, masculine *kartpoerapp*, “ pelican,” feminine *kartpoerapp heear*.

names to these classes are totems of the Wotjobaluk, and that the third is one of the totems of the Gournditch-mara. On the whole Dr. Howitt inclines to believe that classes or sub-classes, in the sense in which we employ these terms, did not exist among the tribes of South-Western Victoria at the time when they were described by Mr. James Dawson, for otherwise that experienced observer could hardly have overlooked them.<sup>1</sup>

Inquiries made by Mr. A. L. P. Cameron among the natives near Mortlake, which is within the area of the tribes described by Mr. Dawson, elicited the following list of totems :—<sup>2</sup>

Black and  
White  
Cockatoo  
totems.

{ *Krokage*, white cockatoo, red crest.

{ *Karperap*, pelican.

{ *Kubitch*, black cockatoo.

{ *Kartuk*, whip snake.

Of these totems Pelican was supplementary to White Cockatoo, and Whip Snake was supplementary to Black Cockatoo. Thus it appears that with these people, just as with the Gournditch-mara, the two principal totems were White Cockatoo and Black Cockatoo, and their native names *Krokage* and *Kubitch* are clearly equivalent to the class-names of the Gournditch-mara, namely *Krokitch* and *Kaputch*, which in their turn are identical with the class-names of the Wotjobaluk, namely *Krokitch* and *Gamutch*. The names which Mr. Dawson assigns to the two cockatoo "classes," namely *Kauurokeetch* and *Kappatch*, are also, it would seem, merely slightly different forms of the same two class-names *Krokitch* and *Gamutch*.<sup>3</sup>

The aborigines of South-Western Victoria, described by Mr. Dawson, had a tradition that the first progenitor of their tribes was a Long-billed Cockatoo, who had for his wife a Banksian Cockatoo. These two were the great-great-grandfather and great-great-grandmother of the people. They had sons and daughters who belonged to their mother's class, and were therefore Banksian Cockatoos. As the laws

Tradition  
as to the  
origin of  
the classes  
or clans.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 124 sq., 250.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 125, 250.

of consanguinity forbade marriages between them, it was necessary to introduce "fresh flesh" (*wambepan tuuram*), which could only be obtained by marriage with strangers. The sons got wives from a distance, and their sons, again, had to do the same. That is how the Pelican, Snake, and Quail classes were introduced, which, together with those of their first parents, the Long-billed Cockatoo and the Banksian Cockatoo, form the five maternal classes or totem clans which exist, or rather used to exist, all through the Western District of Victoria.<sup>1</sup>

The tribes of South-Western Victoria combined local exogamy with class or totem exogamy.

In these tribes of South-Western Victoria, as in other tribes inhabiting the better-watered and more fertile regions on or near the coast, strict rules of local exogamy were superadded to the rule of class exogamy. For every man was forbidden to marry into his father's tribe, into his mother's tribe, into his grandmother's tribe, into an adjoining tribe, and even into any tribe that spoke his own dialect.<sup>2</sup> These complex marriage laws appear to have been strictly enforced. On this subject Mr. James Dawson, who knew the people well, writes as follows: "No marriage or betrothal is permitted without the approval of the chiefs of each party, who first ascertain that no 'flesh' relationship exists, and even then their permission must be rewarded by presents. So strictly are the laws of marriage carried out, that, should any signs of affection and courtship be observed between those of 'one flesh,' the brothers or male relatives of the woman beat her severely; the man is brought before the chief, and accused of an intention to fall into the same flesh, and is severely reprimanded by the tribe. If he persists, and runs away with the object of his affections, they beat and 'cut his head all over'; and if the woman was a consenting party she is half-killed. If she dies in consequence of her punishment, her death is avenged by the man's receiving an additional beating from her relatives. No other vengeance is taken, as her punishment is legal. A child born under such conditions is taken from the parents, and handed over to the care of its grandmother, who is compelled to rear it, as no one else will adopt it.

Strictness with which their marriage laws were enforced.

<sup>1</sup> J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> J. Dawson, *op. cit.* pp. 26, 27.

It says much for the morality of the aborigines and their laws that illegitimacy is rare, and is looked upon with such abhorrence that the mother is always severely beaten by her relatives, and sometimes put to death and burned. Her child is occasionally killed and burned with her. The father of the child is also punished with the greatest severity, and occasionally killed. Should he survive the chastisement inflicted upon him, he is always shunned by the woman's relatives, and any efforts to conciliate them with gifts are spurned, and his presents are put in the fire and burned. Since the advent of Europeans among them, the aborigines have occasionally disregarded their admirable marriage laws, and to this disregard they attribute the greater weakness and unhealthiness of their children."<sup>1</sup>

Among these people children were betrothed to each other in marriage as soon as they could walk. The proposal was made by the girl's father. A youth was not allowed to marry until he had been formally initiated into manhood. No person related to him by blood might interfere or assist in the rites of initiation. Should the boy have brothers-in-law, they came and took him away to their own country to be initiated, and there he had to stay for twelve moons. If he had no brothers-in-law, strangers from a distant tribe came and took him away to their country. During his residence in this far country he was not allowed to speak the language of the tribe, but he learned to understand it when spoken. At the end of the time all the hairs of his beard were plucked out, and he was made to drink water mixed with mud. That completed his initiation into manhood. The upper front teeth of the novice were not knocked out in the Western District of Victoria, as they were in many other Australian tribes. He was then introduced to the young woman who was to be his wife. They might look at each other, but were not allowed to converse."<sup>2</sup>

When the young man's beard was grown again and the young woman had attained a marriageable age, she was sent away from her tribe and placed under the care of the young man's mother, or his nearest female relative, who

Betrothal and initiation among the tribes of South-Western Victoria.

Marriage customs : husband and wife always spoke different languages.

<sup>1</sup> J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> J. Dawson, *op. cit.* pp. 28, 30.

kept her till the two were married, but not in the same hut with her future husband. She was constantly attended by one of his female relatives, but was not allowed to speak the tribal language. She was expected, however, to learn it sufficiently to understand it. On the marriage day bride and bridegroom were adorned on their brows with bunches of red feathers from the neck of the long-billed cockatoo, while the bridegroom had besides the white feather of a swan's wing, the web of which was torn so as to flutter in the wind. Feasting and dancing celebrated the happy day, and the young pair were conducted to a new hut, which was to be their home. But for two moons the two were not allowed to look at or speak to each other. During all that time they were attended day and night by a bridemaids and a brideman, and had to sleep on opposite sides of the fire, the bride beside the bridemaids and the bridegroom beside the brideman. In order that she might not see her husband during this time, the bride kept her head and face covered with her opossum rug while he was present, and he kept his face turned away from her. This mutual avoidance of the newly-wedded couple used to afford much amusement to the young people of the tribe, who would peep into the hut and laugh at them. If the pair needed to communicate with each other they had to speak through their friends.<sup>1</sup> Even after these temporary barriers between husband and wife were removed, they had always to speak to each other in different languages, he using the speech of his tribe, and she using the speech of hers. On this subject Mr. Dawson writes: "Every person speaks the tribal language of the father, and must never mix it with any other. The mother of a child is the only exception to this law, for, in talking to it, she must use its father's language as far as she can, and not her own. At the same time, she speaks to her husband in her own tribal language, and he speaks to her in his; so that all conversation is carried on between husband and wife in the same way as between an Englishman and a Frenchwoman, each speaking his or her own language. This very remarkable law explains the preservation of so many distinct dialects within so limited a space, even where

Mutual avoidance of husband and wife for some time after marriage.

<sup>1</sup> J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, pp. 30-32.

there are no physical barriers to ready and frequent communication between the tribes.”<sup>1</sup>

These customs illustrate the stringency with which the rule of local exogamy was enforced by the natives of South-Western Victoria. The same people also rigidly observed the usage which in many Australian tribes obliges a man and his mother-in-law to keep aloof from each other. Indeed, among the natives of South-Western Victoria this mutual avoidance began with the betrothal of the infants. The girl's mother and her aunts might not look at the future son-in-law, nor speak to him from the time of his betrothal till his death. Should he come to the camp where they were living, he must lodge at a friend's hut, as he was not allowed to go within fifty yards of their abode; and if he met them on a path, they at once left it, clapped their hands, covered up their heads with rugs, walked in a stooping posture, and spoke in whispers till he had passed. When they spoke in each other's presence they had to use a special lingo called “turn tongue,” but not for the sake of concealing their meaning, for everybody understood it. The future son-in-law never at any time mentioned the name of his future mother-in-law. Similar rules of avoidance were observed after the marriage had taken place. They might not look upon each other even when one of them was dying. After death, however, the living looked upon the dead. “The aborigines,” says Mr. Dawson, “who show great willingness to give explanations of their laws and habits to those persons they respect, cannot give any reason for this very extraordinary custom, which is said to be observed all over Australia, and in several island groups in the Pacific Ocean.”<sup>2</sup>

Mutual avoidance of mother-in-law and son-in-law.

In these tribes, when a married man died, his brother was allowed to marry the widow, and if she had a family he was bound to marry her, for it was his duty to protect her and rear his brother's children. If there was no brother, the chief sent the widow to her own tribe, with whom she must remain till her period of mourning was ended. Those of her children who were under age were

Relation of a man to his brother's widow.

<sup>1</sup> J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> J. Dawson, *op. cit.* pp. 29, 32 sq.

sent with her, and remained with their mother's tribe till they came of age, when they returned to their father's tribe, to which they belonged.<sup>1</sup>

Sex-totems, the bat and the fern-owl or goatsucker.

Among the tribes of South-Western Victoria the common bat was the sex-totem of the men, and the fern-owl or large goatsucker was the sex-totem of the women. For Mr. Dawson tells us that "the common bat belongs to the men, who protect it against injury, even to the half-killing of their wives for its sake. The fern owl, or large goatsucker, belongs to the women, and, although a bird of evil omen, creating terror at night by its cry, it is jealously protected by them. If a man kills one, they are as much enraged as if it was one of their children, and will strike him with their long poles."<sup>2</sup>

The Buandik tribe, its classes, totems, and sub-totems.

Immediately to the west of the tribes which we have just been considering there was the Buandik tribe about Mount Gambier in the extreme south-eastern corner of South Australia. Its territory extended along the coast from the Glenelg River on the east to Rivoli Bay on the west.<sup>3</sup> The tribe was divided into two exogamous classes, with totem clans and subtotems, like the Wotjobaluk; and the names of its two classes, Kroki and Kumite, are probably only altered forms of the two Wotjobaluk class names Krokitch and Gamutch. The following is the system of the classes, totems, and subtotems in tabular form:—<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> J. Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 68 sq., 251.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 123; Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 168, on the authority of Mr. D. S. Stewart.

BUANDIK TRIBE  
*Classes and Totems*

Classes.	Totems.	Subtotems.
Kroki	tea-tree ( <i>werio</i> )	duck, wallaby, owl, crayfish, etc.
	an owl ( <i>wirmal</i> )	?
	an edible root ( <i>murna</i> )	bustard, quail, dolvich (a small kangaroo), etc.
	white crestless cockatoo ( <i>karaal</i> )	kangaroo, she-oak, summer, sun, autumn, wind, etc.
Kumite	fish-hawk	smoke, honeysuckle tree ( <i>Banksia</i> ), etc.
	pelican	dog, blackwood tree ( <i>Acacia melanoxylon</i> ), fire, frost, etc.
	crow ( <i>waa</i> )	lightning, thunder, rain, clouds, hail, winter, etc.
	black cockatoo ( <i>wila</i> )	moon, stars, etc.
	a harmless snake ( <i>karato</i> )	fish, eels, seals, stringbark tree, etc.

The usual law of exogamy prevailed as to the classes; that is, Kroki might only marry Kumite and *vice versa*. Descent of the class was in the female line.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the Buandik classification of nature under the subtotems, and the relation in which a man stood to them and to his totem, Mr. D. S. Stewart says: "All this appears very arbitrary. I have tried in vain to find some reason for the arrangement. I asked, 'To what division does a bullock belong?' After a pause, came the answer, 'It eats grass: it is Boortwerio.'<sup>2</sup> I then said, 'A crayfish does not eat grass: why is it Boortwerio?' Then came the standing reason for all puzzling questions: 'That is what our fathers said it was.' A man does not kill, or use

Subtotems  
of the  
Buandik.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Each totem name had the prefix *boort* meaning "dry," which in the table has been omitted for the sake of simplicity (A. W. Howitt, *Native*

*Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 124). *Werio* means tea-tree. Hence *Boortwerio* means "of the tea-tree totem." Similarly *Boortwa* means "of the crow totem."

as food, any of the animals of the same subdivision with himself, excepting when hunger compels; and then they express sorrow for having to eat their *wingong* (friends) or *tumanang* (their flesh). When using the last word they touch their breasts, to indicate the close relationship, meaning almost a part of themselves. To illustrate:—One day one of the black fellows killed a crow. Three or four days afterwards a Boortwa (crow), named Larry, died. He had been ailing for some days, but the killing of his *wingong* hastened his death. A Kumite may kill and eat any *tuman* of the Kroki, and a Kroki may likewise use any *tuman* of the Kumite. In the blood revenge arrangement, these subdivisions bear a prominent part. Also, in cases of uncertain death, the *tuman* of the slayer will appear at the inquest.”<sup>1</sup> This account of the relation in which a man stands to his *wingong* (friend) or *tuman* (flesh) clearly shows how closely he identifies himself with his totem animal, since the death of the animal hastens his own.

### § 9. Tribes with Anomalous Class Systems and Male Descent

Tribes with anomalous class systems and male descent. The Yerkla-mining.

We now pass to the consideration of tribes with anomalous class systems and male descent. The first to be noticed is the Yerkla-mining, a tribe situated on the coast of the Great Australian Bight at the boundary between South Australia and West Australia. From Eucla the territory of the tribe stretches westward for about forty miles and eastward for about a hundred. Inland the tribesmen range as far as they dare go, but the barren nature of the country in this direction has set limits to their wanderings; and their imagination has peopled the great Nullarbor Plains, the southern edge of which is about twenty-five miles from the sea, with a gigantic and very dreadful snake, which devours every living thing and spares not even the stones and trees. The tribe calls itself Yerkla-mining, which means “men of the Morning Star.”<sup>2</sup> They are reported to have the following totems:—

<sup>1</sup> D. S. Stewart, quoted by Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 65, 129; *id.*, “Notes on the Australian Class

## YERKLA-MINING TRIBE

## Totems

<i>Budera</i>	.	.	.	.	root
<i>Budu</i>	.	.	.	.	digger (one who digs)
<i>Kura</i>	.	.	.	.	dingo
<i>Wenung</i>	.	.	.	.	wombat

These totem clans appear to be localised; for the Budera and Budu are said to live inland in the cliff country, while the Kura and Wenung inhabit the coast.<sup>1</sup> Girls are betrothed in their childhood, and may be claimed by their husband at any time. It is the father who betrothes his daughter, but he may be overruled by his elder brother, especially if his brother has the support of the chief medicine-man of the local group. If a girl elopes with another man, the old men give chase and punish her severely when they catch her. Her lover has to fight her promised husband, if the latter desires it. The number of spears thrown at the culprit is determined by the medicine-men. A wife is bound to be faithful to her husband, and is rarely lent to a visitor. For repeated infidelities she may be killed. When a man dies, his widow goes to his brother.<sup>2</sup>

Marriage customs of the Yerkla-mining.

In Yorke Peninsula of South Australia, between Spencer Gulf and the Gulf of St. Vincent, lives a tribe called the Narrang-ga. The tribe is divided into four classes, which bear the names of Emu, Red Kangaroo, Eagle-hawk, and Shark; and the tribal country is divided into four parts, each of which is inhabited by the people of one class only. The Emu people live in the north, the Red Kangaroo people in the east, the Eagle-hawk people in the west, and the Shark people in the south of the peninsula. Thus the class

The Narrang-ga tribe, its classes, totems, and local divisions.

Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1883) p. 508. Yerkla is "the morning star," and mining is "man" or "men."

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 257 sq. For the reported marriage rules of the totem clans in this tribe, see A. W. Howitt, "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthro-*

*pological Institute*, xii. (1883) pp. 508-510; also above, p. 70. Dr. Howitt's authority for the rules was Mr. Elphinstone Roe, formerly telegraph operator at Eucla. As Dr. Howitt did not repeat these rules in his volume *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, he seems to have entertained well-founded doubts as to their correctness. I now follow him in omitting them.

organisation has become completely localised: the class divisions coincide with the local divisions.<sup>1</sup> Each class includes, or used to include, a number of totems, which are shown in the following table:—

NARRANG-GA TRIBE  
*Classes, Totems, and Local Divisions*

Classes.	Totems.	Local Divisions.
Emu ( <i>Kari</i> )	swallow, mullet, wild turkey, magpie, mopoke, lark, dingo	Kurnara—the northern part of the peninsula south of Wallaroo, Kadina, and Clinton.
Red Kangaroo ( <i>Wauzi</i> )	all totems together with the class name are extinct	Windera—the eastern part of the peninsula.
Eagle-hawk ( <i>Wiltu</i> )	wombat, wallaby, kangaroo ( <i>nantu</i> ), seal ( <i>multa</i> ), crow ( <i>gua</i> )	Wari—the western part of the peninsula.
Shark ( <i>Wiltuthu</i> )	wild goose, pelican, butter-fish, sting-ray, whiting	Dilpa—the extreme (southern) part of the peninsula.

Marriage and descent among the Narrang-ga.

It will be observed that the four classes all bear the names of animals; hence it might, as Dr. Howitt suggests,<sup>2</sup> be better to call them primary totems than classes. With regard to the rules of marriage and descent in the Narrang-ga tribe Dr. Howitt says: "The restrictions which affect marriage are neither class, totem, nor locality, but relationship. The class and totem names pass from father to child, the totems having, as in some other cases of male descent, become attached to localities instead of being scattered over the tribal country. In tabulating the marriages and descents in this tribe from the data given by the old men, I found that descent is in the male line, and that a man might marry a woman even of his own totem. As in all tribes, sister-marriage was strictly forbidden. This rule, of course,

Marriage of cousins forbidden.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 67, 129 sq. The tribe was formerly called Turra by Dr. Howitt. See Fison and Howitt,

*Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 284 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 259.

included the father's brother's daughter and the mother's sister's daughter, but a prohibition also attached to the daughter of the mother's brother and of the father's sister."<sup>1</sup> In other words, the Narrang-ga, like the Kulin, the Wotjobaluk, and some Queensland tribes,<sup>2</sup> forbade all marriages between first cousins, whether the cousins were the children of two brothers, or of two sisters, or of a brother and a sister. According to old men whose memory went back to the time before Yorke Peninsula was occupied by the whites, the Narrang-ga used to wage wars with other tribes and capture women. "Men were allowed to keep women whom they captured, because there was no law which restricted a man to any particular class or totem."<sup>3</sup>

Such is the account of the marriage rules and totemic system of the Narrang-ga which Dr. Howitt gives in his great work, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*. If the account is correct, as we may assume it to be, the social system of the Narrang-ga is very anomalous, for the classes, if they are indeed classes and not totem clans, have become completely localised, and neither class nor totem has any influence on marriage. But in an earlier work Dr. Howitt gave a somewhat different account of the social system of the Narrang-ga or Turra tribe (as he then called it), referring to the Rev. W. Julius Kühn, of the Boorcooyanna Mission, as his authority.<sup>4</sup> As that earlier account, where it differs from the later, has not, so far as I know, been withdrawn by Dr. Howitt, I think it well to repeat it here for comparison with the other. It is possible that Mr. Kühn's statements refer to a state of things which has since passed away. According to him, the Turra (that is the Narrang-ga) tribe was divided into two exogamous classes, Eagle-hawk and Seal, with totem clans arranged as follows:—<sup>5</sup>

Different account of the class system of the Narrang-ga or Turra tribe given by Mr. W. J. Kühn.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 258 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 438 sq., 449 sq., 459.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> See Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (Melbourne, etc., 1880), pp. 284-287. Dr. Howitt's later inquiries seem to have been made by or for him in 1887 and 1899. In the latter

year (1899) Mr. F. J. Gillen resided for some time at Moonta and had opportunities of investigation. Another of Dr. Howitt's informants was Mr. Sutton, manager of the aboriginal station in Yorke Peninsula. See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 67 note<sup>1</sup>, 259.

<sup>5</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 284 sq.

Classes.	Totems.
Eagle-hawk ( <i>Wiltu</i> )	wombat, wallaby, kangaroo, iguana, wombat-snake, bandicoot, black bandicoot, crow, rock wallaby, emu.
Seal ( <i>Multa</i> )	wildgoose, butter-fish, mullet, schnapper, shark, salmon.

“The classes are exogamous, but any totem of one class may intermarry with any totem of the other class; the children take the father’s class and totem.

Marriage  
customs  
of the  
Narrang-ga  
or Turra  
tribe.

“Girls are given in marriage by their parents, whose consent is essential; wives are also obtained by exchange of female relatives. If the parents refused their consent, it might be that a young man would run off with a girl. The parents would search for him for the purpose of killing him, and the penalty as to the girl, if caught, was death, which was inflicted by the parents or nearest relatives. The man was generally protected by his class division. When opinion was divided as to this, a fight might take place to decide his right to keep the girl. For instance, if a Wiltu-wortu [Eagle-hawk-wombat] man were to elope with a Multa-worrimbru [Seal-butter-fish] woman, he would be protected by the Wiltu-wortu men. But a Wiltu-wortu man would not be permitted to keep a Wiltu-wortu woman as his wife. Even if he were to capture one she would be taken from him, and if she persisted in following him she would be killed. When a female was captured in war, she was the property of her captor;<sup>1</sup> but the section of the tribe to which she belonged would fight for her recovery. Failing to do that, they would endeavour to capture a woman from the other section of the tribe, and keep her.

“Women were bound to be faithful to their husbands, also the husbands to their wives. Whoever was guilty of unfaithfulness was liable to be punished by death at the hands of the class of the offender.

<sup>1</sup> “It follows from the preceding case if she were of some class from statement that it would only be the which he might legally take a wife.”

"When the two subtribes Wiltu [Eagle-hawk] and Multa [Seal] met for a grand corroboree, the old men took any of the young wives of the other class for the time, and the young men of the Wiltu exchanged wives with those of the Multa, and *vice versa*, but only for a time, and in this the men were not confined to any particular totem. Yet at other times men did not lend their wives to brothers or friends."<sup>1</sup>

According to this account, the social system of the Turra or Narrang-ga tribe was a normal one, consisting of two exogamous classes with totem clans and descent of the class and of the totem in the paternal line. Nothing is said as to the localisation of the classes in separate districts. And the list of totems differs in several particulars from that given by Dr. Howitt in his later work. It will be observed that Seal (*Multa*), which, according to Mr. Kühn, was one of the two exogamous classes, was a totem of the Eagle-hawk class according to Dr. Howitt's later account, and further that Emu and Shark, which were classes according to Dr. Howitt, were totems according to Mr. Kühn. How these discrepancies are to be explained, I cannot say; but I have thought it right to call attention to them.

Discrepancies between Dr. Howitt and Mr. Kühn in their accounts of the Narrang-ga or Turra tribe.

On the opposite side of St. Vincent Gulf from the Narrang-ga lived the Narrinyeri, a tribe of which a valuable account has been given by the Rev. George Taplin.<sup>2</sup> Their country extended along the south-eastern coast of South Australia from Cape Jervis to Lacedpede Bay, and inland to a point about thirty miles above the place where the Murray River flows into Lake Alexandrina.<sup>3</sup> The tribal territory was divided into eighteen districts, of which fourteen were inhabited each by the members of a single totemic clan. Three of the districts were inhabited by three clans each, and one district was inhabited by two. Thus the process of localising each totem clan in a single district was nearly, though not quite, complete.<sup>4</sup> According to Mr. Taplin, each

The Narrinyeri, their totem clans and local districts.

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 285 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. George Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," in *Native Tribes of South Australia* (Adelaide, 1879), pp. 1-156. See also Mr. Taplin's account of the

tribe in E. M. Curr's *The Australian Race*, ii. 242-267.

<sup>3</sup> *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 1; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 130.

of these eighteen local clans or, as he calls them, tribes "is regarded by them as a family, every member of which is a blood relation, and therefore between individuals of the same tribe no marriage can take place. Every tribe has its *ngaitye* or tutelary genius or tribal symbol in the shape of some bird, beast, fish, reptile, insect, or substance."<sup>1</sup> But while marriage with a woman of the same district was prohibited wherever the district was inhabited by a single totemic clan or (as Mr. Taplin calls it) tribe, the custom was different where three such clans, or perhaps rather subclans, dwelt in one district. In this last case the three clans or subclans were allowed to intermarry with each other just as if they inhabited separate districts. But this relaxation of the rule of local exogamy was not extended to the case where two clans or subclans dwelt together in one district; both these clans or subclans were for purposes of marriage treated as one, and all marriages between them were prohibited.<sup>2</sup> Children belonged to the local clan of their father, not of their mother, and a man's sons always inherited their father's property.<sup>3</sup>

The following is the list which Dr. Howitt gives of the clans and totems of the Narrinyeri:—<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 1. Elsewhere the same writer says, "The Narrinyeri are exogamous, and never marry in their own tribe" (p. 12).

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 260. In Dr. Howitt's statement, here referred to, the words "or more" appear to introduce confusion and contradiction. I have accordingly omitted them.

<sup>3</sup> G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 12; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-*

*East Australia*, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 131. Compare G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 2; *id.*, in E. M. Curr's *The Australian Race*, ii. 244. In addition to Mr. George Taplin's published account of the tribe Dr. Howitt had at his disposal some facts and explanations furnished to him both by Mr. George Taplin and by the late Mr. T. W. Taplin (*Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 68).

## NARRINYERI TRIBE

## Clans and Totems

Narrinyeri  
clans and  
totems.

Name of Clan. <sup>1</sup>	English of the Name.	Totem.
Raminyeri <sup>2</sup>	<i>rumaii</i> , the west	<i>wirulde</i> or <i>langari</i> wattle gum
Tanganarin	where shall we go?	<i>mangurit-puri</i> or <i>nori</i> pelican
Kandarl-inyeri	whales	<i>kandarli</i> whales
Lungundararn	seaside men	<i>tyellityelli</i> fern
Turarorn	coot men	<i>turi</i> or <i>tettituri</i> coot
Park-inyeri	deep water	<i>kunguldi</i> butter-fish
Kanmeraorn	mullet men	<i>kanmeri</i> mullet
Kaikalab-inyeri	watching	(1) <i>ngulgar-inyeri</i> bull-ant (2) <i>pingi</i> a water-weed
Mungul-inyeri	thick or muddy water	<i>wanyi</i> chocolate sheldrake (mountain duck)
Rangul-inyeri	howling dog	<i>turiit-pani</i> dark-coloured dingo
Karat-inyeri	signal smoke	<i>turiit-pani</i> light-coloured dingo
Pilt-inyeri	ants	(1) <i>maninki</i> leech (2) <i>pomeri</i> cat-fish (3) <i>kallkalli</i> a lace-lizard
Talk-inyeri	fulness	(1) ? leech (2) ? cat-fish (3) <i>tiyawi</i> a lace-lizard
Wulloke	Artemus sp. the wood-sparrow	(1) ? leech (2) ? cat-fish (3) ? a lace-lizard
Karowalli	gone over there	<i>waiyi</i> whip-snake
Punguratpula	place of bulrushes	<i>peldi</i> musk duck
Wel-inyeri	belonging to itself or by itself	(1) <i>nakare</i> black duck (2) <i>ngumundi</i> black snake with red belly
Luth-inyeri	belonging to the sun- rising	(1) <i>kungari</i> black swan (2) <i>ngevaki</i> seal (3) <i>kikinummi</i> black snake with grey belly
Wunyakulde	corruption of <i>walk- ande</i> , the north	<i>nakkare</i> black duck
Ngrangatari or Gurrangwari	at the south-west or at the south-east	<i>waukawiyé</i> kangaroo rat

On this list Dr. Howitt observes: "The names of the clans are such as might have been at one time totems. For

<sup>1</sup> The postfix *yeri* or *inyeri*, "belonging to," is omitted from some of the names.

<sup>2</sup> In his table Dr. Howitt gives the name of this clan as Bamir-inyeri. But elsewhere (p. 132) he gives the name

as Raminyeri, and as this form is supported by Mr. G. Taplin (*Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 2; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 244), I conclude it to be the more correct.

Names  
of the  
Narrinyeri  
clans ex-  
plained.

instance, Piltinyeri, which means 'belonging to ants,' has three subtotems—leech, cat-fish, and lace-lizard. This is analogous to the system of the neighbouring Buandik, and to the totems and subtotems of the Wotjobaluk. In others the name is strictly local, and resembles the local designations of the Narrang-ga and of the Kurnai."<sup>1</sup> Further explanations of the origin and meaning of these clan names are given by Dr. Howitt as follows: "The Raminyeri are the most westerly clan of the Narrinyeri. The Tanganarin occupy the country at the bend of the Murray mouth. Tradition says that the tribe was nonplussed when they came down the river and found that it went into the sea, and said one to another, 'Where shall we go?' The Kandarl-inyeri inhabit a tract of country near the Murray mouth. Whales were frequently stranded on their coast, being possibly flurried by getting into the volume of fresh water of the Murray River. The Park-inyeri owned the deepest part of the Coorong. The Kaikalab-inyeri occupied a promontory running partly across the Coorong, and were in a good position to watch all that went to and fro. The Rangul-inyeri and the Karat-inyeri had a country infested by wild dogs. The Karat-inyeri possess a bold bluff on the shores of Lake Alexandrina, which was a good position for making and observing signals, and at this spot a lighthouse has since been built. The Pilt-inyeri is the name by which this clan is usually known, Talk-inyeri and Wulloke being in some sort subclans. Their arrangement of totem[s] is singular, there being three kinds of leeches, cat-fish, and lace-lizards, and each one of these has a distinct name. *Maninki* is a large dark-coloured leech; *pomeri* is the largest kind of cat-fish, and also is the name of cat-fish generally. *Kalkalli* is the dark-coloured lace-lizard. These are the totems belonging to the Pilt-inyeri. The *tiyaw*, belonging to the Talk-inyeri, is a spotted lace-lizard. The *warrangumbi* belonging to the Wulloke is a very large species of lace-lizard. The Luth-inyeri call themselves by this name, but their neighbours call them Kalatin-yeri. *Kalatin* means shining, this clan having grassy slopes that are visible at a long distance when the sun shines on them."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 130 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 132.

Among the Narrinyeri the totem as well as the local clan passed by inheritance from father to child, who, when it was an animal, might not kill or eat it, although another person might do so.<sup>1</sup> On this subject the Rev. George Taplin wrote as follows: "There is another superstition believed in by the Narrinyeri. Every tribe has its *ngaitye*; that is, some animal which they regard as a sort of good genius, who takes an interest in their welfare—something like the North American Indian totem. Some will have a snake, some a wild dog, some a bird, and some an insect. No man or woman will kill her *ngaitye*, except it happens to be an animal which is good for food, when they have no objection to eating them. Nevertheless, they will be very careful to destroy all the remains, lest an enemy might get hold of them, and by his sorcery cause the *ngaitye* to grow in the inside of the eater, and cause his death. I know several persons whose *ngaityar* are different kinds of snakes, consequently they do not like to kill them; but when they meet with them they catch them, pull out their teeth, or else sew up their mouths, and keep them in a basket as pets. Once I knew of a man catching his *ngaitye* in the person of a large female tiger snake, and, after pulling out the teeth, he put it in a basket, and hung it up in his wurley [hut]. The next morning they found that she had brought forth sixteen young ones. This increase of family was too much for those blacks to whom she did not stand in the relation of *ngaitye*, so they killed them all. . . . One day a couple of wild dogs came on a predatory expedition into my neighbourhood, so I shot one of them; and immediately after was reproached very much for hurting the *ngaitye* of two or three blacks residing here. People are sometimes named from their *ngaitye*; as, for instance, Taowinyeri, the person whose *ngaitye* is Taow; the native name of the guana."<sup>2</sup>

Again, speaking of the same subject, Mr. Taplin says: "I then found in the course of my reading and observation that there are superstitions and customs amongst the Narrinyeri identical even in name with the Samoans and the Tanese.

Narrinyeri  
totems  
(*ngaitye*).

Similarity  
of the  
Narrinyeri  
beliefs to  
those of the  
Samoans.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 147, referring to Mr. F. W. Taplin as his authority.

<sup>2</sup> G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 63 sq.

For instance, every Samoan has, or had, according to Dr. George Turner, his *aitu*. This consisted in some fish, or bird, or insect, which was the totem of his family, and he supposed that if he ate the *aitu* it would form in his inside and kill him. Well, the Narrinyeri believe that every tribe has its *ngaitye* (observe the similarity of the word to *aitu*), and this *ngaitye* is the totem of the tribe, and they suppose that if they eat a portion of the *ngaitye*, and an enemy of the tribe gets hold of the remainder, he can make it the means of powerful sorcery, and cause it to grow in the inside of the eater of it. Therefore when a man eats of his tribe's *ngaitye*, he is careful either to eat it all or else to conceal and destroy the remains. I remember an old man killing a large mygale spider, which was the *ngaitye* of his tribe, and, to prevent mischief, he immediately swallowed it."<sup>1</sup> This belief that the totem animal may grow up inside of the person who eats it has already met us in South-East Australia.<sup>2</sup> Such beliefs may have a bearing on the origin of totemism, if I am right in thinking that totemism was at first a theory devised to explain the origin of conception.<sup>3</sup> The Narrinyeri word for a totem (*ngaitye*) means literally "friend." All the members of a totemic clan were regarded as blood relations.<sup>4</sup>

Personal  
totems of  
Narrinyeri  
medicine-  
men.

In the Narrinyeri tribe, at least in that part of the tribe which lived about Encounter Bay, every medicine-man had a personal totem (*ngaitye*) or guardian spirit in the shape of an animal or vegetable which he regarded as his friend or protector. These totems differed with the individuals. One man would have a snake, another an ant, another seaweed, and so on. The totem was his only remedy for every disease. When a patient came to him the doctor would suck the part affected and then spit out his totem or some part of it. For example, if his totem was seaweed, he would spit out seaweed. One doctor in this tribe used to cure large boils, which the natives were very subject to, by sucking out the

<sup>1</sup> Rev. George Taplin, "Further Notes on the Mixed Races of Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iv. (1875) p. 53. As to the Samoan belief see above, pp. 17 sq. The resemblance between the words

*aitu* and *ngaitye* is probably accidental.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 428 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 157-159.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. George Taplin, in E. M. Curr's *The Australian Race*, ii. 244.

matter and swallowing it, alleging that it was his friend or protector (*ngaitye*).<sup>1</sup> Thus it appears that the Narrinyeri applied the same name *ngaitye* "friend" to their clan totems and to their personal totems or guardian spirits, which shows how closely the two different sorts of totems were associated in their minds.

In the Narrinyeri tribe a girl was given in marriage, usually at a very early age, sometimes by her father, but generally by her brother. "The ceremony," we are told, "is very simple, and with great propriety may be considered an exchange, for no man can obtain a wife unless he can promise to give his sister or other relative in exchange. The marriages are always between persons of different tribes, and never in the same tribe. Should the father be living he may give his daughter away, but generally she is the gift of the brother."<sup>2</sup> "It is considered disgraceful for a woman to take a husband who has given no other woman for her. But yet the right to give a woman away is often purchased from her nearest male relative by those who have no sisters. Of course this amounts to the same thing. In most instances a brother or a first cousin gives a girl away in exchange for a wife for himself."<sup>3</sup> The first inquiry with regard to a proposed marriage was, whether there existed any tie of kinship between the parties, for any such tie was a bar to their union. The Narrinyeri were very strict on this point. They had a very great aversion to the marriage even of second cousins.<sup>4</sup> "Marriage by elopement occurred, but the woman was looked on with disfavour, because there had been no exchange of a sister

Marriage  
customs  
of the  
Narrinyeri.

Aversion to  
marriages  
of cousins.

Elopement.

<sup>1</sup> H. E. A. Meyer, "Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe," in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 197 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. H. E. A. Meyer, quoted by G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 10; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 260. By "tribe" Mr. Meyer no doubt means a local division, which, among the Narrinyeri, as we have seen (p. 477), generally coincides with a totem clan.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. G. Taplin, in E. M. Curr's

*The Australian Race*, ii. 245.

<sup>4</sup> G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 12. Elsewhere Mr. Taplin writes: "The Narrinyeri never marry one who belongs to the same *ngaitye* or totem—that is, of the same clan; neither do they allow near relations to marry, although of different clans. This is always regarded as of the first importance. Cousins never marry" (in E. M. Curr's *The Australian Race*, ii. 245).

Sexual  
license on  
certain  
occasions.

for her. In the cases of elopement the young man might call in the aid of his comrades, who then had the right of access to the girl, and his male relatives would only defend him from the girl's kindred on the condition of access to her. In regard to this, I may point out here that the initiated youth, during the time he was *narumbe*, had complete licence as to the younger women, and could even approach those of his own class and totem. This shows a survival of older customs, and at the same time marks the distinction between the mere inter-sexual intercourse and the proprietary right of marriage."<sup>1</sup>

Noviciate  
among the  
Narrinyeri.

The condition of *narumbe* or noviciate, to which Dr. Howitt refers, lasted in the Narrinyeri tribe until the young men's beards had been thrice plucked out and had thrice grown again to a length of two inches. During all this time they were forbidden to eat any food which belonged to women, and twenty different kinds of game besides were tabooed to them. It was thought that if they ate any of these forbidden foods, they would grow ugly and break out in sores, and that their hair would turn prematurely grey. Only the animals most difficult to procure were assigned for their subsistence. Everything which the novices possessed or obtained became itself *narumbe* or sacred from the touch of women. Even the bird hit by their waddy, or the kangaroo speared by their spear, or the fish taken by their hook was forbidden to all females, and that, too, even when the weapons had been wielded by the hands of others. Yet in spite of this, and although they were not permitted to take a wife until the time of their noviciate had expired, the novices were allowed the privilege of promiscuous intercourse with the younger portion of the other sex. A single clan could not initiate its youths without the aid of other clans. The Narrinyeri practised neither circumcision nor the knocking out of teeth at initiation.<sup>2</sup>

Among the Narrinyeri there is a family which performs, or used to perform, a magical ceremony to ensure a supply

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp.

15-18; *id.*, in E. M. Curr's *The Australian Race*, ii. 253-255; A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 673-675.

of water and fish. At a certain point of Lake Victoria, in the country of the tribe, when the water at long intervals sinks very low, the stump of a tree emerges from its surface. Whenever this happens, it is the duty of a man of a certain family to anoint the stump with grease and red ochre; for otherwise they think that the lake would dry up and the supply of fish be cut off. The duty passes by inheritance from father to son.<sup>1</sup> This custom reminds us of the magical ceremonies (*intichiuma*) performed for the multiplication of plants, the procuring of rain, and so forth, by totem clans in Central Australia.

Magical ceremonies performed by the Narrinyeri in connection with water and fish.

Another ceremony observed by the Narrinyeri to ensure success in the chase has been described by Mr. George Taplin. He says: "The remains of a kind of sacrifice is found amongst them. When they go on a great kangaroo hunt they knock over the first wallaby which comes near enough to the hunters. A fire is then kindled and the wallaby placed on it, and as the smoke ascends a kind of chant is sung by the men, while they stamp on the ground and lift up their weapons towards heaven. This is done to secure success in hunting, but the reason of the custom they know not."<sup>2</sup> The Narrinyeri also practised some curious rites at the cutting up of an emu; and though these rites like the preceding ceremonies may not be directly connected with their totems, yet a description of them may find a place here, since they illustrate the mental attitude of the natives towards animals, and so indirectly throw light on the origin of totemism. "Among the Narrinyeri, when an emu is killed, it is first plucked, then partly roasted, and the skin taken off. The oldest men of the clan, accompanied by the young men and boys, then carry it to a retired spot away from the camp, all women and children being warned not to come near them. One of the old men undertakes the dissection of the bird, and squats near it, with the rest standing round. He first cuts a slice off the front of one of the legs, and another piece off the back of the leg or thigh; the carcase is turned over, and similar pieces cut off the other leg. The piece off the front of the legs is called

Ceremonies observed by the Narrinyeri to ensure success in the chase and at cutting up an emu.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 399 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. Taplin, in E. M. Curr's *The Australian Race*, ii. 252.

*ngemperumi*; that off the back of the leg or thigh, *pundarauk*. The bird is then opened and a morsel of fat taken from the inside and laid with the sacred or *narumbe* portions already cut off on some grass. The general cutting up of the whole body is then commenced, and whenever the operator is about to break a bone, he calls the attention of the bystanders, who, when the bone snaps, leap and shout and run about, returning in a few minutes only to go through the same performance when another bone is broken. When the carcase has been cut up into convenient pieces for distribution, it is carried by all to the camp, and may then be eaten by men, women, and children, but the men must first blacken their faces and sides with charcoal. The sacred pieces *ngemperumi* and *pundarauk* can only be eaten by the very old men, and on no account even touched by women or young men. If the men did not leap and yell when a bone is broken, they think their bones would rot in them; and the same if any but the deputed person should break a bone. This ceremony was practised by all the clans of the Narrinyeri."<sup>1</sup> These curious rites seem to imply a belief in a sympathetic connection between the bones of men and the bones of the game which they kill and eat. Many savages superstitiously abstain from breaking the bones of the animals which they eat, and some will not suffer dogs to gnaw them.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the key, or at least one key, to such superstitions is furnished by the Narrinyeri practice, the motive for which seems to be a belief that the breaking of the animal's bones will sympathetically break the bones of the person who eats its flesh, unless he proves his bodily frame to be quite intact by skipping and leaping at the critical moment.

Classifica-  
tory terms  
of relation-  
ship  
among the  
Narrinyeri.

The Narrinyeri had the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applied the same term *nanghai* to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters; and he applies the same term *nainkana* to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. In his own

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 763, referring to Mr. F. W. Taplin as his authority.

<sup>2</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, ii. 416 sq.

generation he applied the same term *gelanau* to his brothers, to the sons of his father's brothers, and to the sons of his mother's sisters. In the generation below his own he applied the same term *porlean* to his sons, to his brothers' sons, and to the sons of his wife's sisters. A woman applied the same term *porlean* to her sons, to her sisters' sons, and to the sons of her husband's brothers.<sup>1</sup> As commonly happens under the classificatory system of relationship, the Narrinyeri had quite different terms for elder and younger brothers and sisters. Thus a man said, *gelanowe*, "my elder brother," but *tarte*, "my younger brother": he said, *maranowi*, "my elder sister," but *tarte*, "my younger sister."<sup>2</sup> This shews that the Narrinyeri, like many other tribes with the classificatory system of relationship, carefully distinguish between elder brothers and elder sisters, but confound younger brothers and younger sisters under the same name.

The general account which the Rev. George Taplin gives of the classificatory system of relationship among the Narrinyeri applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to most other peoples who live under the same system. As a clear statement of the relationships which flow from the system in so many peoples it deserves to be quoted. Mr. Taplin writes thus:—<sup>3</sup>

"The following is the system of relationship amongst the Narrinyeri:—

"1. I being male, the children of my brothers are my sons and daughters, the same as my own children are; while the children of my sisters are my nephews and nieces. The grandchildren of my brothers are called *mai yarare* [which is also the term applied by me to my own grandchildren]; while the grandchildren of my sisters are called *mutthari*.

"2. I being female, the children of my sisters are my sons and daughters, the same as my own sons and daughters are; while the children of my brothers are my nephews and

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group-Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 287 sq. Compare Rev. George Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 48-53.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. George Taplin, "The Nar-

rinyeri," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. G. Taplin, *op. cit.* pp. 49 sq. The words printed in square brackets in the first numbered paragraph have been interpolated by me. See Rev. G. Taplin, *op. cit.* p. 52.

Mr. Taplin's general account of the classificatory system of relationship among the Narrinyeri.

nieces ; consequently it is common to hear a native address as *nanghy*, or my father, the man who is his father's brother, as well as his own father ; and as *nainkowa*, or my mother, the woman who is his mother's sister, as well as his own mother.

" 3. All my father's brothers are my fathers, but all my father's sisters are my aunts. But my father's elder brothers have the distinguishing title of *ngoppano*, and his younger have the title of *wyatte*. These terms would be used in the presence of my own father. The name for aunt is *barno*.

" 4. All my mother's sisters are my mothers, but all my mother's brothers are my uncles. *Wanowe* is the word for uncle.

" 5. The children of my father's brothers are my brothers and sisters, and so are the children of my mother's sisters ; but the children of my father's sisters, and those of my mother's brothers, are my cousins. The word for cousin is *nguyanowe*.

" 6. I being male, the children of my male and female cousins are called by the same name as the grandchildren of my sisters, *mutthari*.

" 7. The brothers of my grandfathers, and those of my grandmothers, and also their sisters, are my grandfathers and grandmothers. Whatever title my father's father has, his brothers have, and so of the sisters of my mother's mother.

" 8. My elder brother is called *galanowe*, and my younger brother is called *tarte*. My elder sister is called *maranowe*, and my younger sister is called *tarte*. There is no collective term by which I can designate all my brothers and sisters, whether older or younger than myself."

The Murring, particularly the Yuin tribes.

The last group of tribes with an anomalous class system and male descent which we shall notice are the Murring and more especially the Yuin tribes. Their country is far away from that of the Narrinyeri whom we have just been considering ; for while the Narrinyeri inhabit the coast of South Australia, the Murring inhabit the coast of New South Wales from its extreme south point at Cape Howe

northwards to the Shoalhaven River. Inland their territory extended from the sea to the slopes of the mountains which run parallel to the coast.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Yuin the class system is in a decadent condition; indeed they are said to have neither class names nor even traces of them. But there are many totems scattered over the country, and their names are inherited from the father, not from the mother. "The totem name was called *budjan*, and it was said to be more like *joia*, or magic, than a name; and it was in one sense a secret name, for with it an enemy might cause injury to its bearer by magic. Thus very few people knew the totem names of others, the name being told to a youth by his father at his initiation." In many cases Dr. Howitt found that men had two totem names (*budjan*), one hereditary and the other bestowed by a medicine-man at the initiation rites.<sup>2</sup>

For example, Dr. Howitt knew a man whose clan totem, inherited from his father, was kangaroo, but whose personal totem was wombat. This personal totem had been assigned to him at initiation by the medicine-man, who warned him not to eat it. Another Yuin man, whose hereditary clan totem was kangaroo, believed that the animal gave him warnings of danger by hopping towards him, and he said that it would not be right for a man of the kangaroo (*kaualgur*) totem to kill a kangaroo. Similarly, another man of the black duck totem thought that black ducks warned him against enemies and other perils, therefore he would not eat the birds. This Black Duck man told Dr. Howitt that once while he was asleep a man of the lace-lizard totem sent a lace-lizard to him, and that the reptile went down his throat and almost ate his totem, the black duck, which was in his breast, so that he nearly died. This narrative is very instructive because it shews, as Dr. Howitt points out, that the totem is conceived as forming part of the man, residing in his body. We need not wonder therefore that among the Yuin it was a rule that a man should neither kill nor eat his totem (*budjan* or *jimbir*).<sup>3</sup> Hence too we

Totems (*budjan*) of the Yuin, both hereditary and personal.

Belief that a man's totemic animal resides in his body.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 81 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 147.

can understand why it was that at one of the dances in the initiation ceremonies, when the totem name "Brown Snake" was shouted, a medicine-man produced from his mouth a small live brown snake, which his tribesmen believed to be his familiar.<sup>1</sup> The following is the list of totems which Dr. Howitt obtained from Yuin old men :—<sup>2</sup>

List of  
Yuin  
otems

## YUIN TRIBE

## Totems

kangaroo	bream
emu	black snake
bush-rat	black duck
kangaroo-rat	a small owl ( <i>jaruat</i> )
dingo	a small owl ( <i>tiska</i> )
eagle-hawk	fat
crow	Echidna <i>histris</i> (?) ( <i>janan-gabatch</i> )
pelican	grey magpie
white-breasted cormorant	bandicoot
lace-lizard	water-hen
brown snake	<i>gunimbil</i> (?)

Sex-totems.

Like various other tribes of South-East Australia the Yuin had sex-totems. With them the bat and the emu-wren were the "brothers" of all the men, and the tree-creeper (*Climacteris scandens*) was the "sister" of all the women.<sup>3</sup>

Local  
exogamy  
among the  
Yuin.

Although the clan totems of the Yuin were decadent, they still regulated marriage, for no person might marry a person of the same totem as himself. But in addition to exogamy of the totem clan the Yuin, like the tribes of Western Victoria and coastal tribes such as the Narrinyeri and the Kurnai, observed a rule of local exogamy; for no man might marry a woman who inhabited the same district as himself. The principles of marriage were thus laid down for his son's

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "On Australian Medicine Men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887) pp. 43 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, "On the Migrations of the Kurnai Ancestors," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv. (1886) p. 416; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 150.

guidance by an old Braidwood man : " No one should marry so as to mix the same blood, but he must take a woman of a different name (*mura*, totem) than his own ; and besides this, he must go for a wife to a place as far as possible from his own place." This man, being of Braidwood, went for a wife to Moruya, and he had to give a sister in exchange to his wife's brother. The people who got their living by climbing trees for game in the forests of the interior had to go down to the sea-coast and obtain wives from the people who maintained themselves by fishing ; and similarly the fisher-folk married the sisters of the tree-climbers or waddy-men, as they were called. The limits within which wives were thus procured by the exchange of sisters is indicated by the round which a boy's tooth, knocked out at the initiation ceremonies of the tribe, used to make, being passed on from one headman to another. In old times the limits were Bem Lake, Delegate, Tumut, Braidwood, and so on to Shoalhaven, and thence following the sea-coast to Bem Lake. As Bem Lake was within the territory of the Kurnai tribe, its inclusion seems to show that the Yuin intermarried with the Kurnai.<sup>1</sup> Among the Yuin the father's sister's child was free to marry the mother's brother's child : in other words, marriage was permitted between first cousins, provided that the two were the children of a brother and a sister respectively and that they belonged to the proper intermarrying districts.<sup>2</sup>

Cousin marriages among the Yuin.

In the Yuin tribe marriages were arranged solely by the father. They said that the child belongs to the father, because his wife merely takes care of his children for him, and that therefore he can do what he likes with his daughter. Often a father would betroth his daughter in her infancy ; in that case, when she was grown up, her future husband claimed her and gave a sister in exchange to his wife's brother. Sometimes the fathers would arrange matches between their children at the end of the initiation ceremonies, when the whole intermarrying community met.<sup>3</sup> If a man ran away with a woman whom he might not lawfully marry,

Betrothal among the Yuin.

Punishment of unlawful marriages.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 133, 261, 262.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 262, 263.

all the other men would pursue him, and if they caught him and he refused to give the woman up, the medicine-man of the place would probably say, "This man has done very wrong, you must kill him." Then some one would thrust a spear into him, his kinsmen not daring to interfere, lest they should meet the same fate.<sup>1</sup> A widow went to her husband's brother, if he had one. If not, her male kindred gave her to a man of their choice. In these tribes men did not lend their wives to their brothers. And among them the common rule of aboriginal Australian society which forbade a man to hold any direct communication with his wife's mother was very strictly observed. He might not look at her nor even in her direction. If so much as his shadow fell on his mother-in-law, he would have to leave his wife, and she would have to return to her parents. This law of avoidance was strongly impressed on the novices at the initiation ceremonies.<sup>2</sup> In the Hunter River tribe, further to the north, a man was formerly forbidden to speak to his mother-in-law under pain of death; but in later times the death penalty was commuted into a severe reprimand and banishment from the camp for a time.<sup>3</sup>

The  
Levirate.

Avoidance  
of mother-  
in-law.

Classifica-  
tory terms  
of relation-  
ship  
among the  
Yuin.

The Yuin had the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applied the same term *manung* to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. But on the other hand he applied different terms to his father (*banga*), to his father's brothers (*nadjung*), and to the husbands of his mother's sisters (*kaung*). Thus the Yuin discriminated between a father and his brothers, but not between a mother and her sisters. In his own generation a Yuin man applied the same term *dadung* to his brothers, to the sons of his father's brothers, and to the sons of his mother's sisters. He applied the same term *nadjanduri* to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives; and a wife applied the same term *tarrama* to her husband, to her husband's brothers, and to her sisters' husbands. In the generation below his own a man applied the same term

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 264, 266.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 267, on the authority of C. F. Holmes.

*wurum* to his sons, to his brothers' sons, and to the sons of his wife's sisters. A woman applied the same term *wurum* to her sons, to her sisters' sons, and to the sons of her husband's brothers.<sup>1</sup>

§ 10. *Tribes with neither Exogamous Classes nor Totem Clans*

In a few tribes of South-East Australia the organisation of society in exogamous classes and totem clans has not been found, whether it be that such an organisation never existed among them or, as is more probable, that it has perished. Of these tribes the best known is the Kurnai of Gippsland, who have had the good fortune to be examined and described by Dr. A. W. Howitt.<sup>2</sup> Their territory occupied almost the whole of Gippsland, stretching along the coast for about two hundred miles and extending inland for about seventy miles to the Dividing Range.<sup>3</sup> It is a land of giant mountains, great forests, fine streams, and fertile plains, with a climate and a soil well fitted to the growth of the orange. Much of the rugged region to the north and east is still unexplored, and indeed almost inaccessible, so broken is it by precipices and ravines.<sup>4</sup> To the native inhabitants before the advent of the whites, this rich and beautiful country teemed with the means of subsistence. The grassy forests and savannahs were stocked with kangaroos and other sorts of herbivorous marsupials: the forest trees harboured opossums, the native bear, and the iguana: the rivers and lakes swarmed with varieties of fish and eels: plants, bushes, and trees of different kinds afforded edible substances in roots, berries, or seeds; and both on land and water birds were many and various. Food was therefore abundant and varied, including almost everything from the grubs of insects to the great kangaroo. In such a country, lying between the ocean and the high snowy

Tribes without exogamous classes and totem clans.

The Kurnai, the nature of their country.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group-Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 287 sq.

<sup>2</sup> They were first described by him in the work which he published jointly with the late Rev. Lorimer Fison,

*Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (Melbourne, 1880), pp. 177 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. 285-287.

ranges of the Australian Alps, droughts such as periodically desolate the interior of the continent are rare, if not unknown.<sup>1</sup> Great indeed is the difference between this happy, fruitful, temperate land and the arid, sun-scorched wilderness of Lake Eyre; and accordingly great is the difference between the social system of the natives in these two sharply contrasted regions.<sup>2</sup>

Local  
exogamy of  
the Kurnai.

Traces  
of a class-  
system  
among  
them.

While the Kurnai were divided neither into exogamous classes nor into totem clans, they recognised the principle of exogamy, for among them marriages could only properly take place reciprocally between members of certain districts. However, judging from similarities of language, from tradition, and from common customs, Dr. Howitt concludes that the Kurnai were probably an offshoot of the Kulin nation and may at one time have been organised like the Kulin in two exogamous classes, Eagle-hawk (Bunjil) and Crow.<sup>3</sup> For while among the Western Port tribes to the west of the Kurnai the name Bunjil signified "eagle-hawk," and was applied to a supernatural old man who lived at the sources of the Yarra River, among the Kurnai the title Bunjil was regularly bestowed on every old man, being compounded with another word significative of some quality or peculiarity. For example, one man was called Bunjil-tambun from his skill in catching perch (*tambun*). Another was named Bunjil-barlajan from his skill in spearing platypus (*barlajan*). Another was called Bunjil-daua-ngun from *daua-ngun*, "to turn up," because he was noted for making bark canoes, much turned up at the bow.<sup>4</sup> Another was called Bunjil-bataluk, because he was attended by a tame lace-lizard (*bataluk*).<sup>5</sup> This usage of the title Bunjil may possibly be connected with the former existence of an exogamous class named Bunjil or Eagle-hawk. Again, the reverence which the Kurnai showed for the crow (*ngarugal*) may perhaps have been derived from a time when the crow gave its

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> As to Lake Eyre and its tribes see above, pp. 340 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 134. As to the Kulin class system, see above,

pp. 434 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 323 *sq.*; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 738 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 277.

name to a second exogamous class and was revered by its members. The crow was said to be the friend of the Kurnai, and it was deemed wrong to kill a crow. To do so, they thought, would bring on stormy weather.<sup>1</sup>

Further, every Kurnai received the name of some marsupial, bird, reptile, or fish from his father, when he was about ten years old or at initiation. A man would say, pointing to the creature in question, "That is your elder brother (*thundung*); do not hurt it." Dr. Howitt knew of two cases in which the father said to his son, "It will be yours when I am dead." While each man protected his animal "elder brother" (*thundung*), the animal was in its turn believed to protect his human "younger brother" by warning him in dreams of approaching danger or by coming towards him in bodily shape. Sometimes, too, it was appealed to in song-charms to relieve him in sickness. And apparently people claimed to exercise power over their "elder brothers"; for Dr. Howitt knew a man whose "elder brother" was shark (*yalmurai*), and who would not hurt a shark; but if there were too many sharks about, the man would "sing" them, and then they were supposed to go away. The animal "elder brothers" (*thundung*) of the Kurnai included the wombat, kangaroo, platypus, water-hen, a small bird (*blitburing*), eagle-hawk (*gwanomurrung*), tiger-snake, sea-salmon, small conger-eel, and large conger-eel. Dr. Howitt justly observes that these "elder brothers" are clearly the equivalents of the totems of other tribes; but if, as he supposes, the Kurnai were formerly divided into two exogamous moieties Eagle-hawk and Crow, he is unable to say to which of the moieties the various totems belonged.<sup>2</sup> Close parallels to the "elder brothers" of the Kurnai are furnished by the personal totems of the Yuin and of the tribes about Maryborough. Like the Kurnai, the tribes about Maryborough called their personal totems their "brothers."<sup>3</sup>

Kurnai  
"elder  
brothers"  
..  
the equi-  
valents of  
totems.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 134 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 135. The interesting information as to the man who had a shark for his "elder brother" and used to "sing" sharks was communicated to me by Dr. Howitt in a letter dated Clovelly, Metung, 12th

March 1904. Dr. Howitt seems not to have embodied it in his book. In this letter, which announced the discovery of the animal "elder brothers" of the Kurnai, Dr. Howitt also mentions that a woman would call her personal totem *banung*, that is, "elder sister."

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 448 sq., 489 sq.

Sex-totems  
among the  
Kurnai, the  
emu-wren  
and the  
superb  
warbler, the  
"brother"  
and  
"sister"  
of the  
men and  
women re-  
spectively.

But not only had every Kurnai his own animal "elder brother" or personal totem, as we may call it; all the Kurnai men united in reverencing the emu-wren (*Stipiturus Malachurus*) as their "elder brother," and all the women similarly united in reverencing the superb warbler (*Malurus Cyaneus*) as their "elder sister." In short, the emu-wren, which they called *yeerung*, and the superb warbler, which they called *djeetgun*, were the sex-totems of the men and women respectively. Sometimes, if the men and women quarrelled, the women would go out and kill an emu-wren in order to spite the men by the death of their "brother." When they returned to the camp with the dead bird, the men would attack them with their clubs, and the women would defend themselves with their digging-sticks. Or the men might be the aggressors by killing a superb warbler, and the women would then avenge the death of their "sister" by attacking the men. Curiously enough, these fights over the two birds, the men's "brother" and the women's "sister," were sometimes deliberately provoked by the women as a means of inducing the young unmarried men to offer marriage to the young unmarried women. When bachelors were shy and backward, the elder women would go out into the forest, kill some emu-wrens, and bring them back to the camp. Then they would show the dead birds to the men, who flew into a rage at the murder of their "brothers." Young men and young women now attacked each other with sticks, heads were broken, and blood flowed. Even married men and women joined in this free fight. Next day some of the young men would go out and kill some of the superb warblers, the women's "sisters"; so there would be another fight, perhaps worse than the first, when they came back. By and by, it might be in a week or two, when the wounds and bruises were healed, a young man might meet a young woman and say, "Superb Warbler! What does the Superb Warbler eat?" She would answer, "She eats kangaroo, opossum," and so forth. This constituted a formal offer of marriage and an acceptance, and the couple thereafter eloped with each other in the customary fashion of the tribe. While fights of this sort between the sexes on account of the killing of their sex-totems seem to

have been common among the tribes which practised this curious form of totemism, the Kurnai are the only tribe who are known to have used such combats as a means of promoting marriage.<sup>1</sup> With regard to sex-totems in general, which have as yet been found nowhere but among the tribes of South-East Australia, Dr. Howitt observes: "I am quite unable to offer any suggestion as to the origin of the sex totems. I am not aware of any case in which they have been eaten. They are thought to be friendly to the sex they are akin to, and are protected by it."<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, Kurnai medicine-men were sometimes believed to possess what we may call a personal totem of their own which they had obtained by dreaming about the animal. For example, a Kurnai man dreamed several times that he had become a lace-lizard and, as such, had assisted at a corroboree of these reptiles. Hence it was believed that he had acquired power over them, and he had actually a tame lace-lizard, about four feet long, in his camp, while his wife and children lived in another camp close by. As he put it, his lace-lizard (*bataluk*) and himself were like the same person, as he was a lace-lizard (*bataluk*) also. The lizard accompanied him wherever he went, sitting on his shoulders or partly on his head, and people thought that it informed him of danger, helped him in tracking his enemies or young couples who had eloped, and in fact was his friend and protector. It was also believed that he could send his familiar lizard at night to injure people in their camps while they slept. In consequence of this comradeship with lace-lizards, and probably because he was in some manner one of them, he received the name of Bunjil-lace-lizard.<sup>3</sup> Another Kurnai medicine-man had a tame brown snake which he fed on frogs. People were very much afraid of him, because they supposed that he sent the snake out at night to injure them.<sup>4</sup> One of the best remembered of the Kurnai seers or

Personal  
totems of  
Kurnai  
medicine-  
men.

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 201 sq.; A. W. Howitt, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 56 sq.; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 148 sq., 273 sq.

*South-East Australia*, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, "On Australian Medicine Men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887) p. 34; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 387.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 387 sq.

wizards was a man named Mundauin. It is related of him that he became a seer (*birraarké*) by dreaming thrice that he was a kangaroo, and as such participated in a corroboree of these animals. In consequence of this kinship with kangaroos he might not eat any part of a kangaroo on which there was blood, nor might he even carry home one which had blood on it. Others carried and cooked the bleeding animal for him, and then gave him cooked pieces of the flesh which he was allowed to eat. He said that if he were to eat any kangaroo flesh with blood on it, or touch the fresh blood of a kangaroo, the spirits or ghosts (*mrarts*) would no longer take him up aloft. For after he had dreamed of kangaroos, he began to hear the ghosts drumming and singing up on high, and at last one night they came and carried him away. And afterwards, when the ghosts wished to communicate with him they used to catch him up by night, and people could hear him and the spirits up in the air or among the tree-tops whistling and shouting, till at last, as the night grew late, a hollow muffled voice said, "We must now go home, or the west wind may blow us out to sea."<sup>1</sup> These accounts shew that in Australia personal totems or guardian spirits were sometimes acquired in dreams, just as they commonly were in North America.<sup>2</sup> If personal totems so obtained came to be afterwards transmitted by inheritance, as they might be, it seems clear that they would be indistinguishable from clan totems of the ordinary type.

While marriage among the Kurnai was regulated by locality and not by the *thundungs* or personal totems of the parties, it nevertheless happened that under the rule of male descent the personal totems (*thundungs*) were segregated into the intermarrying districts, and so indirectly affected or seemed to affect marriage. For since a man regularly brought his wife to his own district, and she did not transmit her personal totem (*thundung* or rather *bauung*<sup>3</sup>) to the children, while he transmitted his to them, it follows that in the same district the same totem was inherited without change

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "On Australian Medicine Men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887) p. 45; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East*

*Australia*, pp. 390 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 495, note <sup>2</sup>.

from generation to generation. Thus, under the influence of paternal descent these personal totems became localised in certain areas ; and as marriage was regulated by these areas, it might appear that the totemic area, in so far as it coincided with the exogamous local area, also regulated marriage.<sup>1</sup> Marriage among the Kurnai was individual, not communal. It is true that in the common case of elopement the men who had been initiated at the same time as the bridegroom had a right of access to the bride. But after marriage no sexual licence was allowed, except when, terrified by the glare of the Southern Streamers in the nightly sky, the old men ordered the people to exchange wives for the day, and swung the dried hand of a dead man to and fro with cries of " Send it away ! " <sup>2</sup>

Sexual licence in certain occasions.

The custom of local exogamy, combined with the numerous prohibited degrees of relationship, had the effect of placing so many impediments in the way of marriage among the Kurnai that the propagation of the tribe would almost have ceased if the young people had not often taken matters into their own hands, and set all the rules at defiance by running away with each other. Indeed, elopement was commonly the only way out of the deadlock, and it became in fact the ordinary mode of marriage in the tribe, being tacitly connived at, though publicly denounced and severely punished, by the professedly indignant parents of the runaways.<sup>3</sup> The exaggerated scrupulosity of the Australian savage as to the marriage of near kin had at last landed him in a grave dilemma ; he had to choose between law-breaking and extinction, and he naturally chose to break the law.

Elopement the customary form of marriage among the Kurnai.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 269. A table of the intermarrying localities is given by Dr. Howitt (*op. cit.* p. 272).

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 276 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 200-202 ; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 273-279. One of Dr. Howitt's informants was a certain woman Nanny, the oldest of the Gippsland aboriginals then living, for she had been a widow with grey hair when Angus M'Millan discovered the country. " She stated

positively that the rule was that all young women ran off with their husbands ; and she could only recollect three cases where girls had been given away." See Fison and Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 200 note \*. " Among the Kurnai elopement was the recognised and most frequent form of marriage, yet here both parties, if caught, were severely—the woman savagely—punished" (A. W. Howitt and L. Fison, " From Mother-right to Father-right," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1883) p. 39).

Classifica-  
tory terms  
of relation-  
ship among  
the Kurnai.

Yet in the classificatory terms of relationship the Kurnai preserved a record of a time when their ancestors had been as loose as their descendants were strict in sexual relations. Thus in the generation above his own a man applied the same term *mungan* to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters; and he applied the same term *yukan* to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. Further, as commonly happens under the classificatory system, the Kurnai had quite different terms for elder and younger brother, and again for elder and younger sister. Thus a man called his elder brother *thundung*, but his younger brother *bramung*; he called his elder sister *bauung*, but his younger sister *lunduk*; and he applied these same words for brother and sister to his first cousins, the sons and daughters of his father's brothers and sisters, and the same words to his other first cousins, the sons and daughters of his mother's sisters and brothers. He applied the same term *maian* to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives; and a woman applied the same term *bra* to her husband, to her husband's brothers, and to her sisters' husbands. In the generation below his own a man applied the same term *lit* to his children, to his brothers' children, and to the children of his wife's sisters; and a woman applied the same term *lit* to her children, to her sisters' children, and to the children of her husband's brothers.<sup>1</sup> Terms thus expressive of group relationship are best explicable, as I have already pointed out,<sup>2</sup> on the hypothesis that they are derived from a system of group-marriage.

Custom of  
the Levirate  
among the  
Kurnai.

Among the Kurnai on the death of a married man his wife went by right to his surviving brother, and if he had several wives they went to his brothers in order of seniority. The reason alleged for this custom was that a brother is the proper person to support his brother's widow and his brother's children. The widow might, however, refuse to marry her husband's brother and might choose another

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 169; *id.*, "Australian Group-Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological*

*Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 287 sq. Compare Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 236 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 303 sqq.

man whom she liked better.<sup>1</sup> This custom of succession to a deceased brother's widow is known as the Levirate.<sup>2</sup> It occurs in many, though not in all, Australian tribes,<sup>3</sup> and it has been practised by many other peoples in many other parts of the world. The custom is probably to be explained with Dr. Howitt,<sup>4</sup> at least for Australia, as a relic of group-marriage: the brothers, who under that system would have shared their wives in their lifetime, afterwards inherited them successively, each stepping one after the other into the shoes of his deceased predecessor. The eminent anthropologist, J. F. McLennan, indeed, proposed to explain the Levirate as a relic of polyandry, not of group-marriage.<sup>5</sup> But against this view it is to be said that group-marriage is found in Australia, whereas polyandry is not; so that the cause presupposed by Howitt actually exists in the region where the custom is practised, while the cause presupposed by McLennan does not. Further, it should be borne in mind, that whereas both the Levirate and the classificatory system of relationship, with its plain testimony to group-marriage, occur very widely over the world, the custom of polyandry appears to have been comparatively rare and exceptional, and the reason for its rarity is simply that the only basis on which polyandry could permanently exist, to wit, a great numerical preponderance of men over women, appears never to have been a normal condition with any race of men of whom we have knowledge. In Africa, for example, as in Australia, the custom of the Levirate is very common and the classificatory system of relationship seems to be widely spread, but the custom of polyandry is apparently unknown.<sup>6</sup> It is more reasonable, therefore, to look for the origin of the widely diffused custom of the Levirate in a custom like group-marriage, which we have good reason for

The Levirate is probably a relic of group-marriage, not of polyandry.

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> The name is derived from the Latin *levir*, "husband's brother." As to the custom, see A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, i. 186 sqq.; *id.*, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i. 419 sqq. The evidence might easily be multiplied.

<sup>3</sup> For some exceptions, see above,

p. 461.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 281.

<sup>5</sup> J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. 108 sqq.; J. F. McLennan and D. McLennan, *The Patriarchal Theory* (London, 1885), pp. 156 sqq., 266 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> A. H. Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i. 419 note<sup>6</sup>.

believing to have been at one time very widely diffused, rather than in a custom like polyandry for which no such evidence is forthcoming.

With changed surroundings the custom of the Levirate has assumed a different character among different peoples.

But when the Levirate survived, as it often did, among peoples who had left group-marriage far behind them, it would naturally assume a different character with its changed surroundings. Thus wherever the rights of property and the practice of purchasing wives had become firmly established, the tendency was to regard the widow as part of the inheritance which passed to the heir, whether he was a brother, a son, or any other relation of the deceased husband. This, for example, appears to be the current view of the Levirate in Africa, where the custom is commonly observed.<sup>1</sup> Again, wherever it came to be supposed that a man's eternal welfare in the other world depends on his leaving children behind him, who will perform the rites necessary for his soul's salvation, it naturally became the pious duty of the survivors to remedy as far as they could the parlous state of a kinsman who had died childless, and on none would that duty appear to be more incumbent than on the brother of the deceased. In such circumstances the old custom of the Levirate might be continued, or perhaps revived, with the limitation which we find in Hebrew and Hindoo law, namely that a brother must marry his brother's widow only in the case where the deceased died childless, and only for the purpose of begetting on the widow a son or sons for him who had left none of his own. Thus what had once been regarded as a right of succession to be enjoyed by the heir might afterwards come to be viewed as a burdensome and even repulsive obligation imposed upon a surviving brother or other kinsman, who submitted to it reluctantly out of a sense of duty to the dead. This is the light in which the Levirate has been considered by Hindoo lawgivers.<sup>2</sup>

But neither of these explanations can apply to the Levirate as practised by the aborigines of Australia, for

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i. 419-425.

<sup>2</sup> J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, pp. 70 sq. (in G. Bühler's *Grundriss der Indo-*

*Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, vol. ii.); J. F. McLennan and D. McLennan, *The Patriarchal Theory*, pp. 156 sqq., 266 sqq.

these savages neither buy their wives and transmit them like chattels to their heirs, nor do they believe in a heaven from which the childless and friendless are excluded. Accordingly we must look for another explanation of their custom of handing over a widow to her deceased husband's brother, and such an explanation lies to our hand in the old custom of group-marriage, which still survives among the more backward of the tribes.

But to return to the Kurnai. "The curious custom," says Dr. Howitt, "in accordance with which the man was prohibited from speaking to, or having any communication or dealings with, his wife's mother, is one of extraordinary strength, and seems to be rooted deep down in their very nature. So far as I know it is of widespread occurrence throughout Australia." Dr. Howitt mentions a Kurnai man of his acquaintance, who was a member of the Church of England, but who nevertheless positively refused to speak to his mother-in-law and reproached Dr. Howitt for expecting him to commit so gross a breach of good manners.<sup>1</sup> The most probable explanation of this singular rule of avoidance appears to be the one which Dr. Howitt has suggested, namely that it is intended to prevent the possibility of that marriage with a mother-in-law which, while it was repugnant to the feelings of the native, was yet not barred by the old two-class system with maternal descent.<sup>2</sup> This view is not indeed free from difficulties, some of which have been already pointed out;<sup>3</sup> but on the whole it seems open to fewer objections than any other explanation that has yet been put forward.

Professor E. B. Tylor has suggested that the ceremonial avoidance in question springs from a practice of the husband's residing after marriage with his wife's family, who regard him as an intruder and therefore pretend to ignore him.<sup>4</sup> But this explanation can hardly apply to Australia, where the wife regularly goes to live with her husband's people. Yet nowhere apparently is the custom of avoidance more widely

Avoidance of a wife's mother among the Kurnai.

This avoidance is probably intended to prevent improper relations between the two.

Professor Tylor's explanation of the custom seems inapplicable to Australia.

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 203. Compare A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> See above, note on pp. 285 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 286 note.

<sup>4</sup> E. B. Tylor, "On a Method of investigating the Development of Institutions," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 246-248.

However, although in Australia a man does not take up his abode with his wife's parents, he is often bound to provide them with food, which may perhaps be a relic of a closer tie between him and them.

spread and more deeply rooted than in Australia. However, while Messrs. Spencer and Gillen know of no Australian tribe in which it is the custom for a man to take up his abode with his wife's family and to work for them, they point to certain observances which may possibly be relics of such a practice. Thus in the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes a man is bound to provide his father-in-law (*ikuntera*), whether actual or tribal, with food even before he partakes of it himself; and on the other hand he is strictly forbidden to eat the flesh of any animal which his father-in-law, actual or tribal, has killed or even only seen. More than that, he must be careful not to let men who stand to him in the relation of father-in-law see him eating any food, lest they should spoil it by "projecting their smell into it." It is believed that were he to eat the flesh of game which has been killed or seen by his father-in-law, the food would disagree with him and he would sicken and suffer severely.<sup>1</sup> Similarly among some of the tribes of South-East Australia a man was bound to provide his wife's parents and sometimes other members of her family with food according to certain fixed and definite rules. Thus amongst the Kurnai if a man killed five opossums, he had to give two of them to his wife's parents and two of them to her brothers. If a Kurnai killed a wombat, the whole of the carcass went to his wife's parents; for this animal was reckoned the best of food. If a man killed a native sloth bear, he gave it to his wife's parents; if he killed two, he gave one to his wife's parents and one to his own parents; if he killed three, he gave two to his wife's parents and one to his own parents; and so on. He might probably keep the liver of the sloth bear for himself and his wife. If he killed several swans, he kept one or more for his family and sent the remainder to his wife's parents; but if he had killed a large number of the birds, he sent most of them to his wife's parents and a smaller number to his own parents. If a man killed a conger-eel, it went to his wife's father. This custom of providing a wife's parents with food was called by the Kurnai *neborak*; and we are told that "in all cases the

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 469 sq.; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 609 sq.

largest supply and the best of the food is sent to the wife's parents." Apparently, though we are not expressly told so, the food thus given to the parents of a man's wife was sent through his wife, not given by him directly to them. And next morning his parents-in-law sent him some food in return through their daughter, his wife, "on the assumption that their son-in-law provided for his family on the preceding day, but may want some food before going out to hunt afresh."<sup>1</sup> Similarly among the Manero natives the custom of providing a wife's parents with food was strictly observed; a man had to supply his father-in-law and mother-in-law with the best parts of the game, and if possible with wombat flesh, that being considered the best of all. The food was always carried by the wife to her parents.<sup>2</sup> Again, among the Mukjarawaint, if a married man killed a kangaroo, he sent some of it to his parents-in-law through his wife, because he might not go near her mother, or her father might come himself to fetch it.<sup>3</sup> Such customs may possibly, as Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe, be derived from a time when a man owed allegiance to his wife's group.<sup>4</sup> But it is also possible that the customs have an entirely different origin.

Another tribe which appears to have lost both its exogamous classes and its totems was the Chepara. They occupied the extreme south-east corner of Queensland, between Brisbane and the New South Wales boundary. Their territory skirted the sea, but also extended inland. Among them marriage was regulated by locality, and names descended in the male line.<sup>5</sup> If an unmarried girl was captured on a raid, she belonged to her captor, and his

The Chepara tribe, its marriage customs and traces of totems.

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 261-263; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 756-758.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 760.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 764.

<sup>4</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 470.

<sup>5</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 86, 135 sq.,

280. Yet Dr. Howitt says (p. 280) that in this tribe "a wife was obtained from any clan, even that of the husband." As Dr. Howitt regularly employs the term clan in the sense of a local division of a tribe with male descent (*op. cit.* p. 43), it would seem from the statement which I have just quoted that in the Chepara tribe the districts were not exogamous. It is therefore difficult to see how they can have regulated marriage.

Panto-  
mimes at  
initiation.

comrades had no right of access to her. Wives were not exchanged under any circumstances, nor were they lent to friendly visitors.<sup>1</sup> At the initiation ceremonies of this tribe men used to give pantomimic representations of flying foxes on branches, of bees flying about, of curlews, and of many other creatures. Perhaps, as Dr. Howitt suggests, these representations may be relics of totems which have disappeared.<sup>2</sup>

Avoidance  
of mother-  
in-law.

Among the Chepara a woman was not allowed to see her daughter's husband in camp or elsewhere. When he was present she kept her head covered by an opossum rug. The camp of the mother-in-law faced in a different direction to that of her son-in-law. A screen of high bushes was erected between both huts, so that nobody could see over from either, and husband and wife conversed in a tone which her mother could not overhear. When the mother-in-law went for firewood, she crouched down, as she went in or out, with her head covered. If the son-in-law climbed a tree to take a hive of native bees, his wife might sit at the foot of it, but her mother had to stay a long way off with her head muffled up. When the man had got the hive, descended the tree, and gone off, the mother-in-law might come and help her daughter to cut up the comb and carry it away.<sup>3</sup>

Classifica-  
tory terms  
of relation-  
ship  
among the  
Chepara.

The Chepara possessed the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applied the same term *bing* to his father and to his father's brothers; and he applied the same term *buyung* to his mother and to his mother's sisters. In his own generation he applied the same term *nabong* to his brothers, to the sons of his father's brothers, and to the sons of his mother's sisters. He applied the same term *nubunpingun* to his wife and to his wife's sisters; and a woman applied the same term *nubunping* to her husband and to her husband's brothers. In the generation below his own a man applied the same term *naring* to his sons, to his brothers' sons, and to the sons of his wife's sisters. Similarly a woman applied the

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 280. 581 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 280

same term *naring* to her sons, to her sisters' sons, and to the sons of her husband's brothers.<sup>1</sup>

### § 11. *Equivalence of the Exogamous Classes*

From the foregoing survey of totemism and exogamy in South-Eastern Australia it may be seen how diversified are the social systems which have been based on these two principles. In some tribes we find the simple two-class system, in others the more complex four-class system, while in others, again, the system of exogamous classes has vanished or left only faint traces behind. In some tribes there is male descent; in others there is female descent. In some tribes the totem clans are well developed and clearly defined; in others they are decadent or almost, if not wholly, obliterated. On the whole, the extinction of the class system is most marked among the tribes of the coast, who, retaining the principle of exogamy, have applied it to local districts instead of to kinship groups, or rather perhaps have identified the local groups with the kinship groups. The chief factor in this conversion of kinship exogamy into local exogamy has been the adoption of paternal in preference to maternal descent; for where the men remain in the same district, and transmit their family names unchanged from generation to generation, while the names of the wives whom they import from other districts die out with their owners, the result is to make the kinship group, indicated by the possession of a common hereditary name, coincide more or less exactly with the local group, and thus the principle of class or kinship exogamy tends to pass gradually and almost insensibly into the principle of local exogamy.<sup>2</sup>

The different types of social organisation, being distributed over the continent, are necessarily in contact with each other at many points. A tribe, for example, with the two-class system may border on a tribe with the four-class system: a tribe with female descent may have for its neighbour another

Diversity of marriage systems in South-East Australia.

Where tribes with different marriage systems meet and intermarry, they have

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group-Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 287 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See also above, pp. 81, 83.

to adjust  
their  
systems so  
as to fit  
into each  
other.

with male descent ; and so on. No great difficulty would be created by this contact of discordant systems if the relations between the tribes were uniformly hostile, for then each tribe would go its own way, indifferent as to the modes in which their enemies across the border married and reared their children. But, on the whole, the relations between neighbouring tribes in Australia have been peaceful and friendly, and intermarriage between them has been the rule rather than the exception. Accordingly, wherever two intermarrying tribes possessed different types of social organisation, it has been necessary for them to come to an understanding with each other on the subject of marriage, to dovetail, so to say, the matrimonial system of the one into the matrimonial system of the other, so that every person in the one tribe may know whom in the other tribe he or she, in accordance with the rigorous principles of savage exogamy, is at liberty to marry. This nice and sometimes complex adjustment of the divergent marriage laws of neighbouring tribes has been carried out, on the whole, by the Australian aborigines with a skill which does credit to their intelligence. "Wherever two systems touch each other," says Dr. Howitt, "the members of the adjacent tribes invariably know which of the neighbouring classes corresponds to their own, and therefore the individual knows well with which class or subclass of the other tribe his own intermarries ; and he knows also, though perhaps not quite so well, the marriage relations of the other class or subclass, as the case may be."<sup>1</sup>

Equiva-  
lence of the  
various  
class  
systems.

With regard to the equivalence of the various marriage systems to each other, I will quote the observations of Dr. Howitt. He says : "The equivalence of class or subclasses long ago attracted my attention when I was studying the organisation of the Kamilaroi tribes. I found on comparing the class divisions of any large group of allied tribes such as the Kamilaroi, that the several tribes have more or less marked differences in their classes and subclasses, either in the names themselves or, in extreme cases, in their arrangement. These differences are often merely dialectic variations of name ; but in other cases they amount to

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 141 sq.

differences in the structure of the system itself. When a still larger group of tribes is examined, the variations become wider and the differences greater. Nevertheless, the general identity of structure and of the fundamental laws of the classes over wide areas proves, beyond doubt, that these varied forms are substantially equivalent. I may note here that the boundaries of a class system are usually wider than those of a tribe, and that the boundaries of any one type of system have a still wider range, and include those aggregates of tribes which I have termed nations. All such aggregates are bound together by a community of class organisation which indicates a community of descent."<sup>1</sup>

Examples will show how this equivalence of the exogamous classes is carried out in practice. In the Wotjobaluk tribe the two class names are Krokitch and Gamutch. To the north the Wotjobaluk bordered on the Wiimbaio, whose class names are Mukwara and Kilpara. A Wotjobaluk man, who was Krokitch, told Dr. Howitt that when he went to the Wiimbaio tribe he was Kilpara, and that the people there told him that the Gamutch of the Wotjobaluk was the same as the Mukwara of the Wiimbaio. A similar statement was made to Dr. Howitt by a man of the tribe which is next to the Wiimbaio up the Murray River. He said that he was Kilpara, but that when he went south he was Krokitch; and his wife added that, being Mukwara at home, she was Gamutch in the south.<sup>2</sup>

Examples of the equivalence of the class systems.

From a survivor of the Gal-gal-baluk clan of the Jajaurung tribe, who lived on the Avoca River, Dr. Howitt learned that two sets of class names met there, Bunjil and Waang of the Jajaurung tribe, and Krokitch and Gamutch of the tribe living to the west of the river. In the south-west of Victoria the same sets of class names meet between Geelong and Colac, where Kroki is equivalent to Bunjil and Kumitch to Waang.<sup>3</sup>

On the Maranoa River in Southern Queensland two types of the four-class system meet, the equivalents of the Kamilaroi names on the one side, and the equivalents of the Northern Queensland names on the other. There, as it was put to Dr. Howitt, "a Hippai man is also Kurgilla,"

More examples of the equivalence of the class systems.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 137 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 138.

and so on with the other names of the subclasses. To the north-east of the Marona tribe three types of the four-class system meet. There is a tribe called the Bigambul with four subclasses, called, in Kamilaroi fashion, Hipai, Kombo, Murri, and Kobi. There is a tribe called the Emon with four subclasses called Taran, Bondan, Barah, and Bondurr. And there is a tribe called the Ungorri with four subclasses called Urgilla, Anbeir, Wungo, and Ubur. The equivalence of all these three sets of subclasses is recognised by the tribes in the manner indicated in the sub-joined table:—<sup>1</sup>

BIGAMBUL.	EMON.	UNGORRI.
Hipai Kombo Murri Kobi	Taran Bondan Barah Bondurr	Urgilla Anbeir Wungo Ubur

A similar equivalence between the exogamous classes of different tribes has been recorded of the tribes of North-Western Queensland towards the Gulf of Carpentaria.<sup>2</sup>

More examples of the equivalence of the class systems.

West of the Wiradjuri nation is a vast area occupied by tribes with the two-class system. Here the two class names Kilpara and Mukwara extend north-west to the Grey Range, where they adjoin the two class names Kulpuru and Tiniwa of such tribes as the Yantruwunta. Here it seems that Kulpuru is the equivalent of Kilpara, and that Tiniwa is the equivalent of Mukwara. The Yantruwunta

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 109, 138. The recorded totems of the Emon tribe are emu, water, carpet-snake, and scrub turkey. Those of the Ungorri tribe are kangaroo, bandicoot, opossum, flying fox, brown snake, and lizard. Probably both lists are incomplete. Neither in the Emon nor in the Ungorri tribe could Dr. Howitt ascertain the names of the two exogamous moieties or classes. See A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 109 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 300. See Mr. Palmer's evidence, quoted below, pp. 521 *sq.* "The Maikolon [Mycoolon] names on the Cloncurry River are the equivalents of those of the Kugobathi on the Mitchell River, on the east side of the Gulf of Carpentaria" (A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 138, on the authority of Mr. Edward Palmer).

names in their turn have their equivalents to the west in the names of the Dieri classes, Kararu and Matteri, for Tiniwa is the same as Kararu, and Kulpuru is the same as Matteri. This identification of the class names would therefore carry us southward through a number of tribes to Port Lincoln, where the Dieri class names occur.<sup>1</sup>

To the westward of Lake Eyre are the Urabunna with the same class names of the Dieri in the forms of Kirarawa and Matthurie.<sup>2</sup> On the north the Urabunna with their two-class system and female descent border on the southern Arunta with their system of four nominal though eight real subclasses and male descent.<sup>3</sup> The arrangement of marriages between persons of two tribes with such very different social organisations is necessarily a matter of some nicety, which cannot be carried out without the exercise of a good deal of thought and sagacity. Yet this feat, which might puzzle a civilised lawyer, has been successfully accomplished by the Australian savages. As to the mode in which the adjustment is made it will be best to quote the statement of our informants, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. They say: "It sometimes happens, in fact not infrequently, that a man from the neighbouring Arunta tribe comes to live amongst the Urabunna. In the former where it adjoins the latter there are four subclasses, viz. Bulthara and Panunga, Kumara and Purula, and in addition descent is counted in the male line. Accordingly the men of the Bulthara and Purula classes are regarded as the equivalents of the Matthurie moiety of the Urabunna tribe, and those of the Panunga and Kumara classes as the equivalents of the Kirarawa. In just the same way a Matthurie man going into the Arunta tribe becomes either a Bulthara or Purula, and a Kirarawa man becomes either a Panunga or a Kumara man. Which of the two a Matthurie man belongs to is decided by the old men of the group into which he goes. Sometimes a man will take up his abode permanently, or for a long time, amongst the strange

Mutual adjustment of the two-class system of the Urabunna with female descent to the four-class system of the Arunta with male descent.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 138. For the class names (Karraru and Mattiri) of the Port Lincoln tribe see C. W.

Schürmann, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 222; above, p. 369.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 176 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 259 *sqq.*

tribe, in which case, if it be decided, for example, that he is a Bulthara, then his children will be born Panunga, that is, they belong to his own adopted moiety. He has, of course, to marry a Kumara woman, or if he be already provided with a wife, then she is regarded as a Kumara, and if he goes back into his own tribe then his wife is regarded as a Kirarawa, and the children also take the same name. This deliberate change in the grouping of the classes and subclasses so as to make them fit in with the maternal line of descent or with the paternal, as the case may be, will be more easily understood from the accompanying table:—

<i>Arunta.</i>	<i>Urabunna arrangement of the Arunta subclasses.</i>
Bulthara } moiety A. Panunga }	Bulthara } moiety A (Matthurie). Purula }
Kumara } moiety B. Purula }	Panunga } moiety B (Kirarawa). Kumara }

“The working out of this with the result that the children belong to the right moiety of the tribe into which the man has gone may be rendered clear by taking one or two particular examples.

“Suppose that a Matthurie man goes into the Arunta tribe, then he is told by the old men of the group into which he has gone that he is, say, a Bulthara. Accordingly he marries a Kumara woman (or if, which is not very likely, he has brought a woman with him, then she is regarded as a Kumara) and his children will be Panunga, or, in other words, pass into the father’s moiety as the subclasses are arranged in the Arunta, but not into that of the mother as they are arranged amongst the Urabunna.

“Again, suppose a Purula man from the Arunta tribe takes up his abode amongst the Urabunna. He becomes a Matthurie, and as such must marry a Kirarawa (or if married his wife is regarded as such). His children are Kirarawa, which includes the subclass Kumara into which they would have passed in the Arunta tribe, and to which they will belong if ever they go into the latter.

“These are not merely hypothetical cases, but are, in the district where the two tribes come in contact with one

another, of by no means infrequent occurrence ; and, without laying undue stress upon the matter, this deliberate changing of the method of grouping the subclasses so as to allow of the descent being counted in either the male or female line, according to the necessity of the case, is of interest as indicating the fact that the natives are quite capable of thinking such things out for themselves. It is indeed not perhaps without a certain suggestiveness in regard to the difficult question of how a change in the line of descent might possibly be brought about."<sup>1</sup>

The effect of that rearrangement of the Arunta subclasses, which Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have thus explained, is that so long as an Urabunna man lives in the Arunta tribe his children belong to his own moiety of the tribe, in accordance with the Arunta rule of paternal descent ; but that whenever he goes back to the Urabunna, his children belong to their mother's moiety of the tribe, in accordance with the Urabunna rule of maternal descent. Conversely, when an Arunta man lives in the Urabunna tribe, his children belong to their mother's moiety of the tribe in accordance with the Urabunna rule of maternal descent ; but whenever he goes back to the Arunta tribe, his children belong to his own moiety of the tribe, in accordance with the Arunta rule of paternal descent. This result is attained simply enough by arranging the four Arunta subclasses in different pairs so as to suit the different systems of the two tribes.

Effect of the rearrangement of the Arunta subclasses.

This and more evidence of the same sort<sup>2</sup> confirms the view, which Messrs. Howitt and Fison long ago advanced, that the changes made in the social organisation of the tribes, including the classificatory system of relationships, were matters of deliberate intention and not the result of chance.<sup>3</sup> Reviewing the whole series of intermediary steps which we have surveyed in this chapter, from the two-class system of the Dieri with group marriage and female descent to the classless system of the Kurnai with local exogamy, individual marriage, and male descent, the experienced

The social organisation of the Australian tribes appears to have been a matter of deliberate intention, not a result of chance.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 68 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 120-124.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 140. Compare Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 160 sq.

and cautious Dr. Howitt concludes as follows: "The two exogamous class divisions begin the series of changes which I have described, and it may now be asked how they themselves originated. My opinion is that it was by the same process as that by which the four arose from the two, namely by the division of an original whole, which I have referred to as the Undivided Commune. The two classes have been intentionally divided into four and eight subclasses, so that it does not seem to me unreasonable to conclude also that the segmentation of the hypothetical Commune was made intentionally by the ancestors of the Australian aborigines."<sup>1</sup> With this conclusion of the veteran anthropologist I cordially agree.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 143. Elsewhere Dr. Howitt had written as follows: "I cannot see any reason to doubt that the first division of Australian communities into two exogamous intermarrying communes was an intentional act arising from within the commune prior to its division. The evidence which I have before me, drawn from the existing customs and beliefs of the aborigines, not only leads me to that conclusion, but also to the further conclusion that the movement itself probably arose within the council of elders, in which the tribal wizard, the

professed communicant with ancestral spirits, holds no mean place. The change, whenever it was effected, must, I think, have been announced as having been directed by the spirits of the deceased ancestors (*e.g.* Mura Mura of the Dieri), or by the Headman of Spiritland himself (*e.g.* Bunjil of the Kulin, or Daramulun of the Murring)." See A. W. Howitt, "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1883) pp. 500 sq. Compare *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 89 sq.

## CHAPTER III

### TOTEMISM IN NORTH-EAST AUSTRALIA

NORTH-EAST Australia coincides with the Colony of Queensland. Some of the tribes of that colony have been dealt with in the preceding chapter, because they fell within the scope of Dr. Howitt's researches, who is our principal authority for the tribes of South-East Australia. In the present chapter I shall describe the exogamous and totemic systems of the remaining tribes of Queensland, so far as these have been reported by competent witnesses. Our chief authority for the natives of this region is Mr. W. E. Roth, who has given us valuable accounts of the tribes of North-West Central Queensland.<sup>1</sup> The area covered by his researches includes the districts of Upper Flinders, Cloncurry, Leichhardt-Selwyn, Upper Georgina, and Boulia.<sup>2</sup> In what follows I shall rely mainly on the information supplied by Mr. Roth.

Throughout North-West Central Queensland the type of social organisation is the four-class system with maternal

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane and London, 1897). The information given in these *Studies* has since been supplemented by Mr. Roth in a series of *Bulletins* published by the Government of Queensland (Numbers 1-12, Brisbane and Sydney, 1901-1909). An excellent, though brief, account of some Queensland tribes has been given by Mr. Edward Palmer ("Notes on some Australian tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* xiii. (1884) pp. 276-334).

The region covered by Mr. Palmer's observations partly coincides with that described by Mr. W. E. Roth; for it comprises the valleys of the Saxby, Flinders, Cloncurry, Leichhardt, and Gregory Rivers, but it also extends further to the north-east so as to include part of the valley of the Mitchell River as far down as its junction with the Lynd.

<sup>2</sup> See the map of North-West Central Queensland forming Plate I. of W. E. Roth's *Ethnological Studies*.

Through-  
out these  
tribes the  
type of  
social  
organisa-  
tion is the  
four-class  
system  
with female  
descent.

descent. To be more precise, the native tribes are regularly subdivided into two exogamous classes or moieties and four exogamous subclasses with descent in the female line. The names of the classes are Ootaroo and Pakoota or local varieties of these names (Woodaroo, Urtaroo, Pakütta, Burgütta): the names of the subclasses are in general Koopooroo, Woongko, Koorkilla, and Bunburi. Of these four subclasses, Koopooroo and Woongko together make up the class or moiety Ootaroo; while Koorkilla and Bunburi make up the other class or moiety Pakoota. The children belong to the class of their mother, but to the other subclass, according to the usual rule of descent in Australian tribes with four or more subdivisions. Thus if the mother belongs to the Ootaroo class and the Koopooroo subclass, the children will belong to the Ootaroo class, but to the Woongko subclass. And similarly with the rest. Further, the men of any particular subclass may only marry the women of one other subclass, and *vice versa*. Thus, a Koopooroo man may only marry a Koorkilla woman, and their children are Bunburi: a Woongko man may only marry a Bunburi woman, and their children are Koorkilla: a Koorkilla man may only marry a Koopooroo woman, and their children are Woongko: a Bunburi man may only marry a Woongko woman, and their children are Koopooroo. This may be put in tabular form as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

Classes.	Husbands.	Wives.	Children.
Ootaroo {	Koopooroo Woongko	Koorkilla Bunburi	Bunburi Koorkilla
Pakoota {	Koorkilla Bunburi	Koopooroo Woongko	Woongko Koopooroo

Thus the subclasses fall as usual into pairs which may, for convenience of reference, be called complementary or twin

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane and London, 1897), pp. 56-58. I have substituted

the terms class and subclass for Mr. Roth's *gamo-matro-nym* and *paedo-matro-nym*, to which they are clearly equivalent.

subclasses, each pair being subdivisions of one of the two primary classes. Koopooroo and Woongko are complementary or twin subclasses of the primary class Ootaroo, while Koorkilla and Bunburi are complementary or twin subclasses of the primary class Pakoota. The social system is identical with that of the Kamilaroi,<sup>1</sup> though the names of the classes and subclasses are different. Descent of the primary classes (Ootaroo and Pakoota) is direct in the female line, since children belong to their mother's primary class; but descent of the subclasses is indirect in the female line, since children belong, not to their mother's subclass, but to its complementary or twin subclass.

The names of the four subclasses Koopooroo, Woongko, Koorkilla, and Bunburi are those which are in use among the Pitta-Pitta tribe at Boulia. But the same subclasses with the same names exist universally throughout the Boulia District among the dozens of different tribes occupying it. Also outside that district exactly the same terms are applied to the subclasses at Roxburgh on the Georgina River, among the Miorli and Goa people of the Middle and Upper Diamantina River, and among the natives of the Cloncurry and Flinders Districts. Nay more than that they occur along the eastern coast of Queensland for a long way, certainly as far as from Cooktown on the north to Broadsound on the south.<sup>2</sup> They are also found in the Yerrunthully tribe near Hughenden, at the headwaters of the Flinders River in Central Queensland;<sup>3</sup> and the same subclasses occur too in the Ringa-Ringa tribe on the Burke River in Queensland.<sup>4</sup>

In three other tribes of North-West Central Queensland, namely the Kalkadoon, Miubbi, and Workoboongo, equivalent subclasses are found, but their names are different; and in

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 396 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, etc., p. 57; *id.*, *Notes on Social and Individual Nomenclature among certain North Queensland Aborigines*, p. 3 (paper read before the Royal Society of Queensland, November 13, 1897, separate reprint).

<sup>3</sup> E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) pp. 301 sq. Mr. Palmer writes the

names of the subclasses, Coobaroo, Woonco, Koorgielah, and Bunbury, which are clearly the same as Mr. Roth's Kooparoo, Woongko, Kurkilla, and Bunburi. The names of the primary classes of the Yerrunthully are not given by Mr. Palmer.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Jno. Lett, cited by Dr. A. W. Howitt, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 337, where the names are given as Cooboaroo, Wonko, Goorkela, and Bunbury.

Complementary or twin subclasses. Direct and indirect descent in the female line.

Subclasses in the Pitta-Pitta, Miorli, Goa, etc. tribes.

Subclasses in the Kalkadoon.

Miubbi,  
and  
Worko-  
boongo  
tribes.

the Kalkadoon tribe the name of one of the moieties or primary classes is Mullara instead of Pakoota. The names of the subclasses in these three tribes are as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

Pitta-Pitta, etc.	Kalkadoon.	Miubbi.	Workoboongo.
Koopooroo = Woongko =	Patingo Kunggilungo	Badingo Jimmilingo	Patingo Jimmilingo
Koorkilla = Bunburi =	Marinungo Toonbeungo	Youngo Maringo	Kapoodungo Maringo

Marriage  
and de-  
scend in the  
Kalkadoon  
tribe.

The rules of marriage and descent in the Kalkadoon tribe may be tabulated as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

Classes.	Husband.	Wife.	Children.
Ootaroo {	Patingo Kunggilungo	Marinungo Toonbeungo	Toonbeungo Marinungo
Mullara {	Marinungo Toonbeungo	Patingo Kunggilungo	Kunggilungo Patingo

Marriage  
and de-  
scend in the  
Miubbi  
tribe.

The rules of marriage and descent in the Miubbi tribe may be tabulated as follows:—<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, pp. 56, 57. The names of the Kalkadoon primary classes (Ootaroo and Mullara) are clearly identical with Wuthera and Maliera, the names of the primary classes of the Wakelbura tribe, at Elgin Downs, on the Belyando River, Queensland. It is worthy of note that in the Wakelbura tribe the names of two of the subclasses, viz. Kurgilla and Wungo, agree with the names (Koorkilla and Woongko) of two of the subclasses of the Queensland tribes mentioned above, though not with those of the Kalkadoon. See *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) pp. 337, 342; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*,

pp. 112, 221; above, pp. 422 *sq.* Further, the class name Ootaroo is found also, in slightly disguised forms (Witteru, Wutthuru, or Wutaru), in the Kuinmurbura, Kongulu, and Mackay tribes of Queensland. See L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 34; *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 336; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 111; above, pp. 417, 420, 431.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, etc., p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, p. 59. As to the names (Woodaroo and Pakutta) of the primary classes among the Miubbi, see *ibid.* p. 56.

Classes.	Husband.	Wife.	Children.
Woodaroo	{ Badingo Jimmilingo	Youngo Maringo	Maringo Youngo
Pakutta	{ Youngo Maringo	Badingo Jimmilingo	Jimmilingo Badingo

The Mycoolon tribe of North-West Queensland, on the Flinders River, about a hundred miles south of Normanton, has the same subclasses and rules of descent as the Miubbi, but like many other Australian tribes it has two sets of names for the subclasses, one set for the men and the other set for the women. These names are as follows:—

Marriage and descent in the Mycoolon tribe.

Male.	Female.
Bathingo Jimalingo Yowingo Marringo	Munjingo Gootbamungo Carburungo Ngarran-ngungo

The rules of marriage and descent are these:—<sup>1</sup>

Husband.	Wife.	Children.
Bathingo	Carburungo	Marringo ( <i>male</i> ) and Ngarran-ngungo ( <i>female</i> )
Jimalingo	Ngarran-ngungo	Yowingo ( <i>m.</i> ) and Carburungo ( <i>f.</i> )
Yowingo Marringo	Munjingo Goothamungo	Jimalingo ( <i>m.</i> ) and Goothamungo ( <i>f.</i> ) Bathingo ( <i>m.</i> ) and Munjingo ( <i>f.</i> )

<sup>1</sup> E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) pp. 302 sq. I have changed Mr. Palmer's order of the names for the sake of easier comparison with Mr. Roth's. The names of the classes of the Mycoolon are not given by Mr. Palmer. Other Australian tribes have,

like the Mycoolon, two sets of names for the subclasses, one for the men and the other for the women; but the female names are sometimes merely variants of the male names. See above, pp. 268, 269, 397 note<sup>2</sup>, 407 note<sup>1</sup>, 415 note<sup>2</sup>, 417 note<sup>2</sup>, 418 note<sup>1</sup>, 420 note<sup>3</sup>, 424 note<sup>1</sup>, 431 note<sup>1</sup>, 463 note<sup>2</sup>.

Or if, for the sake of simplicity, the feminine forms of the subclass names be omitted, the table will stand thus:—

Classes.	Husband.	Wife.	Children.
A {	Bathingo	Yowingo	Marringo
	Jimalingo	Marringo	Yowingo
B {	Yowingo	Bathingo	Jimalingo
	Marringo	Jimalingo	Bathingo

Thus it will be seen that the Mycoolon system, like that of the other Queensland tribes just described, agrees essentially with the Kamilaroi system of New South Wales. It consists of two exogamous classes or moieties and four subclasses with descent in the female line, children belonging to their mother's class and to her complementary or twin subclass; so that we have direct female descent of the classes and indirect female descent of the subclasses.

Equivalent  
subclasses  
in other  
Queens-  
land tribes.

Equivalent subclasses under different names are found also among other Queensland tribes. Thus the Woolangama at Normanton (who came originally from between Spear Creek and Croydon) call the subdivisions Rara, Ranya, Awunga, and Looora, these being equivalent respectively to the Koopooroo, Woongko, Koorkilla, and Bunburi of the Pitta-Pitta. The Koreng-Koreng of the Miriam Vale, south of Gladstone, name them Deroin, Balgoyn, Bunda, and Barung; while a number of tribes, such as the Taroombul at Rockhampton, the Duppil at Gladstone, the Karoonbara at Rosewood and Yaamba, the Rakivira at Yeppoon, the Bouwiwara at Marlborough, and the Koomabara at Torilla, all agree in naming the subclasses Koorpul, Koodala, Karalbara, and Munnul for the males, and Koorpulan, Koodalan, Karalbaran, and Munnulan for the females. These equivalent names for the subclasses may be tabulated as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *Notes on Social and Individual Nomenclature among certain North Queensland Aborigines*, p. 3

(paper read before the Royal Society of Queensland, November 13th, 1897, separate reprint).

Pitta-Pitta, etc.	Woolangama.	Koreng-Koreng.	Toorambul, Duppil, etc.
{ Koopooroo { Woongko { Koorkilla { Bunburi	Rara Ranya Awunga Loora	Deroin Balgoyne Bunda Barung	Koorpul Koodala Koralbara Munnul

Although the names of the subclasses vary in some of these Queensland tribes, yet under different names these exogamous divisions are treated by the natives themselves as equivalent to each other even in tribes that live far apart. On this subject Mr. Palmer says: "There is no well-authenticated instance with which I am acquainted of any Australian blacks who were without one form or another of divisions into classes; where such divisions have been believed to be absent it has been from the want of their being discovered by the observer, and not from their non-existence. The blacks are born into these divisions, and are reared up with the idea instilled into them that it is necessary for them to observe as sacred the class rules; indeed, to many it would be like sacrilege to marry contrary to these established rules. They do not give any traditions as to when these rules were first introduced, the fact being that they have carried the idea of the divisions with them through all their wanderings since they first settled in Australia. It seems strange, but is perhaps not unaccountable, that the classes and their divisions found in all the tribes correspond with each other, although differing in name or in totem, over localities separated from each other by hundreds of miles.

Equivalence of the class divisions in different tribes.

"Like all other Australian tribes, those of the Gulf of Carpentaria are divided into separate divisions. Taking the Mycoolon tribes as an instance, adjoining tribes have the same class names, and have totems having the same meaning. Tribes at a greater distance have a different set of divisions, with distinguishing totems for each class. In cases of distant tribes it can be shown that the class divisions correspond with each other, as, for instance, in the class divisions of the Flinders River and Mitchell

River tribes ; and these tribes are separated by four hundred miles of country, and by many intervening tribes. But for all that, class corresponds to class in fact, and in meaning, and in privileges, although the name may be quite different, and the totems of each dissimilar. Some tribes have males and females of the same name, while others have separate class names for males and females. It is well known now that from Moreton Bay to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, a distance of over fifteen hundred miles in length, and for seven hundred miles inland, or even to a much greater distance, the blacks are divided into divisions for the purpose of preventing too close connections in marriage, and that all these divisions correspond with each other. Thus a blackfellow from one of the most southern tribes could easily tell from what division he could obtain a wife if he were to visit a tribe in the far north, if such a visit could be effected, and he were received by them.”<sup>1</sup>

Meaning of the names of the classes and subclasses.

The meaning of the names of the subclasses in these Queensland tribes has not been reported either by Mr. W. E. Roth or by Mr. E. Palmer, our chief authorities on the subject. Indeed Mr. Roth tells us that he could not ascertain it.<sup>2</sup> But on the other hand he points out that the names of the two moieties or primary classes (Ootaroo and Pakoota) bear a resemblance to the Pitta-Pitta numerals for “one” and “two,” namely *oorooroo* and *pakoola*.<sup>3</sup> If this etymology should prove to be correct, it would favour the view that the moieties or primary classes are not totemic, but that they originated in a simple bisection of the tribe which was devised and carried out for the purpose of regulating marriage.<sup>4</sup> Further research into the nomenclature of the classes and subclasses of Australian tribes might perhaps lead to the discovery of other names borrowed from simple numerals.

Mr. Roth does not find totemism in Queensland.

The preceding account of the exogamous divisions among the tribes of North-West-Central Queensland proves that they are organised on the regular four-class system

<sup>1</sup> E. Palmer, “Notes on some Australian Tribes,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) pp. 299 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 26, 56.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 282 sqq.

with descent in the maternal line. But whereas the ordinary Australian tribe is further subdivided into clans, each with its totem or totems, no such totemic clans have been found by Mr. W. E. Roth to exist among the tribes of North-West-Central Queensland.<sup>1</sup> It is possible, however, that they exist but have escaped his attention. For totem clans of the ordinary type, with hereditary totems and a rule of exogamy, apparently occur in some of the Queensland tribes,<sup>2</sup> and wherever the organisation in exogamous classes exists in Australia we expect to find the totemic organisation underlying it.

Moreover, another careful observer, Mr. Edward Palmer, has reported totemism as existing among some of the Queensland tribes which possess the very same exogamous subclasses that are recorded by Mr. Roth. His evidence will be adduced presently. Meantime it is important to note that Mr. Roth himself has discovered and described among the Queensland tribes an elaborate system of food taboos, which, while they resemble the food taboos observed by totemic clans, yet differ from them in two remarkable respects. For in the first place the social groups which observe them are not totemic clans but the four exogamous subclasses; and in the second place each group (in this case, each subclass) has not, like an ordinary totemic clan, only one forbidden food, whether animal or vegetable, on the contrary it has regularly several or even many tabooed articles of diet, from all of which every member of the subclass is expected rigorously to abstain under severe penalties. These taboos are imposed on men and women as soon as

Elaborate system of food taboos strictly observed by the exogamous subclasses in Queensland.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Roth says: "So far, I have met with no examples of totemism in Northern or North-West-Central Queensland" (*Notes on Social and Individual Nomenclature among certain North Queensland Aborigines*, pp. 11 sq.). In his latest published work Mr. Roth modifies this statement as follows: "By totemism I understand a certain connection between an animal or plant, or group of animals or plants, and an individual or group of individuals respectively, and judged by this standard, the only totemism discoverable throughout North Queensland is that met with

in the animals, etc., forbidden to the different exogamous groups, and to a far less degree to women and children generally, and to the novices temporarily at the initiation ceremonies." See W. E. Roth, "On certain Initiation Ceremonies," *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 12* (Sydney, 1909), p. 168. In this passage by "exogamous groups" Mr. Roth means what I call the subclasses.

<sup>2</sup> For example, in the Kuinmurbura, Kongulu, and Wakelbura tribes. See above, pp. 417, 421, 422 sq.

they have passed through the first initiation ceremony. The forbidden foods are nearly all animals; indeed Mr. Roth at first reported that after very careful search he could find no plants, trees, fruits, shrubs, and grasses laid under an interdiction. However, in a later publication, as we shall see, he mentions the stinging-tree among the things associated with, and therefore probably tabooed to, one of the exogamous subclasses. While the members of each subclass are strictly forbidden to eat certain species of animals, they are not necessarily prohibited from killing them. The list of tabooed foods is constant for each subclass throughout a tribe, but it varies for corresponding subclasses in different tribes, and these variations appear to be well known to the more intelligent natives. For example, a man of the Koopooroo subclass in the Pitta-Pitta tribe has not the same restrictions on his diet as a man of the same Koopooroo subclass in the neighbouring Mitakoodi tribe at Cloncurry.<sup>1</sup> These taboos are rigorously observed and enforced. "Upon this point," says Mr. Roth, "these aborigines appear to be extremely particular, and should one of them wilfully partake of that which is 'tabooed,' he is firmly convinced that sickness, probably of a fatal character, will overtake him, and that certainly it would never satisfy his hunger. Should such a delinquent be caught red-handed by his fellow-men, he would in all probability be put to death."<sup>2</sup>

Foods  
forbidden  
to the  
subclasses.

Lists of animals which are forbidden as food to the various subclasses have been recorded by Mr. Roth. They may be tabulated as follows:—<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *Notes on Social and Individual Nomenclature among certain North Queensland Aborigines*, pp. 3 sq. (paper read before the Royal Society of Queensland, November 13, 1897, separate reprint); *id.*, *Ethno-*

*logical Studies*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, pp. 57 sq.

## PITTA-PITTA TRIBE (BOULIA DISTRICT)

Subclasses.	Tabooed Animals (Totems?).
{ Koopooroo	iguana, whistler-duck, black-duck, "blue-fellow" crane, yellow dingo, and small yellow fish "with-one-bone-in-him."
{ Woongko	
{ Koorkilla	scrub-turkey, eagle-hawk, bandicoot or "bilbi," brown snake, black dingo, and "white altogether" duck.
{ Bunburi	
	kangaroo, carpet-snake, teal, white-bellied brown-headed duck, various kinds of "diver" birds, "trumpeter" fish, and a kind of black bream.
	emu, yellow snake, golah parrot, and a certain species of hawk.

## KALKADOON TRIBE (LEICHHARDT-SELWYN RANGES)

Subclasses.	Tabooed Animals (Totems?).
{ Patingo (= Koopooroo)	emu, carpet-snake, brown-snake, mountain-snake, etc., porcupine, wallaby, rat, opossum, and "mountain" kangaroo.
{ Kunggilungo (= Woongko)	
{ Marinungo (= Koorkilla)	emu, carpet-snake, brown-snake, "mountain" snake, porcupine, "mountain" kangaroo, wallaby, opossum, "sugar-bag" ( <i>i.e.</i> honey), and various fish.
{ Toonbeungo (= Bunburi)	
	pelican, whistler-duck, black duck, turkey, "plain" kangaroo ( <i>i.e.</i> living on the plains), and certain kinds of fish.
	whistler-duck, wood-duck, "native companion," "plain" kangaroo, rat, bandicoot, and carpet-snake.

## MITAKOODI TRIBE (CLONCURRY DISTRICT)

Subclasses.	Tabooed Animals (Totems?).
{ Koopooroo . . .	principally iguana, whistler-duck, and carpet-snake.
{ Woongko . . .	
{ Koorkilla . . .	" porcupine, emu, and kangaroo.
{ Bunburi . . .	
	" water-snake, corella, eagle-hawk, black-duck, and turkey.
	principally carpet-snake and dingo.

## WOONAMURRA TRIBE (FLINDERS DISTRICT)

Subclasses.	Tabooed Animals (Totems?).
{ Koopooroo . . .	principally carpet-snake and emu.
{ Woongko . . .	?
{ Koorkilla . . .	„ eagle-hawk, black-snake, and brown-snake.
{ Bunburi . . .	principally black-duck and turkey.

## GOA TRIBE (UPPER DIAMANTINA)

Subclass.	Tabooed Animals (Totems?).
Koopooroo . . .	emu and kangaroo.

Animals, plants, etc., associated with the subclasses on the Proserpine River.

Among the natives of the Proserpine River the four subclasses bear the names Kupuru, Wungko, Kurchilla, and Banbari, which are practically identical with the Koopooroo, Woongko, Koorkilla, and Bunburi of the Pitta-Pitta; and associated with each subclass are certain animals, plants, or other objects, which, so far as they are edible, are probably tabooed to the members of the respective subclass. The list of these associated or tabooed objects is this:—<sup>1</sup>

Subclasses.	Associated Objects (Totems?).
{ Kupuru . . .	stinging-tree, emu, eel, turtle.
{ Wungko . . .	wind, rain, brown-snake, carpet-snake.
{ Kurchilla . . .	rainbow, opossum, ground-iguana, frilled lizard.
{ Banbari . . .	honey, sting-ray, bandicoot, eagle-hawk.

An inspection of the foregoing tables may suffice to convince us that the restrictions in respect of food which

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin No. 5, *Superstition, Magic, and Medicine* (Brisbane, 1903), p. 21.

such a system of taboos lays on every member of a subclass must be much more burdensome than those which are imposed on members of an ordinary totemic clan; for whereas the members of a totemic clan have as a rule to abstain only from one sort of animal or plant, members of these subclasses have each to abstain from several or even many sorts of animals under pain of death. The question naturally arises, How is this multiplex, abnormal totemism, as we may call it, of the subclasses, related to the simple, normal totemism of the clans? Has it been developed out of that system by the absorption of the totemic clans in the subclasses? or does it on the contrary represent an earlier stage in the evolution of totemism, a stage out of which in process of time the normal totemism of the clans might have been evolved by a segmentation of the exogamous subclasses? In short, is the totemism of the subclasses totemism in decadence or totemism in germ? If one of these solutions is true, it appears to me that the probabilities are all in favour of the former, that is, of the view that the totemism of the subclasses is decadent, and that it has been produced by the absorption of the old totem clans in the newer exogamous classes. For we have seen grounds for believing that the original organisation of the Australian tribes was in totemic clans, and that the exogamous classes were introduced later for the purpose of regulating marriage by barring the union of persons too near of kin.<sup>1</sup> If that is so, it would be contrary to all analogy to suppose that the subclasses of these Queensland tribes represent a stage of social evolution prior to the development of the totemic clans, that they are, so to say, the hive from which totemic clans in time might have swarmed, if the process of evolution had not been rudely interrupted by the coming of the white race. Far more likely is it that the weight of the newer social organisation in exogamous classes has crushed the old totem clans out of existence, while at the same time it has inherited from them the system of totemic taboos, which, no longer distributed among a number of small separate groups (the clans) so as to sit lightly on all, are now heaped together and press heavily on every member of the newer

The food taboos of the exogamous subclasses in Queensland seem to be totemism in decay: the subclasses have apparently superseded the totemic clans and inherited their taboos.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 162 *sq.*, 251 *sq.*, 257 *sq.*

and larger group (the subclass) which has superseded and obliterated its predecessors. In point of fact we have already detected among the northern tribes of Central Australia, whose totemism is more advanced than that of the true central tribes, clear traces of a gradual supersession of the totemic clans by the exogamous classes.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, natural enough to find the same process of development carried a stage further among the neighbouring tribes of North-Western Queensland.

Mr. Palmer's evidence as to the existence of totemism in Queensland.

But I have said that the existence of totemism of the normal sort in these Queensland tribes appears to be vouched for by an excellent observer, Mr. Edward Palmer. Let us now look at his evidence closely and see whether it really conflicts with that of Mr. Roth, who finds no instances of normal totemism, that is, of totemic clans, in this region.

That totemism exists among the tribes of North-Western Queensland certainly appears to be attested by Mr. E. Palmer, who says: "They have a great reverence for the particular animal symbolising their respective classes, and if any one were to kill say, a bird belonging to such a division in the sight of the bearer of its family name, he might be heard to say, 'What for you kill that fellow? that my father!' or 'That brother belonging to me you have killed; why did you do it?'"<sup>2</sup>

Again, we have seen that the subclasses of the Yerrunthully and Ringa-Ringa tribes of Queensland bear the same names as the subclasses of the Pitta-Pitta and other tribes described by Mr. Roth.<sup>3</sup> Now, according to Mr. Palmer, the subclasses of the Yerrunthully tribe on the Flinders River "are represented by totems," which are reported as follows:—<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 225, 227 *sq.*, 235

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 517.

*sq.*

<sup>2</sup> E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 302.

Subclasses.	Totems.
Bunbury . . .	Carpet-snake . . . <i>Tharoona</i>
Coobaroo . . .	Brown snake . . . <i>Warrineyah</i>
	Emu . . . <i>Goolburry</i>
Koorgielah . . .	Plain turkey . . . <i>Bergamo</i>
	Native dog . . . <i>Cubburah</i>
Woonco . . .	Whistling-duck . . . <i>Chewelah</i>

The totems of the Ringa-Ringa tribe on the Burke River, according to Mr. J. Lett, are said to be these :—<sup>1</sup>

Subclasses.	Totem Names.
Goorkela } Bunbury }	Turkey, emu, iguana.
Wonko } Coobooroo }	Carpet-snake, death adder, native cat, kangaroo, rat.

Again, we have seen that the subclasses of the Mycoolon tribe of Queensland bear the same names as the subclasses of the Miubbi tribe described by Mr. Roth.<sup>2</sup> In regard to the Mycoolon we learn from Mr. Palmer that "each class name has a symbol or totem in this tribe, or animal representing that class. Each young lad is strictly forbidden to eat of that animal or bird which belongs to his respective class, for it is his brother. The classes are represented as follows :—

Marringo . . .	Black duck . . . <i>Karrabah</i>
Yowingo . . .	{ Plain turkey . . . <i>Thoorna</i>
	{ Eagle-hawk . . . <i>Cooreythilla</i>
Bathingo . . .	{ Carpet-snake . . . <i>Koorema</i>
	{ Iguana . . . <i>Yangolah</i>
Jimalingo . . .	Whistling-duck . . . <i>Wallatho</i>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jno. Lett, Burke River, Queensland, reported by Dr. A. W. Howitt in *Journal of the Anthro-*

*logical Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 518, 519.

“On the Leichhardt River, Jimalingo is represented by Wootharoo, whose totem is catfish.”<sup>1</sup>

On the whole it seems that in North-West Queensland the old totemism of the clans has been superseded by totemism of the exogamous subclasses.

The question now arises, Does the foregoing evidence of Messrs. Palmer and Lett as to the totems of the Yerrunthully, Ringa-Ringa, and Mycoolon tribes suffice to establish for these tribes the existence of totemic clans of the ordinary pattern? It appears to me that it does not. In every case the totemic animal is associated with an exogamous subclass, precisely as in Mr. Roth's fuller account of the system. There is nothing to shew that, as in other Australian tribes, the totems are inherited by every person directly from his father or mother, so as to remain constant from generation to generation, while the twin subclasses alternate in alternate generations.<sup>2</sup> To say this is simply to say that there is no proof of the existence of true totemic clans in these particular tribes. Therefore we have no reason to assume that the evidence of Messrs. Palmer and Lett conflicts with that of Mr. Roth on this subject; and as Mr. Roth has investigated the question fully, and appears moreover to be a careful and accurate observer, it is difficult to suppose that totemic clans of the ordinary sort could have escaped his observation if they really existed. The conclusion of the whole matter is that among the tribes of North-West Queensland the old totemism of the clans has apparently been superseded by a new and more burdensome totemism of the exogamous subclasses.

The same thing may perhaps have happened in other Australian tribes.

In the light of the foregoing discussion it seems possible that as to some tribes of South-East Australia Dr. Howitt's native informants may after all have been right in affirming that the totems were permanently attached to the subclasses and did not alternate between them in alternate generations, as Dr. Howitt thought they must do.<sup>3</sup> For in these tribes, as apparently in the Queensland tribes which we are considering, the totemic clans may have been absorbed in the exogamous subclasses, bequeathing to them their totemic

<sup>1</sup> E. Palmer, “Notes on some Australian Tribes,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 303. Wootharoo as the name of a subclass is probably identical with Ootaroo (Woodaroo), the name of a class in some Queensland tribes. See

above, pp. 516, 518 note I.

<sup>2</sup> As to this alternation or oscillation of the totems between the subclasses in alternate generations, see above, pp. 408 *sq.*, 419, 433 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 433 *sq.*

taboos, so that the totems, instead of oscillating between two subclasses in alternate generations, would come to rest finally in one of them. For with totemism of the subclasses instead of the clans these oscillations or alternations necessarily cease; the totems become permanently attached each to its particular subclass.

A point of great interest in these totemic taboos of the subclasses is that they only come into force when the boy or girl has passed through the first ceremony of initiation,<sup>1</sup> in other words, has attained to puberty and been allowed to rank with the men or women of the tribe. Strange as it may seem, observers have in general failed to record whether the ordinary taboo as to eating the totemic animal or plant applies to every member of a totem clan from birth or only from puberty. We know indeed that many kinds of food are tabooed to a youth before or at initiation;<sup>2</sup> but so far as I remember we are not told whether among the foods so tabooed is his totemic animal or plant. The point may be of great importance for an understanding of totemism. For if it should appear that the prohibition to eat the totem only begins to be observed by men and women when they become marriageable, this would be a strong argument in favour of the intimate relation between what I have called the religious and the social side of totemism; since in the life of the individual the two characteristic commands of normal totemism, "Thou shalt not eat thy totem," and "Thou shalt not marry a woman of thy totem," would then come into operation simultaneously and might therefore reasonably be thought to be mutually interdependent. Whereas, if the prohibition to eat the totem begins to be observed in infancy, this would favour the view, to which the Australian evidence seems to point, that the prohibition was originally independent of the prohibition to marry a woman of the same totem. It is to be hoped that information on this subject may yet be forthcoming before it is too late.

The totemic taboos of the subclasses only come into force when the boy or girl has passed through the first ceremony of initiation.

<sup>1</sup> This is expressly stated by Mr. W. E. Roth in his *Notes on Social and Individual Nomenclature among certain North Queensland Aborigines*, p. 3. Elsewhere (*Ethnological Studies*, p. 57) he merely says that the taboos come

into force for every individual "as soon as he or she arrives at the necessary age," by which, however, he probably means puberty.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 40-42.

Benefits conferred by the totems.

In some of these Queensland tribes thunder, rain, wind, rainbow, stinging-tree, and honey are included among the totems, if we may call them so, of the subclasses; and the totems, whether animals or things, are supposed to benefit the men and women in various ways, provided they be duly called upon at the proper times. The practice of thus invoking the totems is described by Mr. Roth as follows:—

Custom of calling upon name-sake animals, etc., in order to ensure success in the chase or to obtain warning of danger.

“*Calling upon name-sakes, etc., before going to sleep, etc.*— On the Tully River, also, whenever a man (or woman) lies down and stretches himself for a spell, or on going to sleep, or on arising of a morning, he mentions in more or less of an undertone, the name of the animal, etc., after which he is called, or belonging to his group-division, prefixing it with *wintcha? wintcha?* (= where? where?). If there is any particular noise, cry, or call connected with such name, he may mimic it. The objects aimed at in carrying out this practice, which is taught by the elders to the youngsters as soon as they are considered old enough to learn such things, are that they may be lucky and skilful in hunting, and be given full warning as to any danger which might otherwise befall them from the animal, etc., after which they are named. If a man, named after a fish, thus regularly calls upon it, he will be successful in catching plenty on some future occasion, should he be hungry. If an individual neglects to call the thunder, rain, etc., provided of course they are his name-sakes, he will lose the power of making them. Snakes, alligators, etc., will never interfere with their name-sakes, provided they are thus always called upon, without giving a warning—a ‘something’ which the aboriginal feels in his belly, a tingling in his thighs or legs, etc. If the individual neglects to do so, it is his own fault that he is bitten or caught. This calling upon name-sakes is not supposed to benefit the women very much. If people were to call upon others than their name-sakes, under the circumstances above mentioned, it would bear no results either for good or harm.

“A similar practice prevails on the Proserpine River, where the native, before going to sleep, calls upon one or other of the names of the animals, plants, or other objects connected with his particular primary group-division, thus:—

"Kurchilla : rain-bow, opossum, ground-iguana, frilled lizard.

"Kupuru : stinging-tree, emu, eel, turtle.

"Banbari : honey, sting-ray, bandicoot, eagle-hawk.

"Wungko : wind, rain, brown-snake, carpet-snake.

"In reply to inquiries, the reason given me is that when called upon they warn the people, who have summoned them, of the advent of other animals, etc., during sleep."<sup>1</sup>

From this account it appears that by observing certain rules a man, whose name-sake or totem, if we may call it so, is thunder or rain, can make thunder or rain ; that a man whose totem is a fish can catch plenty of that sort of fish ; that a man whose totem is a snake or an alligator will not be bitten by a snake or an alligator, and so forth. In other words, the man is apparently credited with possessing a magical control over his totem species, whether the totem be an animal or a thing, so that if the animal be edible he can catch plenty of the species ; if it be a dangerous creature, it will not harm him ; and if it be an inanimate object like thunder or rain, he can produce it at pleasure. Similarly, as we have seen, in the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia the men of the various totem clans perform magical ceremonies (*intichiuma*) for the multiplication of their totem animals and plants in order that these may serve as food for their fellow-tribesmen ; while the men of the totem themselves abstain, as a rule, from eating of their totem animal or plant.<sup>2</sup>

But here a difficulty arises. For Mr. Roth has told us that the Queensland natives strictly abstain, under pain of death, from eating the edible animals associated with their particular subclasses or paedo-matronymic groups, as he calls them. Yet in the passage just quoted he seems to affirm that men may kill and eat such animals, indeed that they possess a special power of catching them. How is the apparent discrepancy to be explained? The work from which the latter passage (about the killing of the animals) is extracted was published some six years later than the work from which the former passage (about the forbidden foods)

Thus men seem to have power over their totems, like the Arunta and other central tribes.

Difficulty in reconciling Mr. Roth's statements.

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5, Superstition, Magic, and Medicine* (Brisbane,

1903), pp. 20 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 104 sqq., 183 sqq., 214 sqq.

was extracted ; and in the interval Mr. Roth may very well have ascertained that the rule against eating the totem (if we may call it so) was not so 'absolute as he had at first supposed ; he may possibly have discovered that, just as among the Central Australian tribes, there are circumstances in which the clansmen are permitted or even required to eat their clan totem. In that case, the analogy between the magical aspect of the totems in Queensland and in Central Australia would be fairly complete.

The namesakes which are invoked may be personal or individual totems rather than clan totems.

But the solution of the difficulty may perhaps lie in a different direction. It will be observed that while Mr. Roth speaks of the animal or thing in question as "belonging to his group-division," he also speaks of it as the man's namesake. Thus it is possible that the animal or thing which the man calls upon and which benefits him in various ways, may not be the totem of his subclass, but merely an object specially associated with him as an individual ; in fact that it may be his individual or personal totem or guardian spirit. That there are such personal totems or guardian spirits in Queensland, as in other parts of Australia,<sup>1</sup> appears from Mr. Roth's account of the individual names bestowed on boys and girls at birth. He says : "At Princess Charlotte Bay, Cape Bedford, on the Proserpine River, etc., the choice of an infant's pet name depends upon augury. The mother's mother, or other old female, takes a small portion of the navel-string, with after-birth attached, and keeps shaking it pretty violently while the other old women sitting around call out proposed names one after the other : the moment the string breaks, the name which was then called is chosen. From the fact, however, at the Cape, of the same names occurring in the same family, there is every reason for believing that there is some collusion when the navel-string becomes finally torn. On the Bloomfield, certain of the women will come round the child soon after its birth, talk to it somewhat as follows :—'Your name is the same as mine, isn't it, dear ?' and accept the kicking of a leg, the turning of the head, a gurgling in the throat—in fact, anything on the part of the infant as a sign or token of affirmation. The name thus given to a child is either that of an

Mode of bestowing names on children at birth.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 448 *sq.*, 489 *sq.*, 495.

animal, plant, locality, or that of some relative (a name already known, but the meaning of which, in many cases, has been lost). Tully River girls are never named after snakes, fish, or crocodiles. There is no necessarily connecting dependence—though I am prepared to admit the possibility of its having once existed—between the child and its name-sake animal, or plant, which in different districts may or may not be destroyed and eaten by it.”<sup>1</sup> These animals and plants, which in some districts the human namesakes may not destroy or eat, are not far removed from personal totems, and in so far as the same names occur, as we are told that they do, in the same family, they approximate also to clan totems. In districts where a man is permitted to destroy and eat his namesake animal, we could understand why he should call upon the creature in order that he may be successful in catching and killing members of the species.

Something like a personal totem seems also to be in use among the Yaraikanna tribe of Cape York, the extreme northern point of Queensland. They call it an *ari*. A man has one or more *ari*, which may be acquired in several ways. The *ari* of a lad is determined at the ceremony of initiation into manhood. The youth lies down on his back and a man loosens one of his front teeth with a kangaroo bone. When the tooth is loosened, the operator taps it smartly, mentioning at each tap one of the “countries” owned by the lad’s mother, or by her father, or by another of her relatives. These names are recited in a regular order, and the country whose name is mentioned when the tooth breaks away is the land to which the lad will belong. The lad is then given some water with which to rinse his mouth, and he gently lets the gory spittle fall into a water-basket made of leaves. The old men carefully inspect the clot of blood and spittle and trace in it some likeness to a natural object, an animal, plant, stone, or whatever it may be. The natural object thus chosen will be the *ari* of the newly made man. Again, a person may get an *ari* through a dream. It appears that if an old man dreams of anything at night, that thing is the *ari* of the first person he sees

Personal totems (*ari*) in the Yaraikanna tribe of Cape York. A lad receives his personal totem (*ari*) when his tooth is knocked out at puberty.

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5, Superstition, Magic, and Medicine* (Brisbane, 1903), p. 19.

next morning, "the idea being that the animal, or whatever appears in the dream, is the spirit of the first person met with on awakening." Thus a native of the Yaraikanna tribe, Tomari by name, has three *ari*: (1) *aru*, a crab, which he got through blood divination at initiation; (2) *untara*, diamond fish; (3) *alungi*, crayfish. The two latter were given to him as the result of dreams. The *ari* of Tomari's father is a carpet snake, that of his mother an oyster, and that of his wife a kind of fruit. This shows that the *ari* is not hereditary. Women obtain their *ari* in the same way as men. "The *ari* is thus a purely individual affair and is not transmissible, nor has it anything to do with the regulation of marriages."<sup>1</sup> In these respects, therefore, the *ari* resembles the totem of the Central Australians, which in like manner is not transmitted either from the father or from the mother and has nothing to do with the regulation of marriage.

Belief of the Pennefather blacks that babies are made of mud and put into women by a being called Anjea.

The resemblance thus traceable between what we may call the personal totems (*ari*) of the extreme northerly point of Australia and the totems of the central tribes is strengthened by the customs and beliefs of the natives of the Pennefather River in Queensland; for these customs and beliefs seem to form an intermediate link between the one set of totems and the other. The Pennefather blacks think that a being called Anjea, who was originally made by Thunder, fashions babies out of swamp-mud and inserts them in the wombs of women. He is never seen, but can be heard laughing in the depths of the bush, amongst the rocks, down in the lagoons, and along the mangrove swamps;

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters, Black, White, and Brown* (London, 1901), pp. 193 sq.; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. pp. 193, 221. In regard to marriage, however, Dr. Haddon says: "If it was true, as I was told, that men and women may not marry into the same *ari* in their own place, but may do so when away from home, its sanctity is local rather than personal. A wife must be taken from another 'country,' as all belonging to the same place are brothers and

sisters; which indicates that there is a territorial idea in kinship and in the consequent marriage restrictions" (*Head-hunters*, p. 194). But this statement is not repeated, so far as I have observed, in the *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*. The similarity of the *ari* to the personal totem (the *manitoo* or *okki* of some North American tribes) has been already indicated by Dr. Haddon (*Head-hunters*, p. 194). As to the totems of the Central Australians, see above, pp. 187 sqq.

and when they hear him, the blacks say, "Anjea he laugh ; he got him piccaninny." Women do not know when the infants are put inside them, because they may be placed in position by day or by night or in a dream ; only when they are placed, the women feel them. Now when Anjea makes the mud-baby, he animates it with a piece of its father's spirit (*choi*), if it is a boy, but with a piece of the spirit of its father's sister, if it is a girl ; and when he makes the next little brother or sister, he puts another piece of the spirit of the father or of the father's sister in the mud-baby, and so on. You must not, however, suppose that these portions of spirit are abstracted from the living father or the living father's sister. That is not so. What happens is this. When a child is born into the world, a portion of its spirit stays in its after-birth. Hence the grandmother takes the after-birth away and buries it in the sand, and she marks the place by thrusting sticks in a circle into the ground and tying their tops together into a sort of cone. So when Anjea comes along and sees the circle of sticks, he knows what is there and he takes out the spirit and carries it away to one of his haunts, and there it may remain for years, in a cleft of the rock, in a tree, or in a lagoon. Near Mapoon there are three or four such places where Anjea keeps the spirits of babies ready for use. One of them is among the sandstone rocks at Tullanaringa, which white people call Cullen Point ; another is on the beach of Baru ; another is among the rocks of Tronkanguno, at the meeting of the waters of the Batavia and Ducie Rivers ; another is in the woods among the mangrove swamps of Lalla ; and a fourth is in the fresh-water lagoons. There the spirits live till Anjea takes them and puts them into mud-babies, and then they are born again. So when a new baby is born, the father and mother know quite well whose spirit is in it ; for if it is a boy, his father's spirit is in it, and if it is a girl, its father's sister's spirit is in it. But what they do not know is where Anjea has been keeping the spirit all these years. And the way they find that out is this. While the grandmother cuts the navel-string, they call out the haunts of Anjea, whether they be on the beach, or in the lagoons, or in the woods among the mangrove swamps, or in the

Every child contains a portion of the spirit of its father or of its father's sister.

A portion of the child's spirit stays in its after-birth.

Places where the spirits of babies stay till they are reincarnated.

rocks at the meeting of the waters, or wherever they may be; and the place which is mentioned when the string breaks is the place where the spirit lived all that long time. That place is the child's own country, its true home, where in future it will have the right to roam and to hunt, though it may be far away from the place where it was born. Hence a baby is sometimes spoken of as an infant got from a tree, a rock, a stone, or fresh water.<sup>1</sup>

Comparison of the beliefs of the Pennefather natives with those of the Yaraikanna tribe of Cape York and the tribes of Central Australia.

Thus the mode of determining the country to which a person belongs or which belongs to him is very similar among the Yaraikanna tribe of Cape York and the natives of the Pennefather River; only in the one case the determination takes place at puberty, in the other case at birth, and accordingly in the one case the decisive moment is the breaking of the tooth, in the other the breaking of the navel-string. From the similarity of the two customs we may fairly infer that the country assigned to a man of the Yaraikanna tribe at the extraction of his tooth is the one in which his spirit was supposed to tarry since its last incarnation; and further, though this is more doubtful, we may conjecture that his *ari* or personal totem, which is determined at the same time, is the animal, plant, or what not, in which his spirit resided since its last embodiment in human form, or perhaps in which a part of his spirit may be thought to lodge during life. In favour of this last conjecture it may be pointed out that according to the Pennefather blacks a portion of a man's spirit resides permanently in his after-birth and is thus in a sense the man's external

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5, Superstition, Magic, and Medicine*, pp. 18, 23. An almost identical belief obtains among the natives of the Proserpine River, on the eastern coast of Queensland (W. E. Roth, *op. cit.* p. 18). With the expression an infant "got from a tree or a rock" we may compare the Greek phrase οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἔσσι παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης (Homer, *Odyssey*, xix. 163), as to which see A. B. Cook, "Oak and Rock," *The Classical Review*, xv. (1901) pp. 322 *sqq.* As to the rights of families or of individuals over special

districts, Dr. J. D. Lang observes: "The territory of each tribe is subdivided, moreover, among the different families of which it consists, and the proprietor of any particular subdivision has the exclusive right to direct when it shall be hunted over, or the grass burned, and the wild animals destroyed; for although there is always a general assembly of the tribe, and sometimes of neighbouring tribes, on such occasions, the entertainment is supposed to be provided exclusively by the proprietor of the land, who is accordingly master of the ceremonies" (J. D. Lang, *Queensland* (London, 1861), p. 336).

soul. However that may be, the beliefs of the Pennefather natives in the reincarnation of ancestral spirits seem clearly to be akin to those of the Central Australian tribes; and the trees, rocks, or water in which Anjea keeps the spirits of the dead till it is time for them to be born again are very like the *nanja* trees, rocks, or water where, according to the Arunta and other Central tribes, the souls of the dead dwell in the intervals between their incarnations.<sup>1</sup> Further, the magical power which the Queensland natives are thought to wield over their namesake animals, plants, or things so as to be able to produce them at pleasure or to catch and kill them,<sup>2</sup> bear a striking resemblance to the magical powers which the Central Australians exert over their totems for precisely the same purposes.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the *ari* of the Yaraikanna and the namesakes of the other Queensland tribes resemble the Central Australian totems in this that they appear to have nothing to do with the regulation of marriage.<sup>4</sup>

The mode of determining a man's personal totem by the knocking out of his tooth at puberty may perhaps help us to understand the motive of the similar ceremony which is so commonly observed among the tribes of South-East Australia.<sup>5</sup> Can it be that the practice of knocking out a tooth at initiation was everywhere associated with the assignment of a personal totem to the novice? and if this was true of the custom of tooth-extraction as an initiatory rite, may it not be true also of the customs of circumcision and subincision? I have elsewhere conjectured that all such rites, the essence of which seems to consist in removing from the novice a vital part of his person, may have been intended to ensure the rebirth of his spirit at a future time.<sup>6</sup>

Rites of initiation perhaps connected with totemism and the doctrine of reincarnation.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 123 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 145 *sqq.*, 341, 396; above, pp. 188 *sqq.* Can the name *Anjea* be connected with the word *nanja*?

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 532.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 104 *sqq.*, 183 *sqq.*, 214 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> See, however, the note on p. 536.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 412 note <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> J. G. Frazer, "The Origin of Circumcision," *The Independent Re-*

*view*, November 1904, pp. 204-218. In the Queensland tribes described by Mr. E. Palmer "The custom of knocking out the two front teeth is connected with the entry into their heaven. If they have the two front teeth out they will have bright clear water to drink, and if not they will have only dirty or muddy water" (E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 291).

If there is any truth in these conjectures, it would seem to follow that rites of initiation are intimately connected with totemism and the theory of the reincarnation of the dead. But the precise nature of the connection, if indeed it exists at all, remains still obscure.

Subtotems  
in Queens-  
land.

The tribes of North-Western Queensland described by Mr. E. Palmer appear to have had subtotems; that is, they apparently distributed all the objects of nature between their exogamous classes, just as some tribes of South-Eastern Australia are known to have done.<sup>1</sup> On this subject Mr. Palmer writes: "All nature is also divided into class names, and said to be male and female. The sun and moon and stars are said to be men and women, and to belong to classes just as the blacks themselves."<sup>2</sup>

Breaches  
of the  
class-laws  
punished  
with death.

Among these tribes any breach of the class-laws in respect of marriage was punished by the death of the guilty pair, the blood-relations on both sides consenting to the execution.<sup>3</sup> It was the council of elders which condemned the culprits and despatched its ministers to execute the sentence. Once, on the Bloomfield River, when the criminal escaped the agents of justice, an effigy of him was made of soft wood and buried,<sup>4</sup> no doubt for the purpose of killing him magically thereby. Wives were obtained in various ways. Sometimes a man would exchange his blood-sister for the blood-sister of another man, provided the women were of the proper classes and subclasses; but the camp-council had to give its consent unanimously to this arrangement. At other times the camp-council assigned a wife to a man without consulting his wishes. If the council refused to allow a man to marry the woman whom he loved, though she was of the right class and subclass, the two would sometimes elope with each other, and afterwards return as man and wife to the camp. On their return they had to run the gauntlet, the people hacking them with knives and belabouring them with sticks and boomerangs.

Modes of  
obtaining  
wives.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 427 *sqq.*, 431 *sq.*, 451 *sqq.*, 470 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 8, Notes on Government, Morals, and Crime* (Brisbane, 1906), p. 5.

But when they had passed through this ordeal, they were allowed to live together.<sup>1</sup> Boys and girls were sometimes betrothed to each other. If a woman was captured or taken in war, she might be kept by her captor, provided she was of the class and subclass into which he was allowed to marry. The tribes made raids into each other's territories to steal women, sometimes going long distances to get them.<sup>2</sup> Men inherited the widows of their deceased brothers in accordance with the custom of the Levirate.<sup>3</sup>

The Levirate.

A man never looked at, spoke to, or approached his mother-in-law, "but the father-in-law did not come under the same restriction."<sup>4</sup> However, the custom in this respect appears to vary in different tribes of Queensland, as we learn from the following account, in which the term step-parents is seemingly used in the sense of parents-in-law. "Certain of an individual's relatives are strictly tabu from him, in so much that he may neither approach, converse with, accept from, nor give them anything. This especially refers to the father-in-law and mother-in-law. These and other relationship restrictions are, however, far from constant. Thus, on the Pennefather a man must not look at either of his step-parents, though it is permissible for him to converse with them with face averted; a woman may talk with both in a natural manner, the business of the mother-in-law here being to attend her in her confinements. At Miriam Vale, south of Rockhampton, and at Boggy Creek, Upper Normanby River, as well as elsewhere, a man may, under certain circumstances, address his step-parents from a distance in a comparative whisper. On the Tully, both male and female talk to the father-in-law either by his individual name, whatever it may be, or by the generic one of *ni-ubi*; but their teeth would rot out were they to converse with the mother-in-law, though they may speak of her by the generic term of *wai-min*, but never by her individual name. With the sole exception, perhaps, of those cases where the mother-in-law acts as midwife, the practice of

Custom of avoidance between relations by marriage.

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, p. 181.

p. 301. As to betrothal, compare W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884)

<sup>3</sup> E. Palmer, *op. cit.* pp. 282, 298.

<sup>4</sup> E. Palmer, *op. cit.* p. 301; W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, p. 182.

Custom of avoidance between brothers and sisters.

both males and females refusing to touch any food prepared by their step-parents is universal. In some districts it is usual for the wife not even to converse with her husband's blood-brothers, but on the Tully she may lawfully have marital relations with them; the converse of husband and wife's blood-sisters, with its corresponding inconstancy, also holds true. It is the usual practice for a man never to talk to his blood-sister, or sometimes not even mention her name, after she has once reached womanhood."<sup>1</sup> This custom of mutual avoidance between blood brothers and sisters from puberty onwards will meet us again in Melanesia and other places. That it is intended as a precaution against incest appears highly probable.

The tribes are governed by the older men in council.

With regard to the government of these tribes we are told that "there is no hereditary chieftainship, or any one possessing authority among the northern tribes, so far as can be made out; one man being as good as another. To old men, however, great respect is shown, and whatever authority is acknowledged among them is centred in the aged, on account of their years and grey hairs. All matters connected with their social affairs are settled in open council at night, when each man speaks from his camp in turn, and is listened to without interruption. No young men or lads join in the talk."<sup>2</sup> Similarly Mr. Roth says that "the general government of the community is carried on by an assembly of elders, a camp council, as it were, of the elder males: not that this council has any fixed constitution or definite name applied to it, but by common consent it is accepted that all the older males take part in its deliberations, which, after all, are more or less informal. . . . Matters with which such a camp council concerns itself are those connected with the welfare and interests of the tribe collectively, and mainly relate to its external affairs, though events may take place in the home-life which call for interference. The question of peace or war would fall within its province, as well as the conditions for any proposed covenant. Covenants for the extermination of a common

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin No. 11, p. 78 (extract from *Records of the Australian*

*Museum*, vol. vii. No. 2, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> E. Palmer, *op. cit.* p. 282.

enemy may be made by two tribes on the basis of settling existing differences between themselves, without having recourse to mutual bloodshed.”<sup>1</sup>

As apparently always happens in aboriginal Australian society, the marriage system of these Queensland tribes is combined with the classificatory system of relationship. On this subject I will again quote Mr. Edward Palmer. After speaking of the exogamous classes he proceeds: “The relationships of the natives are founded on these laws: they call their father’s brother the same as father, and mother’s sister the same as mother. Our ideas of kinship are so different to theirs that calling them uncles or aunts or cousins or sisters or brothers does not convey any such meaning to them as it does to us, for they regard as brothers all those who belong to the same class or division as themselves; and among all blacks they discover some degree of affinity. They have a clear enough idea of their relationships; the fault seems to lie with us who do not comprehend theirs. Being founded on such a totally different system to ours, the individual relationship is, I believe, ignored for the sake of the class system. They recognise its relationships; hundreds of times a black boy has said, ‘Such and such a one is my brother,’ when I knew that he was not a brother, as we call such a relationship, and the same with father and mother. A blackfellow will say, and will be correct in saying, ‘So many are my fathers,’ or ‘So many mothers I have’; he should call them uncles or aunts; but brought up under the influence of their class system of relationships, it is as difficult for them to understand our system as it is for us to get at the secret of theirs. But there can be little doubt but that all their relationships are founded on the class systems or divisions, and they recognise such relationships, and call each other by them. From their earliest youth they comprehend such relationships and know no other.”<sup>2</sup>

Classificatory system of relationship among the Queensland tribes.

Hence in these tribes persons belonging to the same subclass call each other “brothers” and “sisters,” whether they

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 8, Notes on Government, Morals, and Crime* (Brisbane, 1906), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> E. Palmer, “Notes on some Australian Tribes,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) pp. 300 sq.

The classificatory terms imply group relationships and probably originated in group marriage.

are related to them by blood or not: they call the members of their complementary or twin subclass their "mother's brothers" and "mothers," whether they are related to them by blood or not: they call the members of the subclass into which alone they may marry "brothers-in-law" and "sisters-in-law," whether they are married or not: and they call the members of the remaining subclass (the complementary or twin subclass of the preceding) their "fathers" and "father's sisters," whether they are related to them by blood or not. For example, if we take a man of the Koopooroo subclass, he will call members of his own subclass (Koopooroo) his brothers and sisters, because his brothers and sisters are included in it. He will call members of his complementary or twin subclass (Woongko) his mother's brothers and his mothers, because his mother and her brothers are included in it. He will call members of the subclass into which alone he may marry (Koorkilla) his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, because his wife, present or future, and her brothers and sisters, are included in it. And he will call members of the remaining subclass (Bunburi, the complementary or twin subclass of his wife's subclass) according to their generation either his fathers and father's sisters, or his sons and daughters, because his father and father's sisters, and his own sons and daughters, are included in it. Thus throughout North-West-Central Queensland every person, male or female, young or old, is related to every other person in one or other of the following capacities: "brother," "sister," "brother-in-law," "sister-in-law," "mother's brother," "mother," "father," "father's sister," "son," "daughter," and that, too, even when, according to our notions, they are in no way related to each other either by blood or marriage. Hence every person may have, and generally has, many "fathers" and "mothers," as well as "brothers" and "sisters"; and he or she may be, and commonly is, "son-in-law" or "daughter-in-law" and "father" or "mother" to many men and women, even when he or she is not only unmarried but an infant.<sup>1</sup> Thus as

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, pp. 56, 59 sq., 63 sq. Compare *id.*, *Notes on Social and*

*Individual Nomenclature among certain North Queensland Aborigines*, p. 2: "These terms, mother, father, brother, sister, in addition to their generally

usual in the classificatory system relationships are conceived as existing between groups rather than between individuals, and these group relationships are in all probability derived from a system of group-marriage. In some of the Queensland tribes which we are considering a relic of group-marriage, if not of promiscuity, still survives in the rule which obliges every girl at puberty to have intercourse with all the men in the camp, except with her own father and with those who belong to her own subclass; indeed, even men of her own subclass are allowed access to her, if they belong to another tribe.<sup>1</sup>

As examples of the classificatory terms of relationship which are used by the Queensland aborigines we may take those of the Pitta-Pitta tribe in the Bouliia district. In the generation above his own a Pitta-Pitta man applies the same term *upperi* to his father and his father's brothers, both blood and tribal; and he applies the same term *umma* to his mother and to his mother's sisters, both blood and tribal. In his own generation he applies the same terms *titi* and *kako* to his brothers and sisters and to his first cousins, the sons and daughters of his father's brothers and of his mother's sisters respectively. In the generation below his own he applies the same term *uttapeukka* to his own children and to the children of his brothers, both blood and tribal.<sup>2</sup>

accepted meaning of relationship by blood, express a class or group-connection quite independent of it. Mother is the one and the same name used by an aboriginal to express not only the woman that gave him birth, but also the sisters (matron or virgin) connected with her by blood, as well as the dozens of women connected with her by class or group. . . . Similarly with

the terms brother, father, sister."

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, pp. 69, 174. The custom is observed in the Pitta-Pitta and neighbouring tribes of the Bouliia, Leichhardt-Selwyn, and Upper Georgina Districts.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, p. 64.

## CHAPTER IV

### TOTEMISM IN WEST AUSTRALIA

OUR information with regard to the natives of West Australia is unfortunately very scanty, but it suffices to shew that in its general lines their social organisation resembles that of most other Australian tribes; for here as elsewhere the tribes appear to be regularly divided into exogamous classes, and perhaps, though that is not so clear, into totem clans.

#### § I. *Totemism in South-West Australia*

Exogamous  
classes  
among the  
natives at  
King  
George's  
Sound.

The first place apparently at which the exogamous classes so characteristic of the Australian aborigines were observed and described was King George's Sound at the extreme south-west point of Australia. Here, we are told, "the whole body of the natives are divided into two classes, *Erniung* and *Tem* or *Tāāman*; and the chief regulation is, that these classes must intermarry, that is, an *Erniung* with a *Tāāman*. Those who infringe this rule are called *Yuredangers*, and are subject to very severe punishment. The children always follow the denomination of the mother. Thus, a man who is *Erniung* will have all his children *Tāāman*; but his sister's children will be *Erniungs*. This practice is common to all the tribes in the neighbourhood, with the exception of the *Murram*."<sup>1</sup> "With respect to

<sup>1</sup> "Description of the Natives of King George's Sound (Swan River Colony) and Adjoining Country, written by Mr. Scott Nind, and communicated by R. Brown, Esq., F.R.S.," *Journal*

*of the Royal Geographical Society*, i. (1832) pp. 37 sq. Mr. Nind resided as medical officer at King George's Sound from 1827 to 1829.

the divisions and subdivisions of tribes, there exists so much intricacy, that it will be long before it can be understood. The classes *Erniung* and *Tem* are universal near the Sound ; but the distinctions are general, not tribal. Another division, almost as general, is into *Moncalon* and *Torndirrup* ; yet there are a few who are neither. These can scarcely be distinguished as tribes, and are very much intermingled. The *Moncalon*, however, is more prevalent to the eastward of our establishment, and the *Torndirrup* to the westward. They intermarry, and have each again their subdivisive distinctions, some of which are peculiar, and some general ; of these are *Opperheip*, *Cambien*, *Mahnur*, etc.

“What I, however, consider more correctly as tribes, are those which have a general name and a general district, although they may consist of *Torndirrup* or *Moncalon*, separate or commingled. These are, I believe, in some measure named by the kind of game or food found most abundant in the district. The inhabitants of the Sound and its immediate vicinity are called *Meananger*, probably derived from *mearn*, the red root above mentioned and *anger*, to eat. It is in this district that the *mearn* is the most abundantly found ; but distant tribes will not eat the *mearn*, and complain much of the brushy nature of the country—that it scratches their legs. Kangaroos of the larger sort are scarce here, but the small brush kangaroo is plentiful, and grass-trees and *Banksia* are abundant, as is also, in the proper season, fish. The natives residing on the right, and extending to the coast about North-West Cape, are called *Murram*. This country, or district, is said to be more fertile, and produces different kinds of edible roots. It affords also more ponds of water, more wild fowl, and more emus.

“These tribes are also not universally divided into *Erniung* and *Tem*, and frequently infringe the rule. Adjoining them inland is the *Yobberore*. This country appears more hilly and better wooded ; but we have had very little intercourse with the natives who belong to it. Next to them is the *Will* or *Weil* district, which is a very favourite country, and may probably be named from *Weil* or *Weit* (ants' eggs). . . . Next to the *Weil* district is that

The divisions named from the game or other food most abundant in the several districts.

of *Warrangle* or *Warranger*, from *warre* (kangaroo), and seems to be of the same character as the *Weil*, which is chiefly open forest land, with a little short grass, and abounding in kangaroos, opossums, and other animals, as well as many birds, which are not found near the coast. The *Corine* district—the name of which may be derived from *qūur* (which I believe to be the bush kangaroo)—is said to be very open and nearly free from wood. . . .

Descent  
of the  
exogamous  
classes.

“Although every individual would immediately announce to us his tribal name and country, yet we have not been enabled to trace any regular order of descent. The son follows his mother as *Erniung* or *Tem*, and his father as *Torndirrup* or *Moncalon*. Beyond this we have not been able to penetrate, for *half* brothers are not unfrequently different. This would probably be caused by cross marriages. From the same cause also their divisions of relationship are very numerous. *Eicher*, mother; *cuinkur*, father; *mourert*, brother or sister; *konk* or *conk*, uncle, etc., etc.

Wives  
procured  
from a  
distance.

“In their marriage, they have no restriction as to tribe; but it is considered best to procure a wife from the greatest distance possible. The sons will have a right to hunt in the country from whence the mother is brought. They are very jealous as to encroachments on their property, and the land is divided into districts, which is the property of families or individuals.”<sup>1</sup>

General  
inferences  
as to  
exogamy  
among the  
tribes of  
King  
George's  
Sound.

From the foregoing account we may infer that some of the tribes of South-West Australia in the neighbourhood of King George's Sound were divided into two exogamous classes called *Erniung* and *Tem* respectively, with descent in the maternal line; while other tribes appear to have been divided into two exogamous classes named *Torndirrup* and *Moncalon* respectively with descent in the paternal line. Further, it would seem that the tribes with the two primary classes *Torndirrup* and *Moncalon* were subdivided into sub-classes, which bore the names of *Opperheip*, *Cambien*, *Mahnur*, etc. Further, the practice of taking wives from as great a distance as possible seems to shew that among these

<sup>1</sup> Scott Nind, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, i. (1832) pp. 42-44.

tribes, as among some of the coast tribes of South-East Australia, a custom of local exogamy was super-added to the custom of class exogamy; in other words, that a man was bound to marry a woman of another district as well as of another class. However, the information which I have quoted is both vague and meagre, and the only conclusions we can deduce with certainty from it are that exogamous subdivisions existed among the tribes near King George's Sound, and that in some of them these divisions were hereditary in the maternal line.

Among these tribes polygamy was in vogue, and one man might have many wives. Girls were seemingly at the disposal of their fathers and were generally betrothed in their infancy or even before birth. The men to whom they were betrothed were often middle-aged or old; indeed the majority of the men remained single until past thirty years of age, and some of them continued bachelors much longer. The old men, on the other hand, had several wives of all ages. "This state of things is in some measure compensated by what is called *tarramanaccarak*; it is, in fact, courting a wife whilst her husband is living, upon the understanding with both parties that she is to be the wife of the lover after the death of the husband. The presents in this case are made to the husband, as well as to the woman; but what she receives she generally divides with him. This practice is done openly, and permitted; but it must be carried on in so decorous a manner as not to occasion scandal to the parties, or jealousy to the husband."<sup>1</sup> Widows were not uncommonly inherited by the nearest relations of their deceased husband. When twins were born, one of them was killed; if the children were of different sexes, they killed the boy and preserved the girl. The reasons which they gave for destroying a twin were "that a woman has not sufficient milk for two children, and cannot carry them and seek her food."<sup>2</sup> In these tribes the men who possessed most influence were the doctors or medicine-men (*mulgarradocks*); they were

Marriage customs among the tribes of King George's Sound.

The Levirate. Twins.

Medicine-men.

<sup>1</sup> Scott Nind, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, i. (1832) p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Scott Nind, *l.c.*

thought to be able to cause or cure disease, to bring down lightning, and to drive away wind or rain.”<sup>1</sup>

Sir George Grey's account of totemism and exogamy in West Australia.

Much fuller and more precise information as to exogamy and totemism in South-Western Australia is furnished by Sir George Grey, formerly Governor of South Australia, whose account was published in 1841. As his account is both lucid and important, I will reproduce it entire for the convenience of my readers. Sir George Grey was the first to point out the resemblance between the totemic systems of Australia and North America. He writes as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

The families, clans, or classes of the natives of West Australia.

“*Traditional Laws' of Relationship and Marriage.*—One of the most remarkable facts connected with the natives, is that they are divided into certain great families, all the members of which bear the same names, as a family, or second name: the principal branches of these families, so far as I have been able to ascertain, are the

Ballaroke  
Tdondarup  
Ngotak  
Nagarnook  
Nogonyuk  
Mongalung  
Narrangur.

“But in different districts the members of these families give a local name to the one to which they belong, which is understood in that district, to indicate some particular branch of the principal family. The most common local names are,

Didaroke  
Gwerrinjoke  
Maleoke  
Waddaroke  
Djekoke  
Kotejumeno  
Namyungo  
Yungaree.

“These family names are common over a great portion of the continent; for instance, on the Western coast, in a

<sup>1</sup> Scott Nind, *op. cit.* pp. 41 sq.      *West and Western Australia during the years 1837, 38, and 39* (London, 1841), ii. 225-231.  
<sup>2</sup> George Grey, *Journals of two Expeditions of Discovery in North-*

tract of country extending between four and five hundred miles in latitude, members of all these families are found. In South Australia, I met a man who said that he belonged to one of them, and Captain Flinders mentions Yungaree, as the name of a native in the Gulf of Carpentaria.

Wide prevalence of these family names.

“These family names are perpetuated, and spread through the country, by the operation of two remarkable laws:—

“1st. That children of either sex, always take the family name of their mother.

“2nd. That a man cannot marry a woman of his own family name.

“But not the least singular circumstance connected with these institutions, is their coincidence with those of the North American Indians. . . .

“The origin of these family names is attributed by the natives to different causes, but I think that enough is not yet known on the subject, to enable us to form an accurate opinion on this point—one origin frequently assigned by the natives is, that they were derived from some vegetable or animal being very common in the district which the family inhabited, and that hence the name of this animal or vegetable became applied to the family. I have in my published vocabulary of the native language, under each family name, given its derivations, as far as I could collect them from the statements of the natives.<sup>1</sup>

The names are often derived from some animal or plant common in the district.

“But as each family adopts some animal or vegetable, as their crest or sign, or *Kobong* as they call it, I imagine it more likely, that these have been named after the families, than that the families have been named after them.

“A certain mysterious connection exists between a family and its *kobong*, so that a member of the family will never kill an animal of the species, to which his *kobong* belongs, should he find it asleep; indeed he always kills it reluctantly, and never without affording it a chance to escape. This arises from the family belief, that some one individual of the species is their nearest friend, to kill whom would be a great crime, and to be carefully avoided. Similarly, a native who has a vegetable for his *kobong*, may not gather

Mysterious connection between a family and its *kobong* or totem.

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 555 sq.

it under certain circumstances, and at a particular period of the year. The North American Indians have this same custom of taking some animal as their sign. Thus it is stated in the *Archæologia Americana*,<sup>1</sup> 'Each tribe has the name of some animal. Among the Hurons, the first tribe is that of the bear; the two others of the wolf and turtle. The Iroquois nation has the same divisions, only the turtle family is divided into two, the great and the little.' And again, in speaking of the Sioux tribes<sup>2</sup>:—'Each of these derives its name from some animal, part of an animal, or other substance, which is considered as the peculiar sacred object or *medicine*, as the Canadians call it, of each band respectively.' To this we may add the testimony of John Long, who says,<sup>3</sup> 'one part of the religious superstition of the savages consists in each of them having his own *totam*, or favourite spirit, which he believes watches over him. This *totam* they conceive assumes the shape of some beast or other, and therefore they never kill, hunt, or eat the animal whose form they think the *totam* bears.'

"Civilized nations, in their heraldic bearings, preserve traces of the same custom.

Marriage  
customs.

"Female children are always betrothed, within a few days after their birth; and from the moment they are betrothed, the parents cease to have any control over the future settlement of their child. Should the first husband die, before the girl has attained the years of puberty, she then belongs to his heir.

"A girl lives with her husband at any age she pleases, no control whatever is in this way placed upon her inclinations.

The  
Levirate.

"When a native dies, his brother inherits his wives and children, but his brother must be of the same family name as himself. The widow goes to her second husband's hut, three days after the death of her first.

Old men  
monopolise  
the women.

"The old men manage to keep the females a good deal amongst themselves, giving their daughters to one another, and the more female children they have, the greater chance

<sup>1</sup> "Vol. 2, p. 109, quoting from Charlevoix, vol. 3, p. 266."

<sup>2</sup> "*Ibid.* p. 110, quoting from Major

Long's *Exp.* vol. i. ch. 15."

<sup>3</sup> "*Voyages and Travels*, p. 86."

have they of getting another wife, by this sort of exchange ; but the women have generally some favourite amongst the young men, always looking forward to be his wife at the death of her husband.

“But a most remarkable law is that which obliges families connected by blood upon the female side, to join for the purpose of defence and avenging crimes ; and as the father marries several wives, and very often all of different families, his children are repeatedly all divided amongst themselves ; no common bond of union exists between them, and this custom alone would be sufficient to prevent this people ever emerging from the savage state.” Law of the blood feud.

“As their laws are principally made up of sets of obligations due from members of the same great family towards one another,—which obligations of family names are much stronger than those of blood,—it is evident that a vast influence upon the manners and state of this people must be brought about by this arrangement into classes. I therefore devoted a great portion of my attention to this point, but the mass of materials I have collected is so large, that it would occupy much more time to arrange it, than I have been able to spare, so as to do full justice to the subject ; but in order to give an accurate idea of the nature of the enquiries I pursued, I have given in the Appendix (A)<sup>1</sup> a short genealogical list, which will show the manner in which a native gives birth to a progeny of a totally different family name to himself ; so that a district of country never remains for two successive generations in the same family. These observations, as well as others made with regard to the natives, can be only considered to apply, as yet, to that portion of Western Australia lying between the 30th and 35th parallels of S. lat. unless the contrary is expressly stated ; though I think there is strong reason to suppose that they will, in general, be found to obtain throughout the continent.” Rules of marriage and descent among the classes.

The genealogies which Sir George Grey gives in an Appendix<sup>2</sup> are summarised in the following table, where the names given are those of what the writer calls the Genealogies.

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 553 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* ii. 391-394.

principal branches of the great families into which the natives are divided :—

Husband.	Wife.	Children.
Ballar-oke	Ngotak	Ngotak
"	No-go-nyuk	No-go-nyuk
Tdon-dar-up	Ballar-oke	Ballar-oke
Ngotak	Ballar-oke	Ballar-oke
"	Na-gar-nook	Na-gar-nook
No-go-nyuk	Ngotak	Ngotak
"	Tdondarup	Tdondarup
Ngotak	Na-gar-nook	Na-gar-nook
"	No-go-nyuk	No-go-nyuk
"	Ballar-oke	Ballar-oke

Horror  
of incest.

Amongst these tribes, as amongst most Australian tribes, the rules of exogamy seem to have been rigidly enforced. At least Grey tells us that "the crime of adultery is punished severely—often with death. Anything approaching the crime of incest, in which they include marriages out of the right line, they hold in the greatest abhorrence, closely assimilating in this last point with the North American Indians, of whom it is said in the *Archæologia Americana* : 'They profess to consider it highly criminal for a man to marry a woman whose *totem* (family name) is the same as his own, and they relate instances when young men, for a violation of this rule, have been put to death by their own nearest relatives.'<sup>1</sup>

Similar  
horror of  
incest  
among the  
North  
American  
Indians.

"And again : 'According to their own account, the Indian nations were divided into tribes for no other purpose than that no one might ever, either through temptation or mistake, marry a near relation, which at present is scarcely possible, for whoever intends to marry must take a person of a different tribe.'<sup>2</sup>

"The same feeling was remarked by Dobrizhoffer in South America ; for, speaking of an interview with a native tribe, to whom he was preaching, he says :—'The

<sup>1</sup> "Vol. 2, p. 110, quoting from Tanner's *Narrative*, p. 313."

<sup>2</sup> "*Ibid.*"

old man, when he heard from me that marriage with relations was forbidden, exclaimed, "Thou sayest well, father, such marriages are abominable; but that we know already." From which I discovered that incestuous connexions are more execrable to these savages than murder or robbery.<sup>1</sup>

"Any other crime may be compounded for, by the criminal appearing and submitting himself to the ordeal of having spears thrown at him by all such persons as conceive themselves to have been aggrieved, or by permitting spears to be thrust through certain parts of his body; such as through the thigh, or the calf of the leg, or under the arm. The part which is to be pierced by a spear, is fixed for all common crimes, and a native who has incurred this penalty, sometimes quietly holds out his leg for the injured party to thrust his spear through."<sup>2</sup>

Elsewhere Grey gives briefly some of the native stories as to the origin of the families or clans. Thus the Ballaroke family is said to derive its name from having in former times subsisted mainly on a very small species of opossum, to which the natives give the name of *ballard*.<sup>3</sup> They say, too, that the Ballarokes were a species of swan called *kuljak* before they were transformed into men.<sup>4</sup> The Nagarnook family is said to take its name from a species of small fish called *nagkarn*, on which in former times they chiefly fed.<sup>5</sup> The Tdondarup or Dtondarup family is related to have been a species of water-fowl called *koolama* before they were changed into men.<sup>6</sup> The Ngotak family is reported to have

Legends of the origin of the various families.

<sup>1</sup> "Account of the Abipones, vol. i. p. 69." Dobrizhoffer here tells us that "the Abipones, warned by nature alone and by the example of their forefathers, shun marriage with any relations whatever and shrink from it more than from a serpent" (*Historia de Abiponibus*, Vienna, 1784, ii. 222).

<sup>2</sup> G. Grey, *Journals of two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia*, ii. 242 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. Grey, *Vocabulary of the Dialects of South-Western Australia*, 2nd edition (London, 1840), p. 4. The *Descriptive Vocabulary of the Languages*

*in common use amongst the Aborigines of Western Australia*, by G. F. Moore (appended to the same writer's *Diary of Ten Years eventful Life of an early settler in Western Australia*, London 1884), is avowedly based on Grey's *Vocabulary*, and contains little or nothing new of importance with reference to the exogamous divisions. The writer says (*s.v.* "Ballarok") that there are four principal families, namely, Ballarok, Dtondarup, Ngotak, and Naganok.

<sup>4</sup> G. Grey, *Vocabulary*, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> G. Grey, *Vocabulary*, p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> G. Grey, *Vocabulary*, p. 66.

been either widgeons (*eroto*) or a species of duck (*djin-be-nong-era*) before they were transformed into human beings.<sup>1</sup> So too the Nogonyuk family are believed to have been a species of water-fowl, the mountain-duck (*karbunga*), before their metamorphosis into men.<sup>2</sup> And a like tale was told of "the Didaroke family, a branch of the Ngotaks": they also had been a sort of water-fowl (*kij-jin-broon*) before they exchanged their bird-shape for human form.<sup>3</sup>

Summary of Grey's information as to the West Australian tribes.

Thus from Grey's account we gather that the tribes of South-Western Australia, from the thirtieth parallel of south latitude southward were divided into at least seven exogamous totem clans with descent in the female line. Two of the names of these clans, namely Tdondarup and Mongalung, seem to be clearly identical with Torndirrup and Moncalon which we met with as names of exogamous divisions, whether classes or totem clans, among the tribes near King George's Sound.<sup>4</sup> Further, it appears from Grey's account that the members of one of these clans or families, as he calls them, were not limited in their choice of wives or husbands to the members of one other clan or family only; for in his genealogies he records several cases in which a man of one clan married wives of two different clans, and one case in which a man married wives of three different clans. Some of the legends related to account for the origin of the families or clans shew that here as in other parts of Australia the natives believed themselves to be descended from animals of their totem species; while two of the legends seem to preserve a reminiscence of a time when men habitually ate their totems, as if that had been the right and proper thing for them to do. These latter traditions agree with and are confirmed by the similar traditions current among the central tribes.<sup>5</sup>

Sir John Forrest's account of the exogamous classes among the aborigines of West Australia.

It is possible that some of the exogamous divisions which Grey seems to have regarded as totem clans were not totem clans but classes or subclasses (phratries or subphratries). At least Sir John Forrest's account of what he calls the two "great tribes" Tordnerup and Ballarook, which

<sup>1</sup> G. Grey, *Vocabulary*, pp. 29, 37.

<sup>2</sup> G. Grey, *Vocabulary*, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> G. Grey, *Vocabulary*, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 547.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 238 *sqq.*

are clearly the same as Grey's Tdondarup and Ballaroke, seems to shew that these are exogamous classes or subclasses rather than totem clans. He writes as follows: "The natives of Western Australia are divided into tribes, which bear certain names; there are several, but they all merge into two great tribes called the Tornderup and the Ballarook. Wherever a native goes, so long as he does not go beyond the limit of these tribes, he will always be protected by his own tribe, although he may be a perfect stranger to them; in fact they look upon him as a brother. The marriage laws are also very strict. A Tornderup must not marry a Tornderup, although she may be quite a stranger; if he wants a wife he must take a Ballarook. Sometimes they break through this rule, and generally get speared or killed for their pains. They are constantly quarrelling about their wives, and running away with one another's wives is very common. The poor women generally get the worst of it, being often speared, and even sometimes killed. Still, even this severe punishment does not deter them, and it is just as common now as it was forty years ago. Betrothal is very general. A child a year old will sometimes be betrothed to an old man, and it will be his duty to protect and feed her, and (unless she is stolen by some one else) when she is old enough she becomes his wife. In the case of a husband's death his wife belongs to the oldest man of his family, who either takes her himself or gives her to some one else. There is no marriage ceremony, merely handing over the woman to the man. Children always take after the mother's tribe. If a mother is Tornderup, the child is Tornderup, and so on."<sup>1</sup>

The suspicion that Grey may have mistaken exogamous classes or subclasses for totem clans is confirmed by the account which Bishop Salvado of the Catholic Mission at New Norcia, in South-Western Australia, has given of the marriage laws observed by the aborigines of that district, which is situated some fifty miles inland on the low Darling Range, about the thirty-first parallel of south latitude. The Bishop has set forth the exogamous classes and rules

Bishop Salvado's account of the exogamous classes at New Norcia.

<sup>1</sup> John Forrest, "On the Natives of *of the Anthropological Institute*, v. Central and Western Australia," *Journal* (1876) p. 317.

of marriage of the tribe in an elaborate genealogical tree ;<sup>1</sup> and the information thus supplied has been digested by Mr. Lorimer Fison into tables, which, with his explanations and comments, I will here reprint. They give a clear statement of the system, which in certain of its features is anomalous, that is, it differs from the regular patterns of Australian tribal organisation in two, four, or eight exogamous classes. Mr. Fison's statement is as follows :—<sup>2</sup>

“The New Norcia tribe is divided into six classes, its system therein differing from that found among the West Australian natives in the neighbourhood of the N.W. Cape, which is of the four-class Kamilaroi type, with the usual arrangements as to marriage and descent.

“The six classes are called respectively, Palarop, Nokongok, Jirajiok, Mondorop, Tondorop, and Tirarop. Their marriage prohibitions are exhibited in the following table :—

Class	May not marry
Palarop	Jirajiok, Palarop.
Nokongok	Jirajiok, Nokongok.
Jirajiok	Jirajiok, Palarop, Nokongok.
Mondorop	Tirarop, Mondorop.
Tondorop	Tirarop, Tondorop.
Tirarop	Tirarop, Tondorop, Mondorop.

“A glance at this table shows that the six classes range themselves into two sets of three each, and the prohibitions reveal an exogamous law, which is strictly binding upon every class, and partially binding upon each set. A clear distinction between the two sets is thus arrived at ; in fact, each set represents a primary class, like Dilbi or Kupathin of the Kamilaroi, but with three subclasses belonging to it, instead of two, as in the Kamilaroi system. Distinguishing these primary classes as A and B, we have :—

<sup>1</sup> See E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 320 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Lorimer Fison, “The New Norcia Marriage Laws,” *Journal of the An-*

*thropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 68-70. I have tacitly corrected a few misprints in the names of the classes.

A = Palarop, Nokongok, Jirajiok.

B = Mondorop, Tondorop, Tirarop.

"In the following table the marriages are shown, those which offend against the usual exogamous law of the primary classes being distinguished thus \* :—

Table shewing the regular and the anomalous marriages in these classes.

Primary Class A	Marries	Primary Class B	Marries
Palarop	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mondorop B</li> <li>Tondorop B</li> <li>Tirarop B</li> <li>Nokongok A*</li> </ul>	Mondorop	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Palarop A</li> <li>Nokongok A</li> <li>Jirajiok A</li> <li>Tondorop B*</li> </ul>
Nokongok	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mondorop B</li> <li>Tondorop B</li> <li>Tirarop B</li> <li>Palarop A*</li> </ul>	Tondorop	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Palarop A</li> <li>Nokongok A</li> <li>Jirajiok A</li> <li>Mondorop B*</li> </ul>
Jirajiok	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mondorop B</li> <li>Tondorop B</li> <li>Tirarop B</li> </ul>	Tirarop	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Palarop A</li> <li>Nokongok A</li> <li>Jirajiok A</li> </ul>

"From the foregoing we get the social organisation of the tribe which is as follows :—

"(1) Two primary classes.

"(2) Each primary class has three exogamous subclasses, any one of which may marry into any subclass of the other primary division.

"(3) In each primary class two of the subclasses intermarry with one another as well as with all those of the other primary division.

"It will be observed that one subclass in each primary division (Jirajiok A, Tirarop B) marries only into the other division. That is to say, these two subclasses observe the usual exogamous rule of the primary classes, and the question is, why the other subclasses do not observe it? One or two conjectural solutions of this problem might be offered; but our experience in these researches has made us shy of such solutions how plausible soever they may appear. If we knew the regulations as to descent and

the totemic divisions of the subclasses (supposing them to exist here as elsewhere) we should probably find in them much to help us. Unfortunately Dr. Salvado not only does not give these particulars, but he turns a deaf ear to our appeals for information concerning them, and all our efforts to obtain the information from other sources have been equally unsuccessful."

Maternal descent of the classes.

The classes or subclasses in this New Norcia tribe were hereditary in the female line, the children taking them from their mother, not from their father.<sup>1</sup> Two of the class-names, namely Tondorop and Nokongok, appear to be identical with two of the family names given by Grey, namely Tdondarup and Nogonyuk, which confirms, as I have said, the suspicion that Grey may have mistaken some of the names of exogamous classes or subclasses for the names of totem clans.

Mrs. Bates's account of the exogamous classes of the West Australian aborigines.

The suspicion is further strengthened by the evidence of Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, who has personally investigated the exogamous divisions of the natives of South-West Australia. She reports as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

"From my personal investigations amongst those of the old southern natives with whom I have lived for over four months, I find that the whole of the southern peoples occupying the line of coast from about Jurien Bay to Esperance (or thereabouts) have two primary divisions which intermarry, but which are strictly forbidden to marry within themselves. These divisions are called respectively Wor-dung-mat and Manytchmat. . . . These two primary divisions have been subdivided into four, viz. :—

Bal-lar-ruk  
Na-gar-nook  
Ton-da-rup  
Did-ar-ruk.

"Of these four, Bal-lar-ruk and Na-gar-nook represent the Wordungmat division and Tondarup and Didarruk the Manytchmat division.

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 320.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, M.R.G.S.A., "The Marriage Laws and some Cus-

toms of the West Australian Aborigines," *Victorian Geographical Journal*, xxiii.-xxiv. (1905-1906) pp. 42-44.

“The four classes have been further segmented as under :—

Ballarruk, Nagarnook, Waijuk, Kootijcum, Gwalook, Gooanuk, Noganyuk, and Eedalyuk, all included in the primary Wordungmat division.

Tondarup, Didarruk, Kayganook, Jeedalyuk, Melamurnong, included in the Manytchmat division.

“These numerous subdivisions may be only local ; they certainly obtain amongst the people living on the south coast between Mandurah and Cape Leeuwin, but the four principal class names are to be found along the whole coast line between Jurien Bay and Esperance. I have met a Jurien Bay Tondarup and an Esperance Bay Ballarruk and Didarruk. . . .

“The marriage laws and forms of descent of the two primary classes are as under :—

Man.	Woman.	Children.
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Wordungmat marries Manytchmat, their children are Manytchmat.		
Manytchmat marries Wordungmat, their children are Wordungmat.		

“Of the four subdivisions, the marriages are as follows :—

Ballarruk marries Tondarup or Didarruk, children Tondarup or Didarruk.

Nagarnook marries Tondarup or Didarruk, children Tondarup or Didarruk.

Tondarup marries Ballarruk or Nagarnook, children Ballarruk or Nagarnook.

Didarruk marries Ballarruk or Nagarnook, children Ballarruk or Nagarnook.

“Ballarruk and Nagarnook cannot marry, either between themselves or with any of their subdivisions, but they can marry any of the other classes ; also Tondarup and Didarruk cannot marry each other nor their subdivisions, but they can marry Ballarruk, Nagarnook, and their subdivisions.”

From the foregoing account it appears that the natives of the southern coast of West Australia between Jurien Bay and Esperance are divided into two exogamous classes and four subclasses as follows :—

Marriage and descent in the classes.

Tables shewing the classes, marriages, and descent

among the natives of the southern coast of West Australia.

Class.	Subclasses.	Class.	Subclasses.
Wordingmat	{ Ballarruk Nagarnook	Manytchmat	{ Tondarup Didarruk

The rules of marriage and descent may be tabulated as follows :—

Husband.	Wife.	Children.
Wordingmat. { Ballarruk " " Nagarnook " "	Tondarup Didarruk Tondarup Didarruk } Manytchmat.	Tondarup Didarruk Tondarup Didarruk } Manytchmat.
Manytchmat. { Tondarup " " Didarruk " "	Ballarruk Nagarnook Ballarruk Nagarnook } Wordingmat.	Ballarruk Nagarnook Ballarruk Nagarnook } Wordingmat.

Anomalous marriages.

If these rules are correctly reported, it appears that descent both of the class and the subclass is maternal in the direct line: in other words, children belong to their mother's subclass as well as to her class. This is a departure from the normal type of an Australian tribe with four subclasses, since, as we have seen, in tribes thus organised the children regularly belong to a different subclass both from their mother and from their father, whether descent be traced in the maternal or in the paternal line.<sup>1</sup> Further, it is to be observed that in these tribes each subclass is free to marry into either of the two subclasses of the other primary class, which is equivalent to abandoning the exogamy of the subclasses, while retaining the exogamy of the primary classes. These facts appear to be symptoms of decay in the exogamous system of the people.

Three of the four names of subclasses recorded by Mrs. Bates, namely, Ballarruk, Nagarnook, and Tondarup, are

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 395 *sqq.*, 443 *sqq.*

clearly identical with three of the names of families or clans (namely, Ballaroke, Nagarnook, and Tdondarup) recorded by Grey.

The names of the classes, according to Mrs. Bates, "appear to have totemic meanings. Wordungmat are crows. Manytchmat are cockatoos. Ballarruk are *Bootallung*, pelicans. Nagarnooks are *Weja*, emus. Tondarups are *Dondurn*, fishhawks. Didarruk are *Didara* (or *Wadarn*), the sea. The Walja, or eaglehawk, is supposed to be the *Mamangur* or father, of all; Wordung and Manytch are his nephews. I obtained some information recently with reference to the Walja. I had made close and continuous inquiries as to whether there was a tribe named after the Walja, and I discovered that there has been a small tribe of Waljuks in the neighbourhood of Beverley and York. I learn, however, that the tribe, as such, appears to have died out."<sup>1</sup> "The eaglehawk was sometimes called *Mamangurra*, and was supposed by the southern coastal natives to have made all living things into *noyyung* or *ngunning*."<sup>2</sup> He was himself both *noyyung* and *ngunning*. He had a wife in the squeaker crow. Many of their legends have the eaglehawk as the central figure, but animals, birds, and reptiles figure in all native legendary lore."<sup>3</sup>

If Mrs. Bates's derivations are right, it would seem that the names of the classes or moieties of these West Australian tribes, like those of some tribes of South-East Australia, are totemic. The totems of the classes and subclasses on her shewing are these:—

Classes.	Totems.	Subclasses.	Totems.
Wordungmat	crow	{ Ballarruk Nagarnook	pelican emu
Manytchmat	cockatoo	{ Tondarup Didarruk	fishhawk the sea

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, "The Marriage Laws and some Customs of the West Australian Aborigines," *Victorian Geographical Journal*, xxiii.-xxiv. (1905-1906) p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> These are the two terms of relationship applied to the two primary classes. See below, p. 566.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, *op. cit.* p. 58.

Totemic meanings of the class names.

Classes, subclasses, and totems of South-West Australian tribes.

Mrs.  
Bates's  
account  
of West  
Australian  
totems.

The following is the account which Mrs. Bates gives of totems in West Australia. "Every native has a totem of some animal, bird, or fish. . . . The word for 'totem' in the Vasse district is *oobarree*, at Perth it is *oobar*, on the Gascoyne and Ashburton it is *walaree*, and on the De Grey River it is *wooraroo*, in York and Beverley it is *boorongur*.

"Marriages are independent of personal totems, and a man whose *oobarree* is a kangaroo may marry a woman who is of his proper marrying class and who may have the same totem, a different totem being bestowed upon the children. Totems in the south appear to be always given from some circumstance attendant on the birth of the children. I will give you a few instances of this.

"*Beyoo* means swollen. *Beyooran*, a female, was so called from the fact of her father missing the whereabouts of a kangaroo he had killed, and finding it in the afternoon all swollen from the sun's heat. The girl's *oobaree* or totem was a kangaroo. *Put-bee-yan*, a female, was named after a tame opossum which used to make a noise like *put-put* when coming for its food. *Put-bee-yan's* totem was an opossum. *Baaburgurt's* name was given him from his father observing a sea mullet leaping out of the water and making a noise like *Brrr-Baaburr*. The *kalda* or sea mullet is *Baabur's* totem. *Baabur's* father and his father's brothers also had the *kalda* as their totem, but his grandfathers had different totems. *Nyilgee* was named after a swamp wallaby (called *woorark*) which her father was about to kill, but in the act of raising his spear the little wallaby escaped. '*Yalgy yookan,*' the father said, 'if he had only stood a moment longer, I should have got him,' and he called his daughter *Nyilgeean*; her totem is the *woorark*."<sup>1</sup>

From this account it appears that the totems of West Australia here described are personal or individual totems, not totems shared by whole clans, and that they are bestowed on children at birth, being often determined by the appearance of some animal, which henceforth becomes the child's totem. It is possible that clan totems may have disappeared, as they have done in some tribes of South-East Australia.<sup>2</sup> A trace of clan or perhaps subclass totems seems to survive

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, *op. cit.* p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 493 *sqq.*

These  
totems  
appear  
to be  
totems  
of indi-  
viduals,  
not  
of clans.

in the belief of the southern natives that their ancestors were once animals or birds. "For instance, the Nagarnooks are called Wejuk (emus), and are even supposed at the present time to be able to transform themselves from men to emus at will."<sup>1</sup> Among the names for a totem Mrs. Bates does not mention *kobong*, the word for it given by Grey.

The rule that a man must avoid his mother-in-law seems to prevail, under various names (*too-ah, doo-ah, ngan-yerri, nganya, kenjir, dar-ar-buk*), throughout West Australia. He may not speak to her nor look at her, nor enter her hut, nor eat the food she has prepared; and she must avoid him in like manner. The men believe that they will become bald if they look at their mothers-in-law, and the women think that their hair will turn grey if they speak to their sons-in-law.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes a bull-roarer is swung to warn the mother-in-law to keep away from her son-in-law.<sup>3</sup>

Avoidance of mother-in-law.

Further, amongst some at least of the tribes of West Australia brothers and sisters mutually avoid each other; indeed, from the time that a lad has attained to puberty, he may never speak to or even look at his sisters again. The practice is thus reported by Mrs. Bates:—

Rule of avoidance between brothers and sisters.

"I am informed that amongst the native tribes near the head of the Grenough River, when a boy is taken away from [for?] the ceremony of initiation, which includes circumcision and subincision, he takes a ceremonious farewell of his sister or sisters, as on his return from the initiation ground, he must never look at or speak to them again. A. L. P. Cameron, writing in *Science of Man*, July 1904, states that the Cooper Creek tribe had a similar custom. It is, however, the general rule throughout the State for 'own' sisters and brothers to keep apart from each other. Paljeri<sup>4</sup> boys cannot play with or speak to Paljeri girls, nor can Tondarup boys and girls play together. Paljeri boys and Kymera girls (or *vice versa*) when very young can play together, and Tondarup boys and Nagarnook or Ballarruk girls can also play with each other, as also with other

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, *op. cit.* p. 58.

from the Bishop of West Australia at Liverpool, 29th May 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, *op. cit.* p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> As to the Paljeri and other subclasses here mentioned, see below,

<sup>3</sup> This I learned in conversation

pp. 569 *sqq.*

classes."<sup>1</sup> We have met with this custom of avoidance between brothers and sisters in Queensland,<sup>2</sup> and we shall meet with it again among totemic tribes in other parts of the world.

System of relationship among the West Australian aborigines.

"With regard to the relationship existing amongst the West Australian aborigines; taking the two primary divisions of the southern people Wordungmat and Manytchmat, there are two terms always applied to these, *noy-yung* and *ngunning*. These terms are interchangeable according to the division that is speaking.

"For instance, I have been adopted into the Tondarup class [of the primary division Manytchmat],<sup>3</sup> therefore all Tondarups, Didarruks, and their subdivisions are 'my own' family, they are *ngunning* to me. Into whatever district I go I sit by a *ngunning* fire. Now the various relationship terms which I use amongst the Tondarup and Didarruks are *demma-mat* and *murranmat* (grandparent's stock), *ngangarmat* (mother stock), *ngoondanmat* (brother stock), and *jookamat* (sister stock). I will find representatives of some of these amongst all the tribes which I may visit.

"*Noy-yung* is the word I (as a Tondarup) would use in speaking to the Wordungmat division. *Noy-yung* are my relations-in-law, so to speak, and the terms of relationship are *demma-mat* and *murranmat* (these words are applied to maternal or paternal grandparents), *kor-da-mat* (husband stock), *ngooljarmat* or *deenamat* (brother-in-law or sister-in-law stock), *mungartmat* (aunt stock), *konganmat* (uncle stock). My father (*mamman*) is *noy-yung*.

"These are some of the *noy-yung* relationships (I give the English equivalents of the terms merely for the sake of clearness). As regards nearer relationships, all my father's brothers are my fathers (*mamanmat*), yet my father's sisters are *mungart* (aunt stock), and I can marry my *mungart*'s (aunt's stock) sons, who are my *kordamat* (husband stock).

"All my mother's sisters are my mothers (*ngangamat*), but my mother's brothers are *konganmat* (uncle stock), and I can marry their sons who are also my *kordamat* (husband stock).

"The children of my fathers and mothers are my

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, *op. cit.* p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 542.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 561 sqq.

brothers and sisters, they are *ngunning*, 'my own,' but the children of my father's sisters and my mother's brothers are *kordamat* (husband stock) and are *noy-yung*."<sup>1</sup>

From this account it appears that the natives of South-West Australia employ the classificatory system of relationship, and that a man's proper wife is the daughter of his mother's brother or (what comes to the same thing) the daughter of his father's sister. Classificatory system of relationship.

Further, these tribes, like some tribes of South-East Australia and of Queensland,<sup>2</sup> extend their class system so as to include the whole of nature under it. Thus we are told that "the terms *noy-yung* and *ngunning* are also used to denote the relationship that every tree, shrub, root, etc., bears to the person who is speaking. For instance, the Red Gum is a male, and belongs to the Manytchmat division; it is *ngunning* to me. The White Gum is a female, and belongs to the Wordungmat division; it is *noy-yung* to me, and so on." "In fact the primary classes, Wordungmat and Manytchmat divide all natural objects between them, and every living thing and every tree, root, and fruit is *noy-yung* or *ngunning*."<sup>3</sup> Subtotems.

## § 2. Totemism in North-West Australia

The natives of the north-western region of West Australia are less decadent than those of the south-western parts, because they have been far less demoralised by contact with whites.<sup>4</sup> Like the tribes of the South-West, they are divided into exogamous classes, but the names of the classes are different. They differ also from the tribes of the South-West in practising circumcision, and some of them practise subincision as well. On this subject Sir John Forrest, speaking of the natives of West Australia, observes: "The rite of circumcision is also universal with all I have met, except those belonging to the south-west corner of Australia; it is a sort of religious ceremony with them. They gather Tribes of North-West Australia less decadent than those of the South-West.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, *op. cit.* pp. 47 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, *op. cit.* pp. 48, 49.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 427 sqq., 431 sqq., 451 sqq., 470 sqq., 540.

<sup>4</sup> This I learned in conversation from the Bishop of West Australia at Liverpool, 29th May 1908. Rites of circumcision and subincision.

together in large numbers, and the men and women part for a fortnight or more, and are not expected to see one another; if they accidentally meet they run for their lives."<sup>1</sup> As to the line of demarcation between the circumcised and the uncircumcised tribes in West Australia Mrs. Daisy M. Bates writes as follows: "Here in this State there seem to be two great divisions, a northern and southern, or perhaps they might be defined more particularly by classifying them as a circumcised and uncircumcised people. Both these divisions bear distinct class names, and both have peculiar customs and laws handed down by oral tradition from father to son for countless generations. The great northern division covers, as far as I have at present ascertained, the portion of country lying between East Kimberley and a point somewhere in the neighbourhood of Jurien Bay, about lat. 30° South, but at what exact point I cannot find out until I make a personal investigation. The same customs, habits, marriage laws, and laws of descent obtain amongst the northern division, a slight difference in nomenclature being the only variation. This division from Kimberley [in the North-East] down to a little below the De Grey River practises circumcision or subincision, the former compulsory, the latter not generally so. Just below the Grey River, from the coast inland to about forty miles or so, the coastal natives have given up the practice, and all along the coast down to Point Malcolm (or thereabouts) the natives have substituted nose piercing for circumcision. The circumcised tribes touch the coast at the De Grey and Point Malcolm. The nearest

Boundary between the circumcised and the uncircumcised tribes.

<sup>1</sup> J. Forrest, "On the Natives of Central and Western Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, v. (1876) pp. 317 sq. "All the tribes of N.W. Australia practise circumcision" (E. Clement, "Ethnographical Notes on the Western Australian Aborigines," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xvi. (1904) p. 9). "Circumcision, or splitting the prepuce as a rite, is universal, and is usually performed early in the morning, at 4 or 5 A.M., the whole tribe being gathered together" (P. W. Bassett-Smith, "The Aborigines of North-West Australia," *Journal of the*

*Anthropological Institute*, xxiii. (1894) p. 327). In the district of North-West Australia which is roughly comprised between lat. 21° and 23° S. and long. 117° and 120° E. all the males are circumcised at puberty, and "to prevent the too rapid increase of children the *mika* operation is performed on a number of young men. It consists of splitting the urethra for about 5 centimetres with a sharp flint-stone" (E. Clement, "Ethnographical Notes on the Western Australian Aborigines," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xvi. (1904) p. 13.

point at which they touch the coast between these two places is at Geraldton, where they encroach within twenty miles of that port, the reason for this being that the uncircumcised are being constantly adopted into the circumcised tribes. A circumcised man does not enter into and reside amongst the uncircumcised people, but an uncircumcised man may be adopted into the circumcised tribes. . . .

There is traditional evidence that the custom of circumcision has only comparatively recently died out in many parts of the Nor'-West below the De Grey. At Roebourne it has been replaced by the tying at initiation of a ligature so tightly round the upper part of the arm that if worn for a lengthy period it sometimes causes that member to wither and become useless, but this is a rare occurrence." <sup>1</sup> "The inland tribes in the neighbourhood of the De Grey River are all circumcised, but not the tribe [namely, the Ngurla] about which I am writing. However, they frequently intermarry, the class system of marriage, as I understand, obtaining in all. But few of them pierce the septum of the nose. On the arrival of the males at the age of puberty, or shortly after, the Ngurla and other tribes in the neighbourhood amongst whom circumcision is not practised subject them to the painful ordeal of having their arms tied tightly round above the elbow, when the hands and arms swell and become powerless, in which state they are kept for some weeks, being hand-fed by their friends during the time. A similar custom prevails in the Umbertana tribe." <sup>2</sup>

The tying of a tight ligature round the upper arm has been substituted for circumcision in some tribes.

The natives of North-West Australia are divided into four exogamous classes or subclasses, which are reported to bear substantially the same names over the great extent of country from Derby in the north-east to the Murchison River in the south-west. They have certainly been recorded in the territory between the Fortescue and De Grey Rivers, including Nickol Bay. The names of these classes are Boorong, Banaka, Kymera, and Paljeri, and the rules of

Exogamous classes among the natives of North-West Australia.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, "The Marriage Laws and some Customs of the West Australian Aborigines," *Victorian Geographical Journal*, xxiii.-xxiv. (1905-1906) pp. 40 sq. That the natives of

West Australia practise subincision was mentioned to me in conversation by the Bishop of West Australia.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Harper, in E. M. Curr's *The Australian Race*, i. 291.

marriage and descent among them are indicated in the following table :—<sup>1</sup>

Table of marriage and descent.

Husband.	Wife.	Children.
Boorong Banaka Kymera Paljeri	Banaka Boorong Paljeri Kymera	Kymera Paljeri Boorong Banaka

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, "The Marriage Laws and some Customs of the West Australian Aborigines," *Victorian Geographical Journal*, xxiii.-xxiv. (1905-1906) p. 41. The names of the four classes or subclasses are variously

spelled by our authorities, the differences probably representing local differences of pronunciation. These variations are indicated, with the names of the respective authorities for them, in the following table :—

Mrs. Bates.	Sir J. Forrest.	L. H. Gould.	A. K. Richardson.	E. Clement.	E. Clement.
Boorong Banaka Kymera Paljeri	Boorungnoo Banigher Kimera Paljarie	Poronga Banaka Kimera Paliali	Boorungoo Panaka Kymurra Palyeery	Burong Baniker Caieumurra Ballieri	Burong Banaka Kymerra Paljarri

See J. Forrest, quoted by L. Fison, "Australian Marriage Laws," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) p. 356; L. H. Gould, in Fison and Howitt's *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 36; A. K. Richardson, in E. M. Curr's *The Australian Race*, i. 298; E. Clement, "Ethnographical Notes on the Western Australian Aborigines," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xvi. (1904) p. 12. The statements of Sir John Forrest and Mr. A. K. Richardson refer to the natives at Nickol Bay; the statements of Mr. E. Clement refer to the Gnaluma and Gnamo tribes respectively, of which the Gnalluma tribe inhabits the district between the Nickol and Yule Rivers, while the Gnamo tribe inhabits the Nullagine district between the Oakover and Turner Rivers. The Ngurla tribe at the mouth of the De Grey River has the same four class-names in slightly different forms

(Poorungnoo, Banakoo, Kiamoona, Parrijari), but the rules of marriage and descent are reported to be different, as appears from the following table :—

Husband.	Wife.	Children.
Poorungnoo Banakoo Kiamoona Parrijari	Parrijari Kiamoona Banakoo Poorungnoo	Kiamoona Parrijari Poorungnoo Banakoo

See Ch. Harper, in E. M. Curr's *The Australian Race*, i. 290. However, we are told that Mr. Harper was not quite certain as to the details of the system, and it is possible that he may have made a mistake as to the rules of marriage. All the other authorities cited above are unanimous as to the rules of marriage and descent in the classes.

It is probable that these four classes are in reality subclasses which are grouped in pairs under two primary classes ; but the existence of such primary classes is not recorded, and without a knowledge of the primary classes and of the grouping of the subclasses under them, we cannot say whether descent in these tribes is traced in the maternal or in the paternal line. For, as usually happens with a four-class system, the children belong to a subclass which differs both from the subclass of the mother and from the subclass of the father, and unless we know whether the subclass to which the children belong is the complementary subclass of their mother's or of their father's subclass, we cannot say whether descent is maternal or paternal. However, a trace of two primary classes may perhaps be detected in the statement that the Kymera and Paljeri (Kimera and Paljarie) are the parent stock.<sup>1</sup>

It is not clear whether descent in these tribes is maternal or paternal.

It would seem that the names of three out of the four subclasses in these tribes agree with the names of three subclasses in the Arunta tribe, as these are recorded by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, Banaka answering to Panunga, Kymera to Kumara, and Paljeri perhaps to Bulthara.<sup>2</sup> If these three identifications are right, it will follow that the West Australian subclass Boorong answers to the Arunta class Purula. Accepting these equivalences provisionally, we may arrange the West Australian subclasses on the Arunta model as follows :—

Similarity of the names of the subclasses to those of the Arunta.

Conjectural arrangement of the North-West Australian subclasses on the Arunta pattern.

Husband.	Wife.	Children.
Class A { Banaka Paljeri	Boorong Kymera	Paljeri Banaka
Class B { Boorong Kymera	Banaka Paljeri	Kymera Boorong

In this table it will be observed that the rules of marriage and descent are those which are given independently by five authorities on the West Australian

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Forrest, cited by L. Fison, *the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) p. 357. <sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 259 sqq.

tribes. All that I have done is, accepting these rules and provisionally identifying the West Australian subclasses with the Arunta subclasses which they resemble in name, to arrange the four West Australian subclasses in pairs corresponding to the Arunta pairs. The result is to yield a normal four-class system with descent in the paternal line, which accordingly corresponds closely to the system of the Southern Arunta, among whom there are only four names for the subclasses.

Rules of marriage.

Persons bearing the same class-name may not marry each other. Any such marriage is regarded as incest and rigorously punished. For instance, "the union of Boorong and Boorong is to the natives the union of brother and sister, although there may be no real blood relationship between the pair, and a union of that kind is looked upon with horror, and the perpetrators very severely punished and separated, and if the crime is repeated they are both killed."<sup>1</sup> A man may marry two or more sisters. The children of a brother are marriageable (*nuba*) with the children of his sister; but as usual the children of two brothers may not marry each other nor may the children of two sisters.<sup>2</sup> The permission granted to first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, to marry each other, suffices of itself to prove that these tribes have not got the eight-class system, since that system, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> bars all such marriages. Girls are betrothed to men at birth or in their infancy. After betrothal a man may not see his future mother-in-law. Should it be absolutely necessary for him to speak to her, the two must turn their backs to each other. When a man dies before or after marriage, his surviving brother takes the betrothed girl or widow to be his wife. But if he already has as many wives as he wants, he will cede her to his younger brother or to any man who is her tribal husband (*nuba*). Old men generally have the most and the youngest wives. Men often exchange

Cousin marriages.

Betrothal.  
Avoidance  
of wife's  
mother.  
The  
Levirate.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Daisy M. Bates, in *Victorian Geographical Journal*, xxiii.-xxiv. (1905-1906) p. 42. The statement quoted in the text was made by a settler who had lived in the Tableland district, inland from Roebourne, for twenty years.

<sup>2</sup> E. Clement, "Ethnographical Notes on the Western Australian Aborigines," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xvi. (1904) p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 277 *sqq.*

their wives for one or two nights, especially at corroborees.<sup>1</sup> Yet adultery, we are told, is generally punished with death.<sup>2</sup>

The natives of North-West Australia, between the Fortescue and Turner Rivers, perform magical ceremonies for the multiplication of edible animals and plants, whenever these become scarce. So far as appears, the performers at any one of these ceremonies must be drawn exclusively from one of the four exogamous classes; but the different classes officiate in different ceremonies. The rites, which seem to be partly based on the principle of imitative magic, regularly take place at a large heap of stones called a *tarlow* or more rarely at a single stone. Different cairns (*tarlows*) are set apart for the multiplication of different animals or plants, and each of them is under the charge of one of the four exogamous classes. For example, if kangaroos grow scarce in a season of drought, the headman of the class (say the Ballieri) which has charge of the kangaroo cairn (*tarlow*) will go with as many members of the same Ballieri (Paljeri) class as he can muster to the cairn, which may perhaps be thirty or forty miles distant. There they perform their rites, such as hopping round and round the cairn in imitation of kangaroos, drinking kangaroo-fashion from troughs placed on the ground, and beating the cairn with spears, stones, and fighting clubs. In the evening a corroboree is held, at which the men and women are grotesquely painted with red or yellow ochre or charcoal, and everything connected with the hunting and killing of kangaroos is freely displayed. Monotonous chants are sung, boomerangs are rattled together, and a kangaroo bone is moved rapidly up and down in the lateral incisions of a throwing-stick.<sup>3</sup>

Again, if seeds which are used as food grow scarce, another cairn (*tarlow*) set apart for the multiplication of these seeds is visited by the headman of the class (say the

Magical ceremonies for the multiplication of edible animals and plants.

Ceremonies for the growth of seeds

<sup>1</sup> E. Clement, *op. cit.* p. 13. The writer met with a single case of polyandry. "A mother-in-law must not speak to her prospective son-in-law" (P. W. Bassett-Smith, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiii. (1894) p. 327).

<sup>2</sup> P. W. Bassett-Smith, "The

Aborigines of North-West Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiii. (1894) p. 327.

<sup>3</sup> E. Clement, "Ethnographical Notes on the Western Australian Aborigines," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xvi. (1904) pp. 6 sq.

and the  
multiplica-  
tion of fish,  
emus, etc.

Caiemurra) together with as many people, both men and women, of the Caiemurra (Kymera) class as he can get together. In the ceremony at the cairn the wooden bowls used for winnowing grass-seeds and the stone mills used in grinding them play a prominent part. The ground about the cairn is beaten flat with stones and sprinkled with water, and the women go through the performance of winnowing and grinding, while songs are sung and dances danced. Again, when it is desired to multiply fish, the particular cairn set apart for that purpose is visited by people of the Ballieri (Paljeri) class, if it should be under their care for the time being; and in the ceremony fishing-nets and a poisonous plant (*kurraru*) which they throw into the pools to stupefy the fish, are much displayed. In like manner there are cairns for the multiplication of bustards, hawks, iguanas, cockatoos and nearly every animal, as well as for the multiplication of seeds which are used as foods. At the cairn for the increase of emu the walk and run of that bird are closely imitated, and ornaments made of emu feathers are worn.<sup>1</sup>

Inheritance  
of the  
sacred  
cairns at  
which the  
magical  
ceremonies  
are per-  
formed.

When a headman who has charge of a particular cairn dies, the care of the sacred stones descends to his son or daughter; and as the children always belong to a class different from that of their parents, it follows that the custody of the cairns passes from one exogamous class to another with each generation. For example, when a headman of the Caiemurra (Kymera) class dies, the cairn of which he had charge will be inherited by his son, who is of the Burong (Boorong) class, and so the keepers of the cairn will be the Burongs instead of the Caiemurras. For a similar reason, when a Ballieri (Paljeri) headman dies, his cairn passes to the Baniker (Banaka) class, because that is the class to which his son belongs. Both men and women may inherit the control of a cairn, and one exogamous class may have the charge of several cairns at the same time. But no members of other classes may be present at the magical ceremonies for the multiplication of animals or plants; for it is believed that their presence would break

<sup>1</sup> E. Clement, "Ethnographical Aborigines," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xvi. (1904) p. 7.

the spell, and that the rite would have to be deferred till the next new moon, the proper time for weaving the magic spells being when the moon is about three days old.<sup>1</sup>

Both in their aim and in their methods these ceremonies for the multiplication of animals and plants clearly correspond to the *intichiuma* ceremonies which the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes perform for the increase of their totems; only whereas among the central tribes these rites are observed by members of the respective totem clans, among the western tribes they are performed by members of the exogamous classes. This seems to shew that here as elsewhere among tribes dwelling on or near the coast the old organisation in totem clans has been or is being ousted by the newer organisation in exogamous classes.<sup>2</sup>

It is not clear why these savages regularly perform their ceremonies for the increase of animals and plants either at heaps of stones or sometimes at single stones. Perhaps, like some of the Central Australians, they believe that the disembodied spirits of animals and plants congregate in the stones, from which they can be driven out by magic in order to be reborn as real animals and plants, and so in due time to be killed or gathered and eaten. This may be why they beat the kangaroo cairn with spears, clubs, and stones.

The foregoing information, scanty as it is, appears to indicate a close similarity in customs between the north-western and the central tribes of Australia, as the latter have been described by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. In both sets of tribes we see circumcision<sup>3</sup> and subincision

<sup>1</sup> E. Clement, *l.c.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 225, 227 *sq.*, 235 *sq.*, 526-530.

<sup>3</sup> Amongst the north-western tribes the rite of circumcision is called *buckli*, and bull-roarers (*boonan-gharries*) are swung at it in order to keep the evil spirit (*djuno*) away. The operation is performed with a stone knife named *borulla* or *cudemarra*; whilst it is proceeding the women set up a frightful howling in their camp, which they are not allowed to leave. The severed foreskin of each novice is tied to his hair and left there till the

wound is perfectly healed. After that in some tribes it is pounded up with kangaroo meat and given to the novice to eat; in others it is taken by the kinsfolk to a large tree and inserted beneath the bark. While their wounds are healing, the novices swing bull-roarers to warn off young women. See E. Clement, "Ethnographical Notes on the Western Australian Aborigines," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xvi. (1904) pp. 10 *sq.* In these respects the rites present some analogies to those of the central tribes. Thus, for example, among the

Resemblance of these ceremonies to the *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australians.

Perhaps the disembodied spirits of animals and plants are thought to be in the cairns.

Resemblances between the central and the north-western tribes.

The northern tribes disbelieve in the cohabitation of the sexes as the direct cause of conception.

practised as initiatory rites, marriage regulated by classes, the names of some of which are clearly the same in both regions, and magical ceremonies performed for the multiplication of edible animals and plants. Further, amongst the northern tribes about Port Darwin and the Daly River, particularly the Larrekiya and Wogait, "conception is not regarded as a direct result of cohabitation." The old men of the Wogait say that there is an evil spirit who takes babies from a big fire and places them in the wombs of women, who must then give birth to them. When in the ordinary course of events a man is out hunting and kills game or gathers vegetable food, he gives it to his wife, who must eat it, believing that the food will cause her to conceive and bring forth a child. When the child is born, it may on no account partake of the particular food which produced conception until it has got its first teeth.<sup>1</sup> This theory of child-birth resembles those which are current among the tribes of Central Australia and Queensland in so far as conception is regarded as not resulting directly from cohabitation; and it confirms to some extent the suggestion which I have made, that a person's totem may have been most commonly determined by the particular food which a woman had partaken of immediately before she first felt the child in her womb.<sup>2</sup> To judge by these indications, the view is shared by all the tribes of Central

Unmatjera the severed foreskin is preserved for some time after the operation and is then, under cover of night, deposited by the lad in a hollow tree; he tells no one but a cousin (his father's sister's son) where he has put it. Again, among the Warramunga the severed foreskin is placed in a hole made by a witchetty grub in a tree, and it is supposed to cause a plentiful supply of the grub. See Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 341, 353 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Herbert Basedow, *Anthropological Notes on the Western Coastal Tribes of the Northern Territory of South Australia*, pp. 4 sq. (separate reprint from the *Transactions of the Royal*

*Society of South Australia*, vol. xxxi. 1907). The tribes described by Mr. Basedow are not in West Australia, but in the extreme north of the Northern Territory of South Australia. Mr. Basedow gives no information as to the social organisation of these tribes. The Wogait tribe practises circumcision, but the Larrekiya tribe does not. Among the Wogait the severed foreskin is shewn by the novice to his mother and then to his future wife. Afterwards it is worn in a bag round the neck of the operator till the wound which he has made in the novice is healed, when it is thrown into the fire. The operation is performed with a flint knife. See H. Basedow, *op. cit.* p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 159.

and Northern Australia. In point of fact I am informed by the Bishop of North Queensland (Dr. Frodsham) that the opinion is held by all the tribes with which he is acquainted both in North Queensland and in Central Australia, including the Arunta; not only are the natives in their savage state ignorant of the true cause of conception, but they do not readily believe it even after their admission into mission stations, and their incredulity has to be reckoned with in the efforts of the clergy to introduce a higher standard of sexual morality among them.<sup>1</sup> Among the tribes around the Cairns district in North Queensland "the acceptance of food from a man by a woman was not merely regarded as a marriage ceremony but as the actual cause of conception."<sup>2</sup> Such a belief confirms the suggestion I have made that a child's totem may often have been determined by the last food which a mother ate before she felt her womb quickened;<sup>3</sup> for when the true cause of conception was unknown a woman might very naturally attribute the strange stirring within her to the last food she had partaken of; she might fancy that the animal or the plant, of which she had certainly received a

The acceptance of food from a man by a woman is regarded by some tribes as the cause of conception.

<sup>1</sup> This information was given to me in conversation by the Bishop of North Queensland (Dr. Frodsham) at Liverpool, 18th May 1908. His lordship told me that amongst the tribes with whom he is personally acquainted are the Arunta. He also referred to a form of communal or group marriage, which he believes to be practised among aboriginal tribes whom he has visited on the western side of the Gulf of Carpentaria; but unfortunately I had not time to obtain particulars from him on the subject. I urged on him the importance of publishing his information, and he assented to my proposal that he should do so; but he has not yet found leisure to carry out his intention. Meantime he has kindly authorised me by letter (dated Bishop's Lodge, Townsville, Queensland, 9th July 1909) to publish this statement. The information was voluntarily given, not elicited by questions, at the close of a public lecture of mine, which his lordship did me the honour of attending.

In his letter to me the Bishop speaks of "the belief, practically universal among the Northern tribes, that copulation is not the cause of conception." See *Folk-lore*, xx. (1909) pp. 350-352; *Man*, ix. (1909) pp. 145-147.

<sup>2</sup> Extract from a letter of the Bishop of Queensland (Dr. Frodsham) to me, dated 9th July 1909. See the preceding note. The Bishop's authority for the statement in the text is the Rev. C. W. Morrison, M.A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Acting Head of the Yarrubah Mission. Mr. Morrison further told the Bishop that "monogamy was the custom in these tribes, except in the case of sisters"; and the Bishop writes to me that this latter statement agrees with his own observation, for he knows an aboriginal who married four sisters. The custom of marrying several sisters at once or successively is widespread. Many instances of it will meet us in the sequel. It was particularly common among the North American Indians.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 158 *sqq.*

portion into her body, was growing up within her, and that the child, when it came forth from her womb, was nothing but that animal or that plant in a slightly disguised form. Further, with the Australian evidence before us, we may surmise that a common marriage ceremony, which consists in husband and wife eating together,<sup>1</sup> may originally have had a deeper meaning than that of a mere covenant; it may have been supposed actually to impregnate the woman.

Reported  
endo-  
gamous  
classes at  
Raffles  
Bay and  
Port  
Essington.

Lastly, to complete our survey of the exogamous systems of Australia, it may be mentioned that at Raffles Bay and Port Essington at the extreme north of the continent the natives are said to be "divided into three distinct classes, who do not intermarry. The first and highest is named *Mandro-gillie*, the second, *Manbur-ge*, and the third *Mandro-willie*. The first class assumes a superiority over the others, which is submitted to without reluctance; and those who believe in real difference of blood amongst civilized nations, might find here some apparent ground for such opinion, as the *Mandro-gillies* were observed to be more polite, and unaffectedly easy in their manners, than the others, who, it was supposed, were neither so shrewd nor so refined: this, however, might be only imaginary."<sup>2</sup> Similary Commander J. L. Stokes of the *Beagle* reports that the natives of this district were "divided in three distinct classes, which do not intermarry. The first is known as Maudrojilly [*sic*], the second as Mamburgy, the third as Mandrouilly. They are very particular about the distinction of classes, but we could never discover which was the superior and which the inferior class, though it is supposed by most of those who have inquired into the subject, that Madrojilly [*sic*], or first class, head the others in war, and govern the affairs of the tribe."<sup>3</sup>

The report  
may be  
mistaken.

These accounts clearly imply that the natives were divided into three endogamous classes or castes, the members of each of which married among themselves and refused

<sup>1</sup> For examples of the ceremony, see E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, ii. (London, 1895) pp. 343 *sqq.* See below, pp. 262 *sq.*

*Voyage round the World* (London, 1835), p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> T. B. Wilson, *Narrative of a*

<sup>3</sup> J. Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia* (London, 1846), i. 393.

to marry members of another class or caste. But endogamous divisions of this sort are so contrary to all we know of the marriage systems of the Australian aborigines that we cannot but suspect that the writers misunderstood their informants, and that the classes which they describe were exogamous rather than endogamous. The mistake might the more easily arise if one of the three exogamous classes, as might well happen, married into only one of the other two classes and refused to marry into the third. But with such meagre information it is impossible to reach any definite conclusion on the subject.

END OF VOL. I

# Totemism and Exogamy

A Treatise on Certain Early Forms  
of Superstition and Society

BY

J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D., F.B.A.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL.

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. II

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AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY  
OF TOTEMISM (*Continued*)



## CHAPTER V

### TOTEMISM IN TORRES STRAITS

FROM the foregoing survey we may infer that totemism and exogamy, in one form or another, are or have been practised by all the aboriginal tribes of Australia. Passing now from Australia to the islands of Torres Straits, which divide Australia on the north from New Guinea, we shall find both totemism and exogamy in vogue also among the Western Islanders; for these people are, like the Australians, divided into exogamous totem clans and believe themselves to be united by certain intimate ties to their totems. Our knowledge of the social and totemic system of the islanders is due to the researches of Dr. A. C. Haddon and his colleagues, whose writings furnish the materials for the account which follows.<sup>1</sup>

Totemism and exogamy among the Western Islanders of Torres Straits.

The islands of Torres Straits fall roughly into three groups, namely, the Western, composed of ancient igneous rocks, which support a somewhat sparse flora; the Central, which are mainly banks of coral sand overgrown with vegetation; and the Eastern, consisting of modern volcanic

The islands of Torres Straits.

<sup>1</sup> *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, volume v. *Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Western Islanders* (Cambridge, 1904). Compare A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters, Black, White, and Brown* (London, 1901), pp. 132 sqq., 171 sq.; *id.*, "The Religion of the Torres Straits Islanders," *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 175-188. For reports of Dr. Haddon's

earlier researches among these islanders, see A. C. Haddon, "The Ethnography of the Western Tribes of Torres Straits," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890) pp. 297-440; *id.*, "Legends from Torres Straits," *Folklore*, i. (1890) pp. 47-81, 172-196; *id.*, "The Secular and Ceremonial Dances of Torres Straits," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, vi. (1893) pp. 131-162.

The  
islanders.

rocks and possessing a fertile soil and usually abundance of food, though here also a deficient fall of rain during the north-west monsoon results in a scarcity of garden produce, which sometimes ends in famine. In physical appearance, temperament, and culture the islanders are typical Western Papuans. Yet there is a remarkable difference between the languages of the Eastern and Western Islanders; for while the affinities of the language spoken by the Eastern Islanders are Papuan, the affinities of the language spoken by the Western Islanders are Australian, and there is no genealogical connection between the two languages. It seems probable therefore that the original stock of the Western Islanders was Australian, and that a gradual infusion of Papuans from New Guinea has assimilated their features to the Papuan type without materially affecting their speech.<sup>1</sup> It is only in the Western Islands, where the original native stock appears to be Australian, that totemism has been found in practice, though traces of its former existence may perhaps be detected in the Eastern Islands.<sup>2</sup> The Western Islands in which the totemic system has been specially observed are Mabuia, Badu, Moa, Muralug, Nagir, Tutu and Yam, and Saibai.<sup>3</sup> The native word for a totem is *augūd* (plural *augūdāl*).<sup>4</sup> In the following table all the known totems of clans in the Western Islands are arranged

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, "The Religion of the Torres Straits Islanders," *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), p. 175; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, volume iii. *Linguistics*, by Sidney H. Ray (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 509-511.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Haddon, in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 178. For fuller details, see W. H. R. Rivers and A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, volume vi. *Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Eastern Islanders* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 173-177, 254-257. Amongst the possible traces of totemism enumerated by Dr. Haddon is the belief that the ghosts of the dying or dead appear to the living in the form of various animals;

when a group of people is named after a species of animal, the ghost of the departed usually presents himself or herself in the likeness of an animal of that particular species. Women are thus represented by flying animals, bats and birds; which, adds Dr. Haddon, "looks suspiciously like what has been termed a 'sex-totem'" (*Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 178).

<sup>3</sup> *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, volume v. *Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Western Islanders*, pp. 154 sq. For the sake of brevity this volume will be cited as *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v.

<sup>4</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 153.

according to their natural kinds, with the native names for them printed in italics.<sup>1</sup>

## TOTEMS OF THE WESTERN ISLANDERS OF TORRES STRAITS

The  
totems  
of the  
Western  
Islanders.

Natural Kinds.	Totems.
Mammals . . .	dog ( <i>umai</i> ), flying-fox ( <i>sapor</i> ), dugong ( <i>dangal</i> ).
Birds . . .	{ fish-eagle ( <i>ngagalaig</i> ), hawk ( <i>aubu</i> ), a sea-bird ( <i>kiaik</i> ), frigate-bird ( <i>womer</i> ), a wading-bird ( <i>sawi</i> ), a yellowish bird ( <i>godl</i> ), reef-heron ( <i>karbai</i> ), cassowary ( <i>sam</i> ).
Reptiles . . .	{ crocodile ( <i>kodal</i> ), monitor ( <i>karum</i> ), gecko ( <i>sis</i> ), snake ( <i>tabu</i> ), sea-snake ( <i>ger</i> ), green turtle ( <i>surlal</i> or <i>waru</i> ), turtle-shell turtle ( <i>unawa</i> ), <i>maiwa</i> (a turtle?).
Fishes . . .	{ sucker-fish ( <i>gapu</i> ), <i>saker</i> , <i>wad</i> , shovel-nosed skate ( <i>kaigas</i> ), various kinds of ray ( <i>tapimul</i> ), a species of ray ( <i>tolupai</i> ), hammer-headed shark ( <i>kursi</i> ), shark ( <i>baidam</i> ), a kind of shark ( <i>kutikuti</i> ), <i>uzi</i> .
Invertebrates . . .	a sea-snail ( <i>wiag</i> ).
Plants . . .	a tuber ( <i>diabau</i> ), hibiscus ( <i>kokwam</i> ).
Inanimate objects	a stone ( <i>kula</i> ), a stone ( <i>goba</i> ), a star ( <i>titui</i> ).

Thus out of thirty-six recorded totems no less than thirty-one are animals, two are plants, and three are inanimate objects. The two plant totems are found only in Saibai, an island off the south coast of New Guinea.<sup>2</sup>

In each island there were a number of totem clans, all the members of each clan having the same totem or totems. Most of these clans had more than one totem, but one totem was more important than the others and might be called the chief totem, while the rest were subsidiary. In some cases two or more clans might have the same chief totem, while their subsidiary totems differed. For example,

Principal  
and sub-  
sidiary  
totems.

<sup>1</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 157.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 157.

in Mabuiag there were two clans which had the dugong for their chief totem, but in one of them the subsidiary totem was the crocodile, and in the other it was the sucker-fish.<sup>1</sup>

Local  
segregation  
of the  
totemic  
clans.

The members of each totem clan generally lived together in one district; at least this was so in Mabuiag. At present all the people of that island live in one village, but they still acknowledge that each clan has its established place, and the members of a clan were often spoken of by the name of its place; thus the Dugong-Crocodile clan of Mabuiag, living at Panai, was often spoken of as the Panai people. A man did not change his totem by changing his district: if a Panai man went to live elsewhere, he did not cease to be a Dugong-Crocodile man. This definite connection between clan and district has now ceased, and at the present time members of different clans may even live in the same house.<sup>2</sup>

Exogamy  
and  
descent of  
the totem  
clans.

Descent of the totem clan is, and, so far as the genealogical records go back, always has been, in the male line. A man has the same totem or totems as his father. A wife keeps the totem which she has inherited from her father: she does not take her husband's totem. The clans were exogamous; sexual intercourse, as well as marriage, was prohibited between members of the same clan. However, marriages might take place between clans that had the same chief totem, but different subsidiary totems. In the genealogies such marriages are found to occur most frequently between persons whose chief totem was the crocodile. The two or three Crocodile clans of Mabuiag probably arose by fission, one original Crocodile clan splitting up into several, which distinguished themselves from each other by their subsidiary totems. There is definite evidence that the two Dugong clans of Mabuiag—the Dugong-Crocodile clan and the Dugong-Sucker-fish clan—originated in this way. But these clans are now regarded as quite distinct, and the possession of the same chief totem is not considered a bar to marriage, or only so to a slight extent. But the prohibition to marry a woman of the same totem clan did not extend to women of other

<sup>1</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 159 sq.

islands: thus a Dugong man of Mabuiaġ might marry a Dugong woman of Moea or Parema.<sup>1</sup>

Further, it appears that the totem clans of the Western islands of Torres Straits were formerly grouped in two exogamous classes or phratries.<sup>2</sup> In the island of Mabuiaġ these two classes were called "the Children, or People, of the Great Totem" and "the Children or People of the Little Totem" respectively. The Children of the Great Totem were the clans of the Crocodile, the Cassowary, and the Snake, with whom were associated the members of the Dog clan. The Children of the Little Totem were the clans of the Dugong and Shovel-nosed Skate, with whom were associated the clans of the Shark, the Ray, and the Turtle (*surlal* or *waru*). It is interesting to observe that this grouping of the totem clans corresponds to the mode of life of the totem animals. The totems of the first group (the Children of the Great Totem) are all land animals, the four legs of the crocodile clearly outweighing in the native mind the amphibious habits of the reptile. On the other hand the totems of the second group (the Children of the Little Totem) are all marine animals; or, as a native said, "They all belong to the water, they are all friends." Further, the two groups or classes of clans, the Children of the Great Totem and the Children of the Little Totem, appear formerly to have inhabited separate districts of Mabuiaġ. Thus the Dugong clan used to live at Panai and the Shovel-nosed Skate clan at Sipungur and Gumu, all of which places are on the windward, or south-east side of the island. On the other hand Wagedugam, on the north-west side of the island, was regarded as the district of the clans which had land animals for their totems (the Children of the Great Totem), and one of the Crocodile clans and one of the Snake clans certainly lived there. But the other Crocodile clan or clans and the other Snake clan lived on the south-east side, close to the district of the Children of the Little Totem. If, as has been suggested,<sup>3</sup> clans with the same chief totem arose through the subdivision of one original clan, it is possible that all the Crocodile and Snake

The totem clans appear to have been grouped into two exogamous classes or phratries, called respectively the Children of the Great Totem and the Children of the Little Totem.

Local segregation of the two classes or phratries in Mabuiaġ.

<sup>1</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 159-161, 236.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 172-179, 241.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 4.

people originally lived together at Wagedugam. However, the old geographical separation of the two groups of totemic clans has been obliterated by the missionaries, who have persuaded the people to gather together in one village, where there is no segregation of totemic groups.<sup>1</sup>

Local segregation of the totemic clans in Tutu and Saibai.

In the island of Tutu the Crocodile and Shark (*baidam*) clans formed one group, while the Hammer-headed Shark (*kursi*), the Cassowary, and the Dog clans formed another group. The first of these two groups owned the northern half of the island, and the second group owned the southern half of the island.<sup>2</sup> In the island of Saibai the single village formerly consisted of a double row of houses separated by a long open space or street, and the houses of each clan were placed side by side in the following order:—

Snake.	Dog.	Wild tuber ( <i>daibau</i> ).
Crocodile.		Cassowary.

The people who lived on one side of the street were friends, but were constantly quarrelling with the people on the other side of the street, though they generally took their wives from their neighbours over the way. Finding that this division of the clans on opposite sides of the street led to faction fights, a South Sea teacher mixed the houses up, and the old grouping of the clans has disappeared.<sup>3</sup>

Probably each of the two groups or classes of totemic clans was formerly exogamous.

It is probable that the two groups into which the totemic clans of Torres Straits thus fall were originally exogamous classes or phratries, in other words, that the members of one group might only marry members of the other group. It is true that the evidence of the genealogies in the island of Mabuig does not support this view; but on the other hand in Saibai nearly two-thirds of the marriages take place between the two groups, which seems to shew a decided tendency to exogamy of the groups. On the whole we seem to be justified in assuming that the distribution of the totemic clans of the Western Islands of Torres Straits into two exogamous classes or phratries was an ancient feature of their totemic system, although the old rule of

<sup>1</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 172 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 173.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v. 174 sq.

exogamy of the classes has partially broken down in Saibai and completely broken down in Mabuia<sup>1</sup>.

Thus in the islands of Torres Straits exogamy of the classes or phratries has proved less lasting than the exogamy of the totem clans; for we have seen that a man is still bound to seek his wife from another totem clan. Yet even in the totem clans the rule of exogamy appears to be decadent, since a man is free to marry a woman of the same totem as himself in two cases. In the first place, he may marry a woman of the same totem as himself provided she belongs to another clan, which has indeed the same chief totem as his own, but different subsidiary totems. In the second place, a man may marry a woman of the same totem as himself, provided she belongs to another island.<sup>2</sup> This last case proves that it is deemed more essential to marry a woman of another locality than of another totem; in other words, that local exogamy is superseding clan exogamy, as it has done among the Kurnai of South-East Australia.<sup>3</sup> In short, totemism as a system for the regulation of marriage is in a state of decay in these islands. At the present time in Mabuia and probably throughout the Western Islands marriage is regulated more by kinship than by clanship; a man is forbidden to marry not only women of his own totem clan, but also women of other totem clans if they are connected with him by certain ties of kinship.<sup>4</sup> "The general result of the analysis of the genealogical record confirms the marriage laws as stated by the natives. It certainly shows that marriages between people nearly related to one another never occurred, while marriages between people related to one another even remotely were rare. No single case occurs in Mabuia or Badu in which marriage has taken place between own brothers and sisters, and no definite case between *babat*<sup>5</sup> of the same clan. Only one case is recorded of marriage between first cousins, and that is one in which it is almost certain that the

The exogamy of the totem clans seems to be decadent, for it is subject to certain exceptions.

Marriage is regulated rather by kinship than by clanship.

<sup>1</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 175-179, 241.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 4 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 494.

<sup>4</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 160 sq., 235.

<sup>5</sup> *Babat* are brothers and sisters in the group or classificatory sense of the terms. See *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 129, 131 sqq.; and as to the classificatory relationships in general, see above, vol. i. pp. 289 sqq.

genealogical record is incorrect. On the other hand, sixteen cases at least are recorded in which marriage has taken place between people related to one another by some degree of cousinship more remote than that of first cousin. In nearly all these marriages the relationship is either very remote (third cousins or second cousins once removed) or there are extenuating circumstances."<sup>1</sup>

Solidarity  
of the  
totem  
clans.

The solidarity of the totem clan was a marked feature in the social life of the people: it took precedence of all other considerations. Nor was the bond limited to the people of the clan who dwelt together; an intimate relationship existed between all people who had the same totem, whatever the island or the district might be which they inhabited; even warfare did not affect the friendship of totem-brethren. Any man who visited another island would be cared for and entertained as a matter of course by the residents who were of the same totem as himself. But if there happened to be no people of the same totem as himself on the island, he would stay with a clan which was recognised as being in some way associated with his own. Thus a Dog man of Tutu would visit the Shovel-nosed Skate people of Mabuag, because they had the dog for one of their subsidiary totems.<sup>2</sup>

Mystic  
affinity  
between  
members  
of a clan  
and their  
totem: the  
members  
of a clan  
resembled  
their  
totemic  
animal in  
character.

A close relationship or, as Drs. Haddon and Rivers put it, a mystic affinity is held to obtain between the members of a clan and their totem. "This is a deeply ingrained idea and is evidently of fundamental importance. More than once we were told emphatically, 'Augud [totem] all same as relation he belong same family.' A definite physical and psychological resemblance was thus postulated for the human and animal members of the clan. There can be little doubt that this sentiment reacted on the clansmen and constrained them to live up to the traditional character of their respective clans."<sup>3</sup> Thus the Cassowary, Crocodile, Snake, Shark, and Hammer-headed Shark clans are said to love fighting; while the Shovel-nosed Skate, the Ray, and the Sucker-fish clans are

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 161.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Haddon and W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 184.

reputed to be peaceable. The reason of the distinction is no doubt to be found in the ferocity of the one set of animals and the gentleness of the other. The cassowary, which ranks with the truculent creatures, is a bird of very uncertain temper which kicks with extreme violence. Intermediate between the fierce and the gentle clans is the Dog clan, which is thought to be sometimes pugnacious and sometimes pacific, just like real dogs, which sometimes fawn and sometimes snarl and bite. So it is precisely with a Dog man. At one time he will be glad to see you, at another time, when you least expect it, he will whip out his stone-headed club and hit you a swingeing blow. Men of the Dog clan are also believed to have great sympathy with dogs and to understand their habits better than do other people. When men of the Snake clan are angry they loll out their tongues and wag them, just like real snakes; and when they are fighting, they cry out, "Snake bites!" which is a charm to make the reptile sting. Crocodile people are said to be very strong and to have no pity, just like real crocodiles. Cassowary men are thought to have long legs and to run fast, just like real cassowaries. When a cassowary man went out to fight, he would say to himself, "My leg is long and thin, I can run and not feel tired; my legs will go quickly and the grass will not entangle them."<sup>1</sup>

The affinity which was supposed to exist between people and their totems was indicated by certain outward emblems which men and women either wore or had impressed on their persons. Thus the members of a totem clan sometimes carried a piece of their totem (*augud*) or a carved representation of it; sometimes the badge of the totem was cut in their flesh.<sup>2</sup> For example, likenesses of dugongs, crocodiles, snakes, and shovel-nosed skates were sometimes cut on the loins of women of these totem clans; but the custom was not universal.<sup>3</sup> In Mabuiag girls of the cassowary totem might scarify the calf of each leg with a mark like an arrow-head ( $\psi$ ), which represents the footprint of the bird; or they

The affinity between members of a clan and their totem animal was indicated by certain outward emblems or badges, sometimes by scars cut in the flesh. (6)

<sup>1</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 164, 165, 166, 168 *sq.*, 184 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v. 158, 163, 164, with plate ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 158.

might have an appropriate mark cut on the loins.<sup>1</sup> In the same island men of the snake totem were said to have a coiled snake cut on the calf of each leg, while the women had two coiled snakes cut on the loins. Further, the men of that clan were reported to have also had two small holes in the tip of the nose, which were evidently intended to represent the nostrils of their totem the snake.<sup>2</sup> Men of several clans, particularly the Dugong and Shovel-nosed Skate clans, were said to have had their totems (*augud*) cut on their right shoulder, but Dr. Haddon and his colleagues never saw any indication of it, though complicated marks were often cut on that part of the body.<sup>3</sup> In Mabuig men who had the shovel-nosed skate for their totem carved a likeness of that fish on their tobacco-pipes.<sup>4</sup> In the same island men and women of the Crocodile clan might wear as a badge a piece of crocodile skin or two or three scales of a crocodile fastened by a string round the neck and hanging down either in front or behind. Usually instead of this badge the men would put some kind of leaf in their hair over the forehead, when they walked in the bush; and on certain occasions they would dab a round spot of red paint on the pit of their stomachs.<sup>5</sup> Men of the Dog clan in Mabuig wore no badge, but would ornament their tobacco-pipes and bamboo bows with figures of their totem the dog.<sup>6</sup> Men of the Shark and Ray clans in Mubuig are also said to have worn no badges, but to have carved sharks and ray-fish respectively on their tobacco-pipes or other objects.<sup>7</sup>

Standing in a relation of mystic affinity to their totems and in a sense identifying themselves with them,<sup>8</sup> people naturally abstained from killing and eating their totems, but they were free to kill the totems of other clans. If a

As a rule people did not kill and eat their totemic animals.

<sup>1</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 166.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 168, with plate ix. fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v. 159, 163, 164.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* v. 164.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* v. 165.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* v. 169.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* v. 169.

<sup>8</sup> "Individuals identified themselves with their totem (*augud*) by decorating themselves or their belongings with representations of the totem. A psychical affinity was supposed to exist between the totem and its human kin" (A. C. Haddon, in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 177).

Crocodile man killed a crocodile, the other Crocodile men killed him; if a man of another clan killed one of the reptiles, the Crocodile men would not molest him, but they mourned for the death of their relative the crocodile. If a Cassowary man were seen killing a cassowary, his fellow-clansmen would injure or kill him, they felt so sorry for the death of the bird. They said, "Cassowary (*sam*) he all same as relation, he belong same family." If a Dog man killed a dog, the other Dog men would fight him; if a man of another clan killed a dog, the other Dog men would let him alone, though they felt sorry. However, there were two exceptions to the rule that a member of a totem clan might not kill or eat his totem. Members of the Dugong and Turtle (*surlal*) clans were allowed to kill and eat their totems the dugongs and turtles respectively. The reason for this special indulgence is no doubt the importance of the dugong and turtle as articles of diet. In all the islands flesh-meat, with the exception of fish, is very scarce, and it would be too much to expect the members of these two clans to abstain entirely from eating their respective totems. Indeed the Cambridge anthropologists, to whose researches we owe our knowledge of the totemic system of these islanders, were told that the totem was eaten in Mabuig because the island is a "poor place" and "men hard up." So Dugong men were allowed to catch dugong, but might not eat the first one they caught on a fishing expedition: the second and following ones they might keep. The Turtle men observed the same regulation with regard to turtles. The same rules applied to people who had the dugong and turtle for their subsidiary totems.<sup>1</sup>

But members of the Dugong and Turtle clans were allowed to kill and eat dugongs and turtles.

At the present day, through the influence of foreigners, the old totem taboos are falling into desuetude. In the island of Saibai people now kill and eat their totems.<sup>2</sup> But never even in the old days, so far as can be ascertained, was there any religion or worship of the totems. On this subject Dr. Haddon observes: "The totem animals of a

The totems were not worshipped.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, "The Ethnography of the Western Tribe of Torres Straits," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890) pp. 392 sq.; *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 185, 186.

<sup>2</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 186.

clan are sacred only to the members of that clan ; but the idea of sacredness is very limited, merely implying a family connection, a certain amount of magical affinity and the immunity of a totem animal from being killed by a member of that clan. No worship or reverence, so far as I know, was ever paid to a totem. Animals are not treated as rational beings or talked to more than with us, perhaps not so much so.”<sup>1</sup>

Members of the Turtle and Dugong clans performed magical ceremonies to ensure a supply of turtles and dugong.

In Mabuig men of the Turtle and Dugong clans performed magical ceremonies in order to ensure a supply of turtles and dugong. Thus these ceremonies correspond exactly to the magical ceremonies (*intichiuma*) which the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia perform for the multiplication of their totems. The men of the Turtle clan might not go turtle-fishing until a turtle had been caught by members of some other clan. But the first turtle caught during the turtle-breeding season was handed over to the men of the Turtle clan. It was taken not to the village, but to the *kwod* of the clan, that is, to the general meeting-place of the men which no woman might enter.<sup>2</sup> Here the animal was smeared all over with red ochre (*parma*), after which it was known as the Red Turtle (*parma surlal*). The clansmen painted themselves with a red mark across the chest and another across the abdomen, evidently to represent the anterior and posterior margin of the plastron, or under-shell, of their totem the turtle. They wore head-dresses of cassowary feathers and danced round the turtle whirling bull-roarers (*bigu*) and shaking as rattles the nutshells of *Pangium edule* (*goa*). A length of the *gawai* creeper was cut off and slightly sharpened at one end: this was then inserted in the cloaca of the turtle and pushed up and down several times. This was an act of pantomimic magic to “make him (that is, all the turtle) proper fast,”<sup>3</sup> in other words, to cause the turtles to multiply. The turtle was then given to the Dugong men, who ate it. This ceremony was performed in daylight without any

<sup>1</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 363 sq.

<sup>2</sup> As to the *kwod*, which may perhaps be described as the forum of the men, the social, political, and religious centre

of their public life, see *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 3, 365-367.

<sup>3</sup> “Fast” in the English jargon which is spoken by these islanders means the act of copulation.

attempt at secrecy; but neither women and children nor even men of other clans came near while it lasted.<sup>1</sup> Thus we see that the men of the Turtle clan, like men of the Witchetty Grub, Emu, and other totems among the Arunta, were credited with the power of magically multiplying their totem for the benefit of the community in order to increase the general food-supply; and this imaginary power they endeavoured to exert by performing a ceremony which was clearly based on the principle of imitative or homœopathic magic, since they painted themselves to resemble turtles and mimicked the act of copulation on the body of the dead turtle.

Again, the Dugong clan in Mabuiag used to perform a magical ceremony to compel the dugong to swim towards the island and be caught. This rite they observed in the sacred meeting-place (*kwod*) of the men, close to the shore at a place called Dabungai, which faces northward to the reefs where the dugong chiefly feed and abound. The Dugong men who officiated were painted with a red line from the tip of the nose, up the forehead and down the spine to the small of the back, in order to resemble the wake of mud that streams behind the dugong when it is browsing upon the *Cymodocea*, which grow on a soft bottom. A wooden model of a dugong, which was used as a charm to attract the fish, was painted in like manner. Further, certain plants were twisted round the waists and arms of the Dugong men who took part in the ceremony; their forehead was decked with upright leaves to represent the spouting of the dugong when it comes to the surface of the water to breathe, and leaves were inserted in the arm-bands of the performers to simulate the water splashing off a dugong when it is floundering in a shoal. A medicine or charm for the dugong was compounded out of certain plants, including the *Sesuvium Portulacastrum*. These plants were put on the ground and the dugong was laid on the top of them. Several men hoisted the dead dugong up by its tail so as to make it face towards the rest of the island, thereby indicating to the living dugong in the sea the way they should come from the reefs to the island in order that they

Ceremony  
of the  
Dugong  
clan to  
make  
dugong  
come and  
be caught.

<sup>1</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 183 sq.

might be caught and eaten.<sup>1</sup> This ceremony, like the turtle ceremony just described, clearly involves the principle of imitative magic, since the Dugong men paint themselves to resemble dugong. But whereas the turtle ceremony is intended to breed turtles, the dugong ceremony is intended merely to attract, not to multiply, the fish.

Subsidiary  
totems.

We have seen that most of the totem clans of these islands had several totems, namely a chief totem and one or more subsidiary totems. Thus in Mabuiag the most important clan had the dugong for its chief totem and the crocodile for its subsidiary totem;<sup>2</sup> the Shovel-nosed Skate clan had the green turtle (*surlal*) and the dog for its subsidiary totems; a Crocodile clan had for its subsidiary totems the snake, a blue-spotted fish (*wad*), and the sucker-fish;<sup>3</sup> the Cassowary clan had for its subsidiary totems the dugong and the snake;<sup>4</sup> the Turtle (*surlal*) had for its subsidiary totems the frigate-bird and the flying-fox; one Snake clan had for its subsidiary totem the dugong, and another Snake clan had for its subsidiary totems the turtle (*surlal*) and sucker-fish;<sup>5</sup> and the Dog clan had for its subsidiary totem the turtle.<sup>6</sup> All these examples of clans with subsidiary totems are drawn from the island of Mabuiag. In the island of Badu the Crocodile clan had for its subsidiary totems the turtle and the sucker-fish; the Dugong clan had for its subsidiary totem the cassowary; and the Cassowary clan had for its subsidiary totem the ray-fish.<sup>7</sup> In the island of Muralug one clan was said to have no less than seven totems. In Nagir the shark totem was found associated with the dugong totem, the gecko with the turtle, and a small fish (*saker*) with *mairwa* (a turtle?). In Tutu also clans were found with more than one totem; thus the hammer-headed shark was associated with the frigate-bird in one clan and with the turtle (*waru*) in another; while another clan had for its totems the crocodile and the frigate-bird.<sup>8</sup>

What is the origin and meaning of this custom of

<sup>1</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 182 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 162.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v. 164.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* v. 166.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* v. 167.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* v. 168.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* v. 170 sq.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* v. 180.

associating totems together? How comes it that a man has generally more than one totem? When the question was put to the people of Mabuig, the usual answer was that a man sometimes took the totem of his mother as well as of his father. It is in favour of this explanation that the subsidiary totems of one clan were generally the chief totems of other clans. At the present time, and as far back as the genealogical record extends, the subsidiary totems belong to every member of the clan, and have not changed from individual to individual, except in a few cases. Now there are good grounds for thinking that the practice of maternal descent instead of paternal descent once prevailed in the Western Islands,<sup>1</sup> and it is a plausible hypothesis that the existence of subsidiary totems is a survival of the change from one mode of descent to the other, the man who first adopted his father's totem inheriting his mother's totem and then transmitting both to his descendants.<sup>2</sup> On this theory the possession of two or more subsidiary totems by a clan would be explained by supposing that the practice of taking the mother's totem in addition to the father's had been continued for two or more generations. This explanation of subsidiary totems is supported by the evidence of the natives, who actually derive these secondary totems from the custom of taking the mother's totem;<sup>3</sup> and moreover it is confirmed by the analogy of the practice in some tribes of North Australia, among whom a man has to respect his mother's totem in addition to his father's.<sup>4</sup>

Subsidiary totems may have originated through people taking the totems of their mothers in addition to those of their fathers.

8

<sup>1</sup> Amongst the grounds for this conclusion are the close relations which in Mabuig exist between a man and his sister's child; for under the system of mother-kin a man's sister's sons stand to him in the position in which under the system of father-kin his own sons stand to him. In Mabuig the relationship of *wadwam*, that is, the reciprocal relationship of sister's son and mother's brother, carried with it some remarkable privileges resembling those which in Fiji were enjoyed by the *vasu* or sister's son. For example, in Mabuig a sister's son (*wadwam*) might take, lose, spoil, or destroy anything belonging to his uncle and the uncle would utter no word of reproach

or anger. Again, a boy's guardian at his initiation was not his father but his mother's brother, and it is said that as a lad grew up to manhood, he cared more for his mother's brother (*wadwam*) and less for his father. Once more, when two men were fighting, the *wadwam* (mother's brother or sister's son) had the right to make him desist by a mere word or by simply holding up his hand. See W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 144-147, 150 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Haddon and W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 180.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v. 180.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 233-237.

Or subsidiary totems may have originated through the absorption of several subordinate clans in a more powerful one.

Another possible explanation of subsidiary totems is that they indicate the absorption of one or more clans into another. On this hypothesis the chief totem would be the original totem of the powerful clan which absorbed the others, while the subsidiary totems would be the original totems of the weaker clans which were absorbed, but which were allowed after the union to keep their old totems in a subordinate position.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand there is evidence, as we have seen, that some of the existing totem clans have arisen not by amalgamation but on the contrary by subdivision, the new clans so formed retaining the original totem of the old undivided clan, but tacking on to it different subsidiary totems for the sake of distinction.<sup>2</sup> Whatever explanation be adopted of these subsidiary totems, they seem to differ in kind from those subtotems of Australian tribes which have already been considered.<sup>3</sup>

Classificatory system of relationship.

As usual, we find that in the Western Islands of Torres Straits totemism and exogamy go along with the classificatory system of relationship. Thus, for example, a man applies the same term *tati* to his father and to his father's brothers; he applies the same term *apu* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; he applies the same term *kazi* to his own children and to the children of his brothers, but he applies quite a different term (*wadwam*) to the children of his sisters.<sup>4</sup> Thus a man may have and commonly has many "fathers" and "mothers" who neither begat nor bore him; he has many "sons" and "daughters," some or all of whom he never begat.

Rules of avoidance between persons connected by marriage.

A man never mentioned the personal name of his father-in-law, his mother-in-law, his son-in-law, or his daughter-in-law, and a woman was subject to the same restrictions in regard to the personal names of her husband's relations. If a man did use the personal name of his brother-in-law, he was ashamed and hung down his head. The shame was only relieved when he had made a present to his offended brother-in-law. He had to make similar presents for

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon and W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 181.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 427 *sqq.*,

431 *sqq.*, 451 *sqq.*, 470 *sqq.*, 540, 567.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 129, 133, 134, 135, 141.

mentioning the personal names of his mother-in-law and his father-in-law, his sister-in-law, and his son-in-law and daughter-in-law. This disability to use the personal names of relatives by marriage was associated with the common custom which forbids a man or woman to speak to these relatives. If a man wished to speak to his father-in-law or mother-in-law, he spoke to his wife, and she spoke to her parent. But if any direct communication between them became absolutely necessary, it was said that a man might talk a very little to his father-in-law or mother-in-law in a low voice. On the same conditions he might be allowed in case of necessity to speak a very little to his brother-in-law. Sometimes the two communicated through the wife of one of them.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless brothers-in-law were bound together by certain mutual obligations which rendered the tie between them a close one. For example, the chief performer at the death-ceremonies was the brother-in-law of the deceased; and when a man went in his canoe on a fishing expedition, his brother-in-law had to go with him and perform certain definite duties, such as heaving the anchor, hoisting the sail, lighting the fire, and cooking the food, in fact he had to work very hard. Again, brothers-in-law had the privilege of wearing each other's masks; and further, if a number of canoes were going out to fight, and one man's canoe turned back, his brothers-in-law would turn back also. In short, a man had the right to demand certain services from his brother-in-law. The whole group of customs may be a survival from a condition of society in which a man used to take up his abode with his wife's family and was bound to render them services. This custom of a husband living with his wife's family is known among anthropologists as *beena* marriage and is naturally associated with the system of mother-kin. Thus the mutual obligations of brothers-in-law in the Western Islands of Torres Straits furnish another indication of a time when descent among these people was traced in the maternal instead of in the paternal line.<sup>2</sup>

Relations  
between  
brothers-  
in-law.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 142 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* v. 148-

150. For other evidence of a former custom of maternal descent in these islands, see above, p. 15, note<sup>1</sup>. In

The  
Levirate.

A widow was not obliged to marry again, but if she did marry again she generally, at least in Mabuiag, followed the custom of the Levirate by marrying the brother of her deceased husband. That custom appears in Mabuiag to have been observed as a means of keeping the property within the clan; for even when the brother of the deceased did not marry his widow, he still looked after her, the children, and the property.<sup>1</sup> At all events the custom of the Levirate seems in these islands, as in Australia and Africa,<sup>2</sup> to have no connection with polyandry; for there is no evidence that polyandry was ever practised in Torres Straits.<sup>3</sup>

Exchange  
of sisters in  
marriage.

The practice of exchanging sisters in marriage was common in these islands, as it was among the aborigines of Australia. Indeed the genealogies seem to shew that in the Mabuiag-Badu community the majority of marriages were brought about by men giving their sisters to each other to be their wives. The natives apparently think that the practice originated in the custom of purchasing a wife; for the price paid for a wife is high, and a poor man could avoid the expense by giving, or promising to give, his sister in marriage to his wife's brother instead of a payment for his wife.<sup>4</sup>

There are  
signs that  
in Torres  
Straits  
totemism  
was de-  
veloping  
into a  
worship of  
heroes or  
gods.

Although in the islands of Torres Straits the totems were not worshipped, as indeed they never are worshipped in true totemism, yet signs are not wanting that in this region the totemic system, if it had been left to itself, might have developed into a higher form of faith with anthropomorphic heroes or gods in place of the old totem animals. Thus the people of Yam told the story and shewed the shrines of two brothers named Sigai and Maiiau, who seem to have been hovering on the borderland between animals and men. The brethren, it is said, first appeared in the island in the likeness of a hammer-headed shark and a crocodile respectively. The natives went to receive them

Ceylon when a wife goes to live with her husband, it is a *deega* marriage; and when he goes to live with her, it is a *beena* marriage. See J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), p. 101.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition*

to *Torres Straits*, v. 244-246.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 501.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 243.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* v. 241 sq.

in two parallel columns, and each line of men adopted one of the animal-shaped heroes as its collective totem (*augud*).

Having received the august visitors they escorted them to a sacred place (*kwod*) of the men and there installed them in two shrines set side by side. The hallowed spot may still be seen about the middle of the island of Yam: it is in an open glade surrounded by rocks and trees. A fence of mangrove stakes, with two doorways at one end, enclosed a space of ground about thirty-three feet square. Within the enclosure were the two shrines, consisting of two long low huts with thatched roofs of palm leaves, each of them with an opening that faced towards one of the two doorways in the outer fence. Each hut was about twenty-five feet long by four feet wide and four and a half feet high. Within the two huts were two large models or images of the two totems (*augud*) made of turtle shell and representing a hammer-headed shark and a crocodile respectively. The tail of each of these effigies was supported by a forked stake, and on the back of each were a couple of crescentic objects made of turtle-shell and decorated with imitation eyes and a fringe of cassowary feathers, which simulated eyebrows. Several reddened rods, decorated with white feathers of the reef-heron and terminating in the red plumes of the bird-of-paradise, projected vertically from the image, while festoons of bird-of-paradise plumage, shells, and seed-rattles were stretched between the red rods. The figure of the crocodile was painted with yellow ochre, and the scales on its body were indicated. The hammer-headed shark was painted black on the back and white on the belly, and its body was further adorned with tufts of feathers of the bird-of-paradise. Under each of the two images was a stone in which the spirit of that particular totem (*augud*) was believed to reside, and outside of the sacred enclosure were two heaps of shells which were called the navels of the totems. The hammer-headed shark in the one hut represented the hero Sigai; the crocodile in the other hut represented the hero Maiau. So sacred were these two shrines with their images of a hammer-headed shark and a crocodile that no woman or other uninitiated person might visit them. Such persons had indeed heard of Sigai and

Shrines and effigies of Sigai and Maiau, the hammer-headed shark and the crocodile.

Annual dances of the Shark men and the Crocodile men in honour of the Shark-hero and the Crocodile-hero.

Maiiau, but they did not know that the former was a hammer-headed shark and the latter a crocodile; this mystery was too sacred to be disclosed to the uninitiated. Food used to be piled in two heaps on the ground, one for the shark and one for the crocodile; and every year, when the north-west monsoon was blowing, the men danced totem dances and sang, the men of the hammer-headed shark on one side and the men of the crocodile on the other, all of them painted with red paint and wearing coronets of feathers on their heads, but the feathers of the hammer-headed shark men were white, while the feathers of the crocodile men were black. They danced and sang at evening, several times during the darkness of night, and again when the day was breaking. As they sang they stretched out their arms, holding the palms outwards and moving the hands sideways. These songs brought fine weather, no matter whether the wind howled and the rain beat on the singers. The very same songs were sung by the men when they were going out to war. They danced and sang in all their warlike accoutrements, the men of the hammer-headed shark in one long file and the men of the crocodile in another, while the black and white plumage on their heads nodded to the wind. A few men danced in a third row for the sea-snake (*ger*), who had also a shrine within the sacred enclosure; his shrine was a heap of *Fusus* shells with an image of the sea-snake on it. If any man fell asleep while the rest were dancing and singing, they poured water over him to rouse him from his slumber; for it was believed that for every man that slept at such a time a man would be killed in the battle. By singing these songs on the holy ground the warriors fancied they would be able to go where they liked. When they were about to deliver an attack, they prayed, "O totem Sigai and totem Maiiau, both of you close the eyes of those men so that they cannot see us." After that the enemy were slaughtered like sheep, for they could not stand to their arms.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 64-66, 373-378; *id.*, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 178-180; *id.*, "The

Religion of the Torres Straits Islanders," *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 185.

Thus in the island of Yam the hammer-headed shark and the crocodile seem to have been on the point of sloughing off their animal skins and developing into purely anthropomorphic heroes or gods, while in the food offered, the prayers prayed, the songs sung, and the dances danced in their honour we see the rudiments of religious worship. The sacred enclosure also with its shrines and images of the animal-shaped heroes is not far removed from a temple. In these things and these customs we have passed beyond the limits of true totemism and are standing on the borders as it were of a new country, in which we may descry afar off the beast-gods of ancient Egypt and still further away the human gods of Greece with their animal familiars. The stones too in which the souls of the shark-hero and the crocodile-hero were supposed to reside outside of their bodies have their analogies in the customs and the stories of many peoples.<sup>1</sup> With these two stones, embodying the souls of the shark and the crocodile, may we not compare the sacred stones (*churinga*) of the Central Australians which are intimately associated both with the totem animals and with the souls of the men of the totem?<sup>2</sup> Such stones may perhaps form the missing link between the animals on the one side and their human kinsmen on the other.

The hammer-headed shark and the crocodile seem to have been on the point of developing into anthropomorphic heroes or gods.

The island of Mabuig had also its warrior-hero in the person of Kwoiam. From the accounts given of him, this personage appears to have been an Australian by descent, either a pure-bred or a half-bred native of North Queensland, who so signalised himself by his prowess, that myths gathered round his memory, blurring and transfiguring the man into a cloudy being of fairyland. He is said to have had for his totem the shovel-nosed skate or the shovel-nosed skate and the turtle. Moreover, he made

The warrior-hero Kwoiam and his two magical crescents of turtle-shell.

<sup>1</sup> "The unique features of the totem cult of Yam were the representation of the *augud* in a definite image, each of which was lodged in its own house, and the presence of a stone beneath each effigy in which resided the life of the *augud*. I believe this materialisation of a totem has not been met with elsewhere and is so important a development of totemism as practically to place it beyond the realm of true

totemism. The animal kindred are now replaced by a definite effigy, the soul of which is kept in an external receptacle, and the effigy is further associated with a hero" (A. C. Haddon, in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 377 sq.). As to the customs and stories of the external soul, see *The Golden Bough*,<sup>2</sup> iii. 351 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 189, 193 sqq.

two crescents of turtle-shell, which he fed with the savour of cooked fish, and which blazed with light when he wore them in the dark. These crescents were made by Kwoiam one night at the new moon, and their shape was copied by him from the silver crescent in the sky. One of them he wore on his upper lip and the other on his chest, and adorned with them he capered about, brandishing his javelin and throwing-stick and chanting a song. The crescents possessed magical properties: they led the wearer straight to the enemy and gave him the victory. Both of them were called *augud*, which was the name regularly given to a totem, and they became the emblems respectively of the two classes or phratries into which the totem clans of Mabuiag were divided. The Children of the Great Totem, who formed one of these classes or phratries, had for their emblem the turtle-shell crescent which Kwoiam wore on his lip, for that was deemed the more important of the two; while the Children of the Little Totem had for their emblem the crescent which Kwoiam wore on his breast, because that was reckoned the less important of the two. These two precious objects were kept in a cave in the sacred isle of Pulu, a little rocky islet on the reef to the west of Mabuiag. Dense bushes and rocks of fantastic shapes surround and lend an air of mystery to this most hallowed spot, where, in the recesses of the cavern, were stored not only the magical crescents but also the heads of all the men, women, and children who had been slain in war. Each crescent was deposited, along with a star-shaped stone-headed club, in a large basket full of skulls. These grinning trophies were usually painted red, and some of them had artificial noses made of beeswax and eyes made of the opalescent nacre of the nautilus shell. More skulls were also piled in the inner corners of the cave. The men of the two classes or phratries vied with each other in their efforts to procure the skulls of enemies for the sacred basket in which their particular crescent, the emblem or ensign of their class, was kept. When it was deemed necessary to strengthen the magical virtue of the two crescents, they were placed on two heaps of *Fusus* shells which were called "the large navel of the

Shrine of  
the two  
magical  
crescents.

totem" (*augud*) and "the small navel of the totem" (*augud*) respectively. These heaps, however, were not at the cave but at a meeting-place (*kwod*) of the men beside the shore of the sacred isle. Like the ark of God, the two magical crescents were carried forth to war and inspired their votaries with hopes of victory. Before the expedition set out, the sacred emblems were washed and decorated with red paint, flowers, and cassowary feathers. The headmen of the two classes or phratries bore each the particular crescent that belonged to his class, the one wearing it over his mouth and the other on his chest. Thus arrayed they marched at the head of their respective columns. They might neither speak nor be spoken to. Behind them came two men who touched the leaders with an arrow, if they took the wrong road. The *augud* had to be treated with respect. We hear of a certain man who in the excess of his zeal outran the column of warriors, but he stumbled and almost broke his leg because he went in front of the holy relics, which ought always to lead the way. The possession of these magical emblems had a great effect in raising the spirits of the men; indeed without them they hardly dared to fight. Thus the crescents were in a sense the standards of the two groups or classes of totem clans and led them to battle. The hero Kwoiam, who made them, was sometimes spoken of in Mabuiaġ as himself an *augud* or totem; indeed in the group of islands round Muralug he was regarded as the "big *augud*" and even as "the *augud* of every one in the island." On his death he was raised by the people of Mabuiaġ to something that approached to the rank of divinity, and there and in the islands to the south he is still held in honour; even the natives of Cape York peninsula in Queensland still speak of Kwoiam.<sup>1</sup>

The ruins of Kwoiam's house are shewn in Mabuiaġ near the top of a hill, and on the other side of the crest, looking westward towards the sacred isle of Pulu, is the low cairn that marks his grave. To this day the leaves of

The two magical crescents were carried forth to war and served as sacred standards to the totemic clans, inspiring them with hope of victory.

Scenes associated with the legend of Kwoiam.

<sup>1</sup> *Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 4 sq., 70 sq., 79 sqq., 153 sq., 367-373; A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters*, Black, White, and Brown, pp. 136-147; *id.*,

"The Religion of the Torres Straits Islanders," *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 184.

A far-spreading landscape.

the bushes that grow on the hillside are dyed red with his sacred blood. The hill-top commands a fine view of the scenes associated with his legend and of the neighbouring islands. It was visited by Dr. Haddon, who has rescued the dusky hero and his story from oblivion. He has described for us the far-spreading landscape that met his gaze. Below him stretched a grassy plain studded with pandanus and other trees where Kwoiam was born and where he had his gardens, the gardens that are now tilled by alien hands. Far way beside the sea, under the shadow of a grove of palms, appeared the village with its church, telling of altered times. Further off, bounded on the north by wooded hills, was spread out the pale green water of the bay, fringed with white where the surf broke in foam on the sands, but passing into caerulean blue where it deepened beyond the bounding reef into the open sea. From the brilliant colouring of the foreground, where the red rocks and verdant foliage of the palms and gardens contrasted with the sear hues of the parched plain and the peacock tints of the bay, the eye ranged away over a waste of waters to where, far in the south, the long serrated crest of the islands of Moa and Badu rose up against the sky and all colour was lost in the dull monotonous grey of a moisture-laden atmosphere.<sup>1</sup>

Seeds of heroic fables.

Thus in these Western Islands of Torres Straits we may detect, amid the ruins of totemism, the seeds of a mythology which might in time have grown up and blossomed into a body of heroic legends and divine fables like those which still invest with an eternal charm the mountains and islands of Greece.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters*, 147; *Expedition to Torres Straits, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 144- v. 82 sq.

## CHAPTER VI

### TOTEMISM IN NEW GUINEA

WHEN we pass from Torres Straits to the great island of New Guinea which bounds them on the north, we still meet with a combination of totemism and exogamy like that which we have found in Australia and in the Western Islands of Torres Straits. Unfortunately our information with regard to the totemic and exogamous systems of New Guinea is very meagre; it is probable that the systems are much more widely spread there than appears from the brief and scanty notices of them which are all that we have to hand at present. We must hope that future researches will supply the many blanks in our knowledge of these interesting tribes.

Totemism  
and  
exogamy  
in New  
Guinea.

#### § 1. *Totemism at Mawatta in Daudai*

On the southern coast of New Guinea, in the western part of British territory, totemism has been observed in the tribe which inhabits the village of Mawatta (Mowat) on the river Katau, in the district of Daudai. The first to report their totemic system was Mr. Edward Beardmore, who says: "The Mowat tribe is divided into different clans each having its own totem, the animal being held sacred and the flesh not partaken of by the members of that clan. A representation of the totem is not cut on any part of either men or women, but the latter have some mark made to denote the clan. . . . The child is named by the father with one name only, according to his fancy, without any regard to his tribe or family."<sup>1</sup> "Everything is eaten with-

Mr. Beard-  
more's  
account of  
totemism at  
Mawatta.

<sup>1</sup> E. Beardmore, "The Natives of *of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. Mowat, Daudai, New Guinea," *Journal* (1890) p. 459.

Marriage  
customs.

out regard to persons or occasions, except the flesh of the porpoise. The porpoise is no more sacred than anything else; souls of the departed having it as a totem enter into it only in the same way as souls of others go into other animals."<sup>1</sup> "There appears to be no restriction as to marriage within or without the same tribe or clan. Adultery is commonly though not openly practised. I cannot find out for a certainty what are the forbidden degrees of consanguinity in relation to marriage, but as far as practicable the members of one family or descendants of one forefather, however remote, may not intermarry. Polygamy, but not polyandry, is practised: their reason for this custom is that the women do the principal part of the work in procuring vegetable or fish food. Marriage is arranged by the respective parents when the children are growing up, or in infancy and by exchange, thus:—if a man has sisters and no brother he can exchange a sister for a wife, but in the case of both brothers and sisters in a family the eldest brother exchanges the eldest sister, and the brothers as they are old enough share equally, but if the numbers are unequal the elder takes the preference. It sometimes happens that a man has no sister and he cannot obtain a wife. Sometimes a wife is procured by purchase. It may also happen that a woman will have the man of her choice in spite of all laws to the contrary. The wife goes to the husband's house. . . . Men do not exchange wives. A widow becomes the wife of the deceased husband's brother. A man may not look at nor speak to his mother-in-law."<sup>2</sup>

Exchange  
of sisters in  
marriage.

Mr. Hely's  
account of  
totemism at  
Mawatta.

A fuller account of totemism in the Mawatta (Mowat) tribe was afterwards obtained by Mr. B. A. Hely, who gives the name of the tribe as Kadawarubi, that is, "the men (*arubi*) of Kadawa."<sup>3</sup> He found nine septs or totem clans among the people, of which the totems were as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> E. Beardmore, *op. cit.* p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> E. Beardmore, *op. cit.* pp. 460 sq. The writer's account of the exchange of sisters in marriage is far from clear. For Mr. Hely's account of the custom, see below, pp. 28 sq.

<sup>3</sup> B. A. Hely, "Totemism of the Kadawarubi Tribe," in Appendix CC

to *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 136. Mr. Hely's account is reprinted with additions in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, volume v. *Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Western Islanders*, pp. 187 sq.

Cassowary ( <i>diware</i> ).	Shark ( <i>baidamu</i> ).
Alligator ( <i>hibara</i> ).	Kangaroo ( <i>usara</i> ).
Dog ( <i>umu</i> ).	Stinging ray ( <i>topimoro</i> ).
Tortoise ( <i>pomoa</i> ).	Ground shark ( <i>komuhoro</i> ).
Rock snake ( <i>gera</i> ).	

The researches of Dr. C. G. Seligmann have since extended the list, for in addition to the foregoing he discovered a number of other totems as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

Banded sea snake ( <i>obopera</i> ).	A fruit ( <i>hibuomere</i> ).
A plant with edible tubers ( <i>tomani</i> ).	Hawk? ( <i>wario</i> ).
A swamp tree ( <i>hae</i> ).	Bamboo ( <i>gagari</i> ).
A particular kind of banana ( <i>ibubu</i> ).	A creeper or parasite ( <i>omere</i> ).
A plant like a yam ( <i>audi</i> ).	Pig ( <i>boromo</i> ).
Dugong ( <i>momoro</i> ).	A shell, <i>Triton</i> sp. ( <i>tuture</i> ).
A marsupial ( <i>apatiri</i> ).	A fish ( <i>bidari</i> ).
A fish ( <i>kueti</i> ).	A red fruit ( <i>kakiwari</i> ).
Sago ( <i>do</i> ).	Catfish ( <i>duomo</i> ).
	Coconut ( <i>oi</i> ).

The following is Mr. Hely's account of Mawatta totemism: Respect for the totems.  
 —“The people may neither kill nor eat their totems. Many village squabbles arise from the killing of the totem of one sept by the people of another. A man killing a kangaroo, for instance, and carrying it past a house inhabited by people of the kangaroo sept, may be reviled or insulted in some way. His friends side with him, and a general slanging match ensues, and often sticks and stones are resorted to. The septs have always intermarried; the parties to a marriage, however, retaining their own totems, but observing each other's to some extent. For instance, a woman of one sept marrying a man of another sept may not eat his totem or handle it. If she does so he will not use food prepared by her, nor cohabit with her for a period. In the same way the husband must not eat or kill the wife's totem under similar penalties.”<sup>2</sup> Rules of marriage and descent.  
 From a later statement of Mr. Hely's it appears that in saying “The septs have

<sup>1</sup> For this list and other particulars as to Mawatta totemism I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. C. G. Seligmann, who liberally placed his manuscript materials at my disposal.

<sup>2</sup> B. A. Hely, “Totemism of the

Kadawarubi Tribe,” in Appendix CC to *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 136; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 187.

always intermarried" he meant to affirm that the men and women of the same clan were free to marry each other, in other words, that the rule of exogamy did not apply to the totem clans; he supposed that the people, "being so much advanced in civilisation, have broken through old laws relating to marriage." But this statement was contradicted by the informants of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition, who distinctly declared that "members of the same clan (*gu*) may not intermarry as 'belong same family,' but they may marry into any other 'family.'"<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Hely, "totems are hereditary: an only child invariably follows his father's totem. Where there are two or more children they may be divided between the septs of their parents." But the members of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition were told that children follow the totem (*ibihara*) of their father only.<sup>2</sup> "Of old each sept lived under one roof; this accounts in a way for the size of the original houses of these people. There appears not to be, nor to have been, any punishment for wrongful assumption of a totem—probably the necessity never arose. In battle and dance, members of various septs painted effigies of their totems on their backs and chests for the guidance of their fellows should aid or attention be needed. No permanent totem marks are carried. All the septs appear to be equal, none being of more importance or distinction than others."<sup>3</sup>

Communal  
houses.

Exchange  
of sisters in  
marriage.

In this tribe we are told that "it is a fixed law that the bridegroom's sister, if he has one unmarried, should go to the bride's brother or nearest male relative; she has no option. . . . Except in cases where the bridegroom has no sister no payment is made to the parents of the bride until a child is born, when the husband presents his wife's father with a canoe or arm-shells, tomahawks, etc. . . . In these comparatively civilised days at Mawatta and elsewhere, it is becoming customary for men and women to marry

<sup>1</sup> *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 187 sq. The members of the expedition were also told that people now eat their own totem (*ibihara* or *ëbëharä*).

<sup>2</sup> *Reports of the Cambridge Anthro-*

*logical Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 188.

<sup>3</sup> B. A. Hely, in *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 136; *id.*, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 188.

without the exchange of sisters or payment. The customs above stated, however, generally prevail in the district."<sup>1</sup>

The members of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition learned that in the Mawatta tribe the totem clans appear to be grouped in two classes or phratries, of which the one has for its chief totem the crocodile (*hibara*) and the other the cassowary (*diwari*). A man told them that his father's totems were cassowary and dog, and that his mother's were crocodile and shark, and he volunteered the information that the former totems "stop ashore," while the latter "stop in water." Associated with the crocodile are also *komuhoro* (described as "crank shark") and a small insect *apidi*. At Mawatta two fences are erected for the ceremonies of initiation, one fence for the Crocodile-Shark group of clans and the other for the Cassowary-Dog group of clans. The women sit on one side of the fence and the boys to be initiated (*kerenga*) on the other. The ceremonies last three days. No bull-roarers are used. The boys are told about their totems, and masks of turtle-shell, representing human faces, are shewn to them. When a Dog (*umu*) man goes out to fight, he ties a red poisonous seed round his neck, and paints in white mud a representation of his totems the cassowary and the tortoise on his right and left chest respectively.<sup>2</sup>

Totem  
clans  
grouped  
in two  
classes or  
phratries.

From the foregoing account we gather that the Kadawarubi tribe of Mawatta (Mowat) is divided into a number of totem clans, which are perhaps exogamous, with descent in the male line, and further that these clans are grouped in two classes or phratries. Moreover, it appears that in this tribe men and women may have several totems, and that husband and wife respect each other's totems in addition to their own.

The totemic system of Mawatta was again investigated by Dr. C. G. Seligmann during a short visit in the year 1904, and he has kindly communicated to me the following particulars on the subject. The members of a totem clan have

Dr. Seligmann's information as to totemism at Mawatta.

<sup>1</sup> B. A. Hely, "Native Habits and Customs in the Western Division," Appendix P to *Annual Report on British New Guinea, 1892-1893* (Bris-

bane, 1894), p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 188.

Respect  
shewn  
for the  
totemic  
animal.

a number of totems, usually, if not always, animals and one or two plants. A man objects to the killing of his totem animal by others and would protest against it; he would "bury"<sup>1</sup> his totem if he found it dead, but would not put earth on his head as a sign of mourning. One trustworthy native informant would not "bury" a dead alligator, if he saw one, though he would be sorry. Another informant, whose chief totem was the dog, would "bury" a dead dog if he found one, and would go away if he saw any one killing or eating a dog, or he might perhaps threaten to kill the other man's totem. "I believe," says Dr. Seligmann, "these rules only applied to the most important totems, which, as far as I could ascertain, were always animals. Certainly men with sago and coconut as their totems eat these important articles of diet, but a man from Sumai with sago as his totem said that he would not use this for house-building; he would use the *nipa* palm instead. Apparently all totems are called *nurumara*. No one would eat his own principal totem, but a man has no objection to eating the totem of his wife, and in this case it is cooked by a friend or by another wife, not by the owner of the totem. The wife would, however, be angry and refuse to permit cohabitation that night; after a wash on the following day the ordinary relations would be resumed. On the other hand a woman who ate her husband's totem would not only be debarred from cohabitation, but might not use her husband's drinking vessels."

Associated  
totems at  
Mawatta.

Thus at Mawatta each person, man or woman, had several totems associated together in a group. Amongst such groups of associated totems found by Dr. Seligmann were: 1. Alligator, shark, bamboo; 2. Dog, a creeper (*omere*), and a kind of banana (*ibubu*); 3. Cassowary, tortoise, bamboo, a red fruit and a shell; 4. Sting-ray, rock-snake, ground-shark, banded sea-snake, and a plant with edible tubers; 5. Dog, kangaroo, a fruit, and a kind of banana; 6. Dog, kangaroo, a marsupial, a creeper, a fruit, and coconut; 7. Alligator, shark, catfish, pig, and sago. In each group the first totem is the most important. Alligator and shark were always associated, but

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Seligmann does not know how the people dispose of their dead.

the plants associated with these animal totems varied. It appears that a person might have a large number of associated totems which were of comparatively little importance. With the possible exceptions of the coconut and sago, which were staple foods, the animal totem was far more important than the plant totem ; and when a man was asked for his *nurumara* he always mentioned his animal totem.

Dr. Seligmann agrees with Messrs. Beardmore and Hely in finding no clear evidence that the totem clans at Mawatta were exogamous. On this subject he observes : " Apparently there is no hard and fast rule about marriage within the totem clan. A man, Tom Turubi, with totems *hibara*, *baidam*, *do* and *boromo*, married Soimu of *hibara* with the same subsidiary totems ; Banasi of *hibara*, *baidam* and several other (probably the same) subsidiary totems married *Noeru* with the same totems. In neither case was any disapproval expressed by other tribesmen, but it appeared to me that this practice was an innovation. There is a vague aetiological legend according to which the people of old Mawatta long, long ago collected everything in piles, and each of them selected or had selected for them certain things which they might not eat and which became their *nurumara*."

Marriage  
customs at  
Mawatta.

Further, men who had sago for their totem performed magical ceremonies to make the sago palm flourish, in order that its fruit might be eaten. Thus these rites for the production of sago were strictly analogous to the magical ceremonies called *intichiuma*, which the natives of Central Australia perform for the multiplication of their edible totems, whether animals or plants. And similarly it would seem that Mawatta men who had coconuts for their totem performed magical rites to make coconuts grow and multiply. On this interesting subject I will reproduce Dr. Seligmann's account in his own words :—

Magical  
ceremonies  
to make  
sago grow.

" An old man Duani with coconut as one of his totems (who in old days would not have eaten his animal totem the wallaby) ate coconut as he pleased. Men with sago as totem would eat sago and make all the preparations for eating it, including cutting down the tree. It was believed that sago planted by a sago man grew better than other sago. Perhaps the feeling was that the sago man knew

more about sago and the necessary ritual, which included the placing of a magic mixture of 'grass' ash and burnt pig's snout in the hole in which the young sago shoots were to be planted. Probably this proceeding was entirely magical; for I gathered that the quantity of the mixture used was too small to allow of its being effective as manure; and it was said that only men having sago as a totem knew all about this method. I could not determine whether sago men would perform this magic for others, though it was held that there was a form of magic which sago men would practise for the benefit of the gardens of others. No one would be told that this was being done; but when the sago grows well, the people know that the sago men have been looking after their gardens. The ceremony was performed at Kiwai,<sup>1</sup> but made the sago grow all over the district. Details were not obtainable.

"The ceremony in the case of the coconut was purely magical; a bush fruit (*obutoma*) was rubbed against the sprouting nut before it was planted.

"The following refers to sago magic. Segerera of Sumai in Kiwai, a man with sago as one of his totems, lost his son, whose death was ascribed to magic. He was 'wild' and caused all the sago in the district to be bad, while the coconut palms bore no fruit. But in his own garden at Sumai the sago was good and his house Boromo Tuburu was not hungry, while all others suffered from lack of food. The influence of his magic spread as far as Bugi and many people died; but Debiri had plenty of sago, for there it is not planted but grows wild. Then the people went to Segerera and asked him to make things go right, for many people had died. And Segerera was sorry for what he had done, and went round the country planting one sago shoot in each garden; and all the sago grew well and there was no more famine. When Segerera was old and ill he told his people he thought he would soon die. 'This year I finish; I make your gardens good'; and he instructed them that when he was dead they were to cut him up and place pieces of his flesh in their gardens, but his head was to be buried in his own garden. By his own instruc-

Story of  
the sago  
man who  
made sago  
to grow by  
his magic.

<sup>1</sup> Kiwai is an island to the eastward of Mawatta. See below, pp. 35 *sqq.*

tions his body was taken into the bush to be cut up. Of Segera it is said that he outlived the ordinary age and that no man knew his father, but that he made the sago good and no one was hungry any more.

"It was clear that sago 'medicine' was especially associated with Kiwai, where sago grows luxuriantly; for Segera was a Kiwai man, and when my informants told me of the pig-snout and ashes mixture used to medicine the sago shoots they especially requested me not to let the Kiwai men know that they had given me this information. Again, some of my informants thought that the unknown magic already referred to, which makes the sago grow, was performed at Kiwai. A few of the oldest men said that they had known Segera in their youth, and the general opinion seemed to be that Segera died not more than two generations ago."

The people of Mawatta, like the Papuans of New Guinea in general, are far beyond the Australian aborigines in respect of culture, for they build large communal houses and till the ground, turning it up with hoes.<sup>1</sup> Yet side by side with a rational agriculture they practise magical ceremonies to promote the growth of fruits. These ceremonies they may well have inherited from ancestors who, like the Central Australian savages, resorted to magic, and to magic alone, for the purpose of stimulating the growth of edible plants. We need hardly doubt that Segera of Sumai, in Kiwai, who had sago for his totem and performed magical ceremonies to make the sago palms bear fruit, was a real personage, and that at his death his body was actually cut up and the

Analogy of these magical rites to the magical ceremonies performed by the Central Australians.

<sup>1</sup> E. Beardmore and A. C. Haddon, "The People of Mowat, Daudai, New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890) pp. 462, 463, 468. As to the culture of the Papuans in general, see J. Deniker, *The Races of Man* (Paris, 1900), p. 497: "The Papuans are tillers of the soil, and especially cultivate sago, maize, and tobacco; occasionally they are hunters and fishers, and are then very adroit in laying snares and poisoning waters; their favourite

weapons are the bow and arrow with flint heads. Excellent boat-builders, they merely do a coasting trade, and while understanding well how to handle a sail, rarely ever venture into the open sea. Graphic arts are developed among them." Dr. C. G. Seligmann tells me that he believes Mr. Deniker to be mistaken as to the use of arrows with flint heads; no such arrows, he informs me, have yet been found in any part of British New Guinea.

pieces distributed in the gardens to fertilise them. Many examples of the use of human flesh to fertilise the fields might be cited from the practices of savages.<sup>1</sup> The treatment of the sago man's body after death resembles the treatment of the body of Osiris in the ancient Egyptian legend, and the analogy serves to confirm the view, which I have suggested elsewhere, that the Egyptian legend preserves a reminiscence of a dynasty of deified kings, who in their lifetime were supposed to quicken the growth of the corn by their magic, and whose bodies after death were cut up and distributed over the fields in order to promote the same useful object.<sup>2</sup>

Magical  
use of bull-  
roarers to  
make the  
yams grow.

The people of Mawatta also resort to magic to make the yams grow. After a new garden has been made, they swing a bull-roarer (*madubu*) on the morning and evening of the day when the yams are dug in; and they swing it again when the sticks are being put in to support the climbing tendrils of the plants. Women may not see the bull-roarer, but they may hear its booming sound. If the bull-roarers were not thus swung, the people think that the gardens would not be fruitful.<sup>3</sup> However, we are not told that this ceremony for promoting the growth of yams is performed by men who have the yam for their totem.

Initiation  
ceremonies.

Initiation ceremonies (*moguru*) are performed on boys at puberty, but they seem not to be very closely associated with the totems. Dr. Seligmann's informants agreed that the boys knew all about their totems before they were initiated.

### § 2. Totemism of the Bugilai and Toro

Traces of  
totemism  
among the  
Bugilai.

On the south coast of New Guinea, to the west of Daudai, there is a tribe called the Bugilai, whose country, distant some sixteen miles from Dauan, lies about 142° 30' of East Longitude. The following brief account of their "gods" and "families," which we owe to the late Rev. James Chalmers, seems to shew that the Bugilai have

<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition (London, 1907), pp. 330 sqq.  
Edition, ii. 237 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> From Dr. C. G. Seligmann's

<sup>2</sup> *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second notes.

totemism. "They have many gods. One family will make the crocodile its god, and they will on no account eat any part of it. When they can secure a small one alive, it is carried to where they are living, and presents of food and things are laid down beside it. It is the same with the kangaroo. The family, whose god it is, will not touch it; and so with the other animals and birds."<sup>1</sup>

Still further west, on the Bensbach River, which marks the boundary between British and Dutch New Guinea, there is a tribe called the Toro, who are described by Dr. C. G. Seligmann as "a totemistic folk, with descent of the totems in the male line. Perhaps the majority of the totems are birds. A number of palm-wood bull-roarers were collected, but we could learn nothing about their use."<sup>2</sup> Among their totems are the crocodile, pig, turtle, cassowary and other birds, a number of fish, and certain edible plants, such as a species of mangrove and a yam-like tuber. Dr. Seligmann believes that each person has several totems and that one of them is very much more important than the rest. A man should not eat his totems, but this rule does not apply to certain edible plants. No man may marry a woman of the same totem clan as his own, and children belong to the clan of their father. Boys have to pass through ceremonies of initiation at which bull-roarers are swung and pigs sacrificed.<sup>3</sup>

Totemism  
among the  
Toro.

### § 3. *Totemism in Kiwai*

Totemism has further been observed in Kiwai, a long, low, swampy and malarial island, little above sea-level, which lies off the mouth of the Fly River in Southern New Guinea. The native inhabitants of the island differ somewhat from the Torres Straits Islanders in appearance and customs; their skin is a very little lighter and their nose more arched; they do not use ceremonial masks except for the last stage of initiation, and they build long houses. They are not hunters, but everywhere cultivate the soil, raising crops of

The people  
of Kiwai  
live in long  
houses and  
cultivate  
the ground.

<sup>1</sup> J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Bugilai, British New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 109.

geographical Investigations in New Guinea," *The Geographical Journal*, xxvii. (1906) p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> From Dr. C. G. Seligmann's notes.

<sup>2</sup> C. G. Seligmann, "Anthropo-

taro, yams, and sweet potatoes, and possessing coco-nut-palms, bread-fruit, mango, and many other fruit-trees. Dr. Haddon thinks it probable that these people came down the Fly River and drove some at least of the aborigines out before them.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, though they inhabit an island, their totemic system may fitly be described along with that of the mainland of New Guinea.

Totem  
clans  
among the  
people of  
Kiwai.

The people of Kiwai are divided into a number of exogamous totem clans with descent in the paternal line. The following clan totems have been recorded :—<sup>2</sup>

Cassowary.	A reed ( <i>dudumabu</i> ).
Crocodile (alligator).	Pandanus ( <i>duboro-mabu</i> ).
A small variety of bamboo ( <i>gagari-mabu</i> ).	Stone.
A crab (which lives in the nipa-palm).	A tree ( <i>mabere-uru</i> ).
Mangrove.	Nipa-palm.
Catfish.	A species of fig-tree ( <i>buduru</i> ).
Polynesian chestnut.	Croton or dracaena ( <i>oso</i> ).
	Coco-nut-palm ( <i>oi</i> ).

Unusually  
large  
number  
of plant  
totems.

In this list the number of plant totems is unusually large compared to that of animal totems. One of the animal totems (the crab) is even associated with a plant totem (the nipa-palm), apparently as a subsidiary totem with a chief totem.<sup>3</sup> Yet the large number of vegetable totems will not surprise us when we remember that these people, in contrast to the Australian savages, subsist not by hunting but by agriculture. The native name for a totem in Kiwai is *nurumara*. People may not kill nor eat their totems.

Respect  
shewn for  
the totems.

When a tree is the totem of a clan, the members of the clan do not eat the fruit of the tree nor use its wood for building or for any other purpose. For example, people who have the nipa-palm for their totem roof their houses with sago leaves instead of with nipa-palm leaves; people of the

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 96, 101; J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai Island, Fly River," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) pp. 117-124.

<sup>2</sup> B. A. Hely, "Totemism, Pedarimu Tribe (Kiwai Island)," in Appendix CC to *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898),

p. 135; A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 101 sq.; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 189. The two last totems on the list (croton or dracaena and coco-nut-palm) are given by Dr. Haddon alone.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, p. 102.

Pandanus clan make mats out of banana leaves instead of out of pandanus leaves ; and people of the Bamboo clan do not use bamboos. They think that to kill, eat, or use their totem for any purpose would cause severe eruptions on their bodies. Children inherit their father's totem, and a wife assumes her husband's totem. People of the same totem clan may not marry each other ; they must always find their wives or husbands, as the case may be, in another clan. A wife goes and lives with her husband in his clan house. For each clan inhabits a large house of its own : none but members of the clan may eat or sleep in it. In fighting or dancing a figure of the totem is painted on a man's back or chest with clay or coloured earth, and it may be carved on objects or otherwise used as a sort of crest. It was a fixed law in battle that no man should attack or slay another who bore the same totemic crest as himself. Strangers from other and even hostile tribes could safely visit villages where there were clans with the same totems as their own ; for such visitors would be fed and lodged by the men of their totem.<sup>1</sup>

Rules of marriage and descent.

Friendly relations between persons of the same totem.

The largest village of Kiwai is Iasa. Here there are sixteen large houses, each occupied by the members of one clan only, though occasionally a clan may have more than one house. Some of the houses are permanently occupied by the natives of the district ; others belong to natives of other districts who only occupy their houses at Iasa during a part of the year. For the population of Kiwai is more or less migratory, living at different times in different places according to the crops or harvests. For example, the natives of the southern part of the island congregate at Iasa annually for two or three months to cut sago, and this affords an opportunity for celebrating the rites of initiation, which in Kiwai seem to be associated with agriculture. Thus at one time of the year Iasa may be thickly peopled, while at another time it is nearly empty. Moreover, some of the clans appear not to have houses at the village. Each

Large communal houses, each occupied by a single clan.

<sup>1</sup> B. A. Hely, "Totemism, Pededaru Tribe (Kiwai Island)" in Appendix CC to *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898),

pp. 134 sq. ; A. C. Haddon, *op. cit.* pp. 101-103 ; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 189 sq.

clan house has its headman, who is supreme in it ; and each clan house in a village formed, as it were, a separate state. Fights between the houses, in other words, between the clans, used to be common occurrences. But when the whole village or tribe was engaged in war with another village or another tribe, the command was entrusted to that man amongst the heads of houses who had most experience and the highest reputation. In time of peace these heads of houses neither had nor attempted to exercise any influence outside of their own clan. Each family has its own separate compartment, with its own separate fireplace, in the long central portion of the clan house ; and at each end of the house is a room which is set apart for the use of the men, corresponding to the clubhouses and tabooed structures which serve the same purpose in other parts of New Guinea. Such clubhouses or tabooed buildings for the use of the men are called *dubu* in the Central District and *marea* in the Mekeo District. In Kiwai a village may consist of a single house several hundreds of feet long ; one of these communal dwellings has been found to measure nearly seven hundred feet in length. The houses are built on posts at a height of from four to six feet above the ground. The separate rooms of the several families run along each side of the house, leaving in the middle a long broad passage, where feasting and dancing take place.<sup>1</sup>

Ceremonies  
at initiation  
performed  
to ensure  
good crops.

In the rites of initiation which are held at Iasa, in Kiwai, ceremonies are performed to ensure good crops of yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, and sago. In order to make the yams, sweet potatoes, and bananas grow well, bull-roarers (*madubus*) are swung and shewn to the novices in a tabooed enclosure out in the bush. In order to ensure a good crop of sago the novices are again taken into the bush, and a wooden image of a naked woman is shewn to them. This wooden image is called an *orara*. Smaller forms of the image, consisting of a thin flat board carved in the shape of a human being, are called *umuruburu*. The exhibition of

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 99 sq. ; *Reports of the Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 189, 190 sq. ;

Rev. J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai Island," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 118.

these images, supposed to increase the supply of sago, is called the *moguru* ceremony: it takes place during the rainy season.<sup>1</sup> While the ceremony is being performed, the men are decorated and wear head-dresses of cuscus skin. These head-dresses, as well as the wooden images and the bull-roarers, are sacred and may not be seen by women or uninitiated boys. When the ceremonies are to be performed, the mysterious implements and head-dresses are carried by night from the house to the bush, and at the conclusion of the rites they are returned to their hidden receptacles in the end-rooms of the long houses. In the interval between the *moguru* ceremony and the yam harvest the men make pandean pipes (*piago*) and every young man carries and plays one of them. Dr. Haddon was told that the wooden figures representing nude women "look after" sago in the same way as the bull-roarers "look after" yams, sweet potatoes, and bananas; and Mr. Sidney H. Ray learned that the effigies of women (*orara*) were exhibited to the initiates during the north-west monsoon, at the time when the sago is planted, but that the bull-roarers (*madubus*) are swung and shewn to the initiates at the time when the yams are planted in the south-east monsoon.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The effigies *Kurumi*, *Uruparu* and *Paromiti* are made of wood and used at the time of initiation (*Moguru*). To see them, large feasts are prepared and the season is made a very festive one. The lads are coloured with red and white, in the same way as the effigies, and have long pendants of fine wisps, made from the young frond of the sago palm, hanging from their ears. When the lads are shown these effigies, fire is showered over them by the old men, and they are warned against revealing anything said or done under terrible penalties of being murdered, poisoned, or seized with a fearful disease of which they can never get rid. The more secret and immoral practices I cannot here repeat" (Rev. J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai Island," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 119). In this ceremony the dressing of the lads in fronds of the sago-palm is probably

part of the magical rite for the fertilisation of the palm. "The *Moguru* time (the initiation ceremony) is a period of general license, and in some respects very much resembles that at Maipua and the neighbouring district" (Rev. J. Chalmers, *op. cit.* p. 124).

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 104-106; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 218 sq. According to the Rev. J. Chalmers, the bull-roarer is called *burumamaramu*, and the old men swing it and shew it to the young men when the yams are ready for digging in May and June. The word *buruma* means a variety of yam, and the *maramu* means "mother"; so that the name of the bull-roarer (*burumamaramu*) means "the mother of yams"—a highly significant title. See *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres*

Analogy of these ceremonies to the Australian *intichiuma*.

It does not appear that these ceremonies for the increase of sago, yams, and so forth are now performed especially, still less exclusively, by men who have these plants for their totems. Yet on the analogy of the *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australian tribes we may conjecture that this was formerly the case; in other words, that the members of each totem clan were bound to perform magical ceremonies for the multiplication of their totems, in order that the rest of the community might benefit thereby.

Exchange of sisters as wives.

In Kiwai it is customary to give a sister in exchange for a wife; or, to be more exact, when a man marries, he has to give to the brother, or nearest male relative, of the bride, his sister, foster-sister, or some other female relation to be the wife of his brother-in-law. If he has no female relation to give, he will borrow one for the purpose from a family in which there is a superfluity of daughters. "Persons of the same name may marry, and a father may take his step-daughter and his own daughter to wife; but brother and sister, and cousins do not marry."<sup>1</sup>

#### § 4. Totemism in the Toaripi or Motumotu Tribe of the Elema District

Traces of totemism among the Toaripi. Every man regards a particular edible animal as sacred because his ancestor did so.

The Elema District stretches along the coast of the Papuan Gulf in Southern New Guinea from Cape Possession on the east to the Alele River of the Purari delta on the west. In this district the Toaripi or Motumotu tribe now occupies two villages situated at the mouth of the Williams River.<sup>2</sup> The people are not hunters, but practise agriculture diligently and live chiefly on fish and

*Straits*, v. 219. Compare J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai Island," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 119.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 124; *Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. H. Holmes, "Notes on the Elema Tribes of the Papuan Gulf," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*,

xxxiii. (1903) pp. 125, 129, 132. The tribal name Motumotu as an alternative to Toaripi is mentioned by the Rev. J. Chalmers ("Toaripi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898) p. 326), who in an earlier work used the name Motumotu alone (*Pioneering in New Guinea* (London, 1887), pp. 162 sqq.). To judge from the map given by Mr. Chalmers in this last work the home of the Motumotu (Toaripi) is situated about 146° 8' of East Longitude.

vegetables.<sup>1</sup> It appears that the Elema tribes and the Toaripi in particular have a form of totemism. At least we gather this from the following account of their religious ideas, which we owe to a missionary settled among them, the Rev. J. H. Holmes.<sup>2</sup> In these tribes, Mr. Holmes tells us, a man regards as sacred what in the Toaripi language is called his *ualare*. This is always an edible animal, whether a mammal, bird, or fish, but never, so far as Mr. Holmes could ascertain, a tree, plant, or inanimate object. A man never kills or eats his own *ualare*, but apparently he may kill and eat those of other people without giving offence. For example, a man whose *ualare* is a pig will never eat pig's flesh, and a man whose *ualare* is a dog will never eat dog's flesh, but he may eat pig's flesh whenever he can get it. "The beak, feathers, tail, or any part of a *ualare* object that lend themselves to decorative or ornamental purposes are sacred to the individual from whose *ualare* they are taken; by him these parts may be plaited and made into ornaments for personal adornment, but under no pretence can a man of one *ualare* use for adornment the parts of the *ualare* of his neighbour without giving grave offence." "A native's explanation why a certain mammal, bird or fish is regarded [as] sacred by him as his particular *ualare* is, that this animal was regarded as sacred by his original ancestor. He assigns no reasons why it was selected by the ancestor to become such." The ancestor, it is said, never injured, killed, or ate the particular animal, "and because it was held sacred by him, his posterity for all time must also regard it as sacred." Yet Mr. Holmes adds that "it appears that a son can kill the *ualare* of his father, share the same with members of the family, and join with them in eating it and not give offence to the father, because he has not by any personal act violated his obligations to the object he individually considers sacred as his *ualare*." If this statement is correct, it is clear that a man cannot inherit

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Chalmers, "Toaripi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898) p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. [H.] Holmes, "Notes on the Religious Ideas of the Elema Tribe[s] of the Papuan Gulf," *Journal of the*

*Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 426 sq. In a later paper by the same writer (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 125, his name appears as J. H. Holmes, which I have assumed to be correct.

his *ualare* from his father. Yet Mr. Holmes's account seems to imply that the *ualare* is hereditary, since it owes its sanctity to a consecration by "the original ancestor." Apparently, therefore, people must inherit their *ualare* from their mothers, not from their fathers. When a man accidentally kills one of his *ualare* animals, he laments and fasts for a certain time, observing many mourning customs as if he had lost a relative. But if he kills one of his *ualare* animals wrongfully in a fit of anger, as soon as he recognises what he has done, he gives himself up to violent grief, abstains from all food, isolates himself from his relations, and dies of hunger. Mr. Holmes is not aware whether the respect for the *ualare* imposes any limitations on marriage, the distribution of property, and the order of succession to tribal privileges.<sup>1</sup>

### § 5. Totemism in the Central Division of British New Guinea

Traces of totemism in the Central Division of British New Guinea.

That portion of British New Guinea which is politically known as the Central Division extends on the southern coast from Cape Possession in the west to Mullins Harbour in the east, a distance of some two hundred and fifty miles. In the centre and west of this district information concerning certain of the tribes was obtained by Dr. C. G. Seligmann, and I am indebted to him for the following account of traces of a totemic system which he discovered among the natives.<sup>2</sup>

Roro-speaking and Mekeo-speaking tribes.

The tribes among whom the remains of a system probably totemic in origin are most obvious inhabit the delta of the St. Joseph River at the western extremity of the area under consideration. These are the Roro-speaking tribes inhabiting the strip of coast from Cape Possession to Kabadi and behind them the Mekeo-speaking tribes, the Biofa and the Vee.

Exogamous clans with badges and paternal

The Roro-speaking tribes are divided into a number of exogamous clans (*itsubu*) with paternal descent. There are usually a number of local groups (also called *itsubu*) in each

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. [H.] Holmes, "Notes on the Religious Ideas of the Elema Tribe[s] of the Papuan Gulf," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 426 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A brief account has been published by Dr. Seligmann ("Anthropogeographical Investigations in British New Guinea," *The Geographical Journal*, xxvii. (1906) pp. 232 sq.).

clan, but some weak clans apparently consist each of a single local group. Every clan has a number of badges called *oaoa* which, generally speaking, may only be worn or used by members of the clan; sometimes a particular badge may be used exclusively by the members of one local group, but in such a case the local group is usually a strong one, and its members regard themselves as practically forming a clan.

descent  
among the  
Roro tribes.

The names of the clans and local groups are generally geographical or sometimes derived from the name of an ancestor; but the most important class of badges (*oaoa*) bear names derived from birds or more rarely from mammals, and representations of these are carved on the posts supporting the clubhouses. These carvings, however, are sometimes so conventionalised as to represent only some prominent feature of an animal or bird, and then they may not be recognised till their origin is pointed out by natives. Examples of the association of clubhouses with animals or birds are common in the villages of the Waima, one of the Roro-speaking tribes among whom the clubhouses are sometimes called by the names of birds. Thus *Airava*, which means "the hornbill," is the name of the clubhouse of Abotaiara, a Waima village. The hornbill is also the chief badge of the Abotaiara people, and representations of the beak of the hornbill are carved as the capitals of the lateral supporting posts, or the base of the capital is carved so as to represent the markings found on the upper mandible of the bird. Again, although the upper mandible and even both mandibles are common ornaments, only the men of the Abotaiara settlement have the right to wear them with both mandibles pointing forwards in the middle line of the head. Further, the dried heads of two hornbills are nailed to the front main post of the clubhouse, while an effigy of a bird said to represent a hornbill hangs from the roof close to this post.

The badges  
are named  
from birds  
or mam-  
mals, and  
are carved  
on the club-  
houses.

The crocodile is the chief badge of the Roro-Aiera village, and it is carved in relief on the posts of the clubhouse, each carved effigy being six or eight feet long. A freshwater chelonian, the iguana (*Varanus sp.*), and a fish called *akumu*, which resembles a garfish, are also carved as badges on clubhouses; the *akumu* in particular is

Crocodile,  
turtle,  
iguana,  
and fish  
badges.

a common badge. But not all badges on clubhouses can be traced directly to living creatures. It is not quite clear whether a clan who have an edible bird such as the horn-bill for their badge would kill one of the species, but on the whole they seem to be ready not only to kill but to eat it. Certainly people who have the fish *akumu* for their badge (*oaoa*) catch and eat it freely.

The Mekeo tribes are divided into exogamous clans (*pangua*) which are grouped together in two classes (*ngopu*); each class has its own plant called *iaufangai*.

The Mekeo tribes are also divided into exogamous clans (*pangua*), local groups of which may be found in a number of villages; and the clans themselves commonly consist of a number of *ikupu* or family groups. Clans recognising their common descent form together a *ngopu* group. In each tribe there are two such original *ngopu* groups descended respectively from the two original stocks into which the tribe was at first divided. In the Biofa tribe the names of the two *ngopu* groups are Inawi and Inawae; in the Vee tribe they are Ngangai and Kuapengi. Typically the various clans of a particular *ngopu* group should have a common name for their clubhouse (*ufu*) and a common *iaufangai*. The *iaufangai* is an animal or plant, but generally a plant; for instance the bread-fruit tree is the *iaufangai* of a number of clans, all of which belong to one *ngopu* group. What the function of an *iaufangai* is, we do not know. People who have the bread-fruit tree for their *iaufangai* pay no reverence to the tree and freely eat the fruit. Nor is the tree cultivated in Mekeo or indeed, so far as appears, in any neighbouring district. It seems as if both the Mekeo tribes had quite forgotten the original significance of their *iaufangai*. But they say that it is very old, far older than the clan badges called *kangakanga*, which answer to the clan badges (*oaoa*) of the Roro people. The Mekeo clubhouses are smaller than those of the Roro-speaking tribes, and they bear no representation of animals or birds. Some of the Mekeo clan badges are parts of animals, such as the sword of the sword-fish and the crest of the cockatoo, or they may be imitations of characteristic features of animals or plants constructed out of feathers, the feathers of the bird imitated being sometimes used for this purpose. These badges are worn by members of the respective clans; the right

Badges of the Mekeo clans.

to wear them is as a rule jealously guarded. In the cases personally investigated by Dr. Seligmann men would not eat the bird or fish which served as their clan badge, though they would not hesitate to kill it and take its feathers or other characteristic part. There is, indeed, a feeling, at least in the case of the sword-fish, that when a sword-fish is killed by a man who has not got its sword for his clan badge (*kangakanga*), he should remove it and give it to a man whose clan badge it is. Married women eat the animals which serve as their husbands' clan badges (*kangakanga*); indeed they are often given the flesh of such of them as their husbands have killed and plucked. The animals which serve as clan badges are apparently not supposed to protect their respective clans, nor are magical ceremonies performed to increase their number. When the clan badge is a plant, strips of its dried leaves may be worn in the dance. One clan has taken as its badge a representation of an individual palm-tree, which has the rare peculiarity of forking at some height above the ground, each of the two limbs so formed bearing the usual tuft of leaves at its extremity. These two tufts of leaves are imitated by a feather head-dress which is the badge of the clan. Other clans imitate the outlines of particular mountains in feathers and employ these imitations as their badges.

Men will not eat the animal which is the badge of their clan.

Some of the clan badges are plants.

A careful enquiry into the history of the Mekeo people has led Dr. Seligmann to the conclusion that each of their two tribes, the Biofa and the Vee, was originally divided into two exogamous and intermarrying clans (*pangua*), each clan having a tree for its badge (*iauafangai*), the bread-fruit tree being the badge of the one clan and a palm-tree called *imöu* being the badge of the other. The reciprocal relation between each pair of intermarrying clans in a tribe was called *utuapie*. Thus, if Dr. Seligmann is right, the social organisation of these people, as of so many others, formerly consisted of a division of the whole community into two exogamous sections; it furnishes, in fact, another instance of what we have called the two-class system.

Each of the two Mekeo tribes seems to have been divided into two exogamous clans with trees for their badges.

The remaining tribes of the Central Division, so far as we know, are divided into exogamous clans with paternal descent.

Exogamous  
clans with  
badges and  
paternal  
descent in  
other tribes  
of the  
Central  
Division.

Clan badges are still found among them and are carved on the clubhouses ; but so little importance is attached to them that many men, for example in the strong Motu tribe, hardly know what their badge is and not uncommonly a wrong badge will be found carved on the rafters of a house. If the clan badges are relics of totemism, as seems likely enough, it is clear that in these tribes totemism has fallen into decay, and that what had once been sacred emblems are now but little removed from meaningless ornaments.

### § 6. *Totemism in South-Eastern New Guinea*

Totemism  
in South-  
Eastern  
New  
Guinea.

Totemism appears to be found all over the south-eastern portion of New Guinea from Table Bay on the south coast eastwards ; moreover, it seems to extend through the chain of islands which stretches eastward from the south-eastern end of New Guinea as far as the Louisiade Archipelago. On this subject the Governor of New Guinea, Sir William Macgregor, wrote as follows in his annual report for 1895-6 : "One of the most interesting subjects in ethnology to which attention has been given during the year is that of Totemism. That this exists in a modified form from the Louisiades to Orangerie Bay seems clear. It also extends up the north-east coast ; but it appears to have been quite unknown, in a recognisable form, west of Cloudy Bay. It is a matter that requires much further and very patient investigation, and its elucidation proceeds but slowly. Birds are the most common emblems of the totem tribes, but animals, fishes, and even insects are used. Pictorial representation of the totem has not been observed anywhere. The general belief seems to be that the totem contains the spirit of a common ancestor. The native would not kill his totem animal, and was prepared to go to war with any person or tribe that did so. Its principal effect is in regard to sexual relations. No man can marry a woman having the same totem as himself, even if their tribes live so widely apart as to be complete strangers to each other. All sexual commerce between men and women of the same totem is completely prohibited. Any violation of this great principle was nearly sure to

Evidence  
of Sir  
William  
Macgregor.

Birds  
the most  
common  
totems.

Exogamy  
and  
maternal  
descent of  
the totem.

lead to serious disturbance, unless it were heavily paid for. To have a common totem does not interfere with or prevent fighting between individuals or tribes. The children take the totem of the mother. People belonging to tribes west of Orangerie Bay, after they are brought into contact with totem tribes, readily adopt the idea that it is the correct thing to have a totem, and they are always prepared to mislead the inexperienced inquirer. On the other hand its influence is waning already in the east in at least some respects. Serious men may even now be seen eating their sacred totem with evident relish, but its influence in match-making will probably not become wholly extinct for several generations to come.”<sup>1</sup>

Two years later, again speaking of totemism in New Guinea, Sir William Macgregor reported as follows: “All over the east end of the Possession this strange institution has still very considerable power. It comes west as far as Mairu or Table Bay, where it disappears. It certainly extends a considerable way up the north-east coast. Up to the present time no trace of it has been discovered in the Mambare district, though many inquiries have been made on the subject. It seems probable it exists there, however, for many natives have cicatricial markings on the shoulders and back that would lead one to suppose they had something to do with totemism. . . .

“In the east the child inherits the totem of the mother in most places, if not everywhere; in the west the practice is more to inherit the totem from the father. This is quite in harmony with the higher position occupied by women in the east as compared with the west. Totemism in the west seems to be fast becoming extinct. The younger generation do not appear to know very much about it—generally nothing. It will long retain some power in the east end.”<sup>2</sup>

Fuller information as to totemism at Wagawaga, a village situated on Milne Bay at the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea, was obtained by Dr. C. G. Seligmann, who

Paternal descent of the totem in the west.

Totemism at Wagawaga and Tubetube.

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on British New Guinea for 1895-6* (London, 1897), pp. 40 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report on British New Guinea for 1897-8* (London, 1899), p. 75.

also investigated the totemic system in Tubetube (Slade Island), a small island of the Engineer Group to the east of New Guinea. Totemism in Tubetube had already been observed and recorded by the Rev. J. T. Field. For many particulars as to totemism both at Wagawaga and Tubetube I have to thank the courtesy of Dr. C. G. Seligmann.<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the natives of Tubetube, Dr. Seligmann says: "The social system of these folk is substantially that which later we found to extend throughout a wide area in the eastern and south-eastern divisions of British New Guinea. Essentially this is a condition in which a community consists of a number of totemistic clans with descent of the totems in the female line. Each clan has at least three totems—a bird, a fish, a snake, and often a fourth, a plant. Each clan in a given locality consists of a number of hamlets, each consisting of say, from three to five houses, inhabited by a single family group. A number of such hamlets, scattered over a considerable area and inhabited by members of different clans, constitute a village."<sup>2</sup>

Clans with three or four totems (bird, fish, snake, and often plant) and descent in the female line.

At Wagawaga there are three exogamous clans, each with a bird, fish, snake and plant totem.

At Wagawaga on Milne Bay there are three exogamous totem clans named respectively the Garuboi, the Modewa, and the Hurana. These have each at least one bird totem associated with a fish, snake, and plant totem. All these totems are called *pianai*. Such groups of totems possessed each by a single clan are called by Dr. Seligmann linked totems. Among the bird totems are the crow, the reef heron, the white cockatoo, a species of dove, and a species of hawk. Among the fish totems is the skate. Both the clans and the totems are inherited by children from their mothers. Yet Dr. Seligmann found that at Wagawaga people paid more respect to their fathers' totems than to their own. It was said that a man might kill and even eat his own totem bird; he would certainly catch and eat his own totem fish; and it was asserted that he would not hesitate to kill his own totem snake if it lay across his track, or to destroy his own

<sup>1</sup> Much, though not all, of the following information as to totemism at Wagawaga was afterwards published by Dr. Seligmann. See C. G. Seligmann, "Linked Totems in British New

Guinea," *Man*, ix. (1909) pp. 4-9.

<sup>2</sup> C. G. Seligmann, "Anthropogeographical Investigations in New Guinea," *The Geographical Journal*, xxvii. (1906) pp. 237 sq.

totem plant whenever it was convenient to do so. But on the contrary it was clear that no Wagawaga man would eat or destroy his father's totem bird or birds, or would even approach a fire at which they were cooking. If he saw his father's totem bird being killed, he might go away for a short time or remonstrate with the killer, but he would not fight him, nor would he shew any regard for the dead bird, except that he would not touch it. If in fishing it happened that the totem fish of a man's father was caught, the man would ask one of his fellows to remove the fish from the net, but he would not suggest that it should be put back in the water, though he would not himself touch or eat it. Further, a man feared his father's totem snake; he would certainly not kill it and would seek to avoid the reptile. The relation of a man to his father's totem plant was not so clear, but it seemed that he would generally take care not to injure it. In particular a number of Modewa men, whose fathers were Garuboi, agreed that they would not injure their father's totem plant *okioki* when they met with it in the bush, but if it interfered with their gardens they would destroy it. No man would wear the feathers of his father's totem bird, though he would not hesitate to wear the feathers of his own totem bird or birds; indeed their plumage was his usual and most appropriate decoration, though he would also wear the feathers of other birds, such as the cockatoo or the much rarer white reef-heron.

In regard to marriage, a man would not marry a woman who had the same totems as his father; in the old days he would not even sleep with one or sit too near her when he visited the girls' house (*potuma*); but things have changed nowadays and the old clan rules are no longer observed by lovers before marriage. Formerly it seems that though no man would marry a girl of his own totem, some of the bolder spirits did not shrink from looser relations with these girls; and though such conduct was condemned, the offence was yet deemed too trivial to be punished or to bring any evil consequences on the lovers or their clansfolk. A man would eat his wife's totem fish just as he would eat his own, and she in like manner would eat hers and his.

Men pay more respect to their father's totemic animal than to their own.

Exogamy of the totem clans at Wagawaga.

The three totem clans at Wagawaga were arranged in two groups thus:—

Clans.	Clan-groups.
Garuboi . . . . .	Garuboi.
Modewa } . . . . .	Modewa.
Hurana }	

The clans arranged in two groups, classes, or phratries.

Terms of address.

These clan-groups appear to have been originally exogamous classes or phratries; for a man might not marry a woman of his own clan-group. But this rule is now often broken, whereas the prohibition to marry a woman of the same totem clan is still generally observed. Here therefore exogamy of the class has proved less durable than exogamy of the totem. Further, the dual grouping of the clans formerly determined who should take part in the cannibal feast held to avenge the death of a fellow-villager, who had been killed by a hostile community. Moreover, the distribution of the clans into these two groups or classes regulated the terms of address which the people employed in speaking to each other; for a person used one set of terms in addressing members of his own group or class and a different set of terms in addressing members of the other group or class. Thus a man would address an old man of his own class (which was that of his mother, descent being in the maternal line) as "maternal uncle" (*auïïe*), but he would address a man of his father's generation in the other class as "paternal uncle" (*mahïau*); he would address an old woman of his own class as "mother" (*hïnau*), but he would address an old woman of the other class as "paternal aunt" (*eau*); he would address a man or woman of his own status in his own class as "brother" (*warihiu*) or "sister" (*nowe*), but he would address a person of his own status in the other class as "cousin" (*oinau*). Thus these terms of address, like the classificatory terms of relationship, are based on the distribution of the community into two exogamous classes.

In Tubetube there are six exogamous clans with maternal descent;

Like the people of Wagawaga in New Guinea, the natives of Tubetube, a small island of the Engineer Group to the east of New Guinea, are divided into exogamous totem clans with maternal descent, and just as at Wagawaga every person has regularly three associated or linked totems, a bird, a fish, and

a snake. The clans are six in number and are distributed into fourteen villages, each village with its own chief (*taubara*), while one of these chiefs is recognised as paramount over the whole island. Men and women of the same clan or totem, even though they live in different and distant villages, may neither marry nor have sexual intercourse with each other; any such union would be regarded as incestuous and would bring on the guilty persons the openly expressed contempt of the whole community. All the children belong to their mother's clan and inherit her totems. Travellers and visitors from a distance are assured of a welcome and brotherly treatment from the members of the same totem clan in the villages to which they come. Almost the first question addressed to a stranger is, "What is the name of your bird?" or "What is the name of your fish?" A man who is in need or hungry may help himself, without asking leave, to any food that may be in the village or house of people of his own totem clan, and no objection will be made by the owners. All members of a totem clan can be trusted to help each other in war and other emergencies, and thus totemism plays an important part in the social life of the people. When a man dies, his grave is dug and his body buried, not by the people of his own village, but by members of his totem clan in another village, who come or are fetched from a distance to perform the last duties of respect to their fellow-clansman. No member of a clan may eat his totem nor may others kill it without incurring the resentment of the clan whose totem animal has been slain.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the account of totemism in Tubetube which we owe in the main to the Rev. J. T. Field. Fuller information in some respects was obtained by Dr. C. G. Seligmann, and I am indebted to him for the following particulars.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. T. Field (of the Wesleyan Mission), "Tubetube," in Appendix CC to *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 134; *id.*, "Exogamy at Tubetube, British New Guinea," *Report of the Eighth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Melbourne, Victoria, 1900* (Melbourne, 1901), p. 301. The former of Mr. Field's papers is quoted in *Reports of*

*the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 192 sq. The statement that each clan has at least three totems, a bird, a fish, and a snake, is Dr. Seligmann's ("Anthropogeographical Investigations in British New Guinea," *The Geographical Journal*, xxvii. (1906) p. 237). Mr. Field mentions only bird and fish totems.

each clan has three totems, a bird, a fish, and a snake.

Dr. Seligmann's information.

While at Tubetube, as at Wagawaga, every person has three clan totems, a bird, a fish, and a snake, they have not as a rule a plant totem in addition; indeed only one or two plant totems seem to have been found in Tubetube. In the island of Rogea, with the inhabitants of which the people of Tubetube intermarried, the following birds were found to be totems: a species of pigeon, the fish-hawk, the scarlet lory, the reef heron, the crow, the cockatoo, the *Paradisaea raggiona*, the hornbill, the *kiki* (a wader?), and the flying fox. The totems associated with the hornbill were a shark, a constrictor snake, and a tree called *kaiyabu*. "Tubetube differed from Wagawaga in one important matter of totemic practice, namely the greater respect in which a man held his own bird totem. A Tubetube man would not eat his totem bird, nor would he touch it when dead, in fact he seemed to treat his totem bird with the same outward measure of respect as he should show towards his father's, except that he wore its feathers. At the present day Tubetube men do not hesitate to eat their totem fish, but it was not clear whether this was a modern innovation or not; the balance of opinion seemed to be that it had always been customary to do so." However, a few men from the islands of Basilaki and Rogea, between Tubetube and the mainland, all of them youngish, agreed in asserting that they would not eat their own or their father's totems, whether birds or fish. Men customarily wore the feathers of their own totem birds, though not of the birds which were their fathers' totems. No totem shrines were found in Tubetube, and no man was supposed to have any particular influence over the birds or other animals which were his totems, nor were any ceremonies performed for the multiplication of the totems. Representations of totem birds, snakes, and fishes are commonly carved on houses, canoes, spatulas, floats, in fact on all the wooden utensils and ornaments of the natives of South-Eastern New Guinea and the neighbouring archipelagoes. But these carvings may be executed by any one who possesses the requisite skill; the carver is not limited in the choice of his designs either to his own totems or to the totems of his employer.

Bird  
totems in  
the island  
of Rogea.

Respect  
shewn for  
totems.

Carved  
representa-  
tions of  
totems.

Although totemic badges were not painted on the bodies of warriors, and though no attempt was made to avoid fighting with men of the same totem clan, yet a man who had killed a member of his own clan in the heat of battle would be sorry for it and would not help to carry the body to the canoe in order that it might be eaten. But it was not clear whether in the old times a man would or would not eat a man of his own totem from another and hostile community. Marriage never took place within the same totem clan, but illicit connections between young people of the same totem before marriage were not unknown. Such intrigues were viewed as immoral, but it does not seem that any particular bad luck was supposed to attend the act or that steps were taken to punish either of the offenders. After marriage a wife commonly abstained from eating her husband's totem, and he from eating hers; indeed this rule of abstinence was extended by the wife to the totem of her husband's father and by the husband to the totem of his wife's father. "It was pointed out that this was a matter of mutual courtesy and convenience, since a husband or wife would tend to feel uncomfortable and even to quarrel with a partner who had recently killed and eaten his or her partner's own or father's totem." Dr. Seligmann could not find in Tubetube any trace of a grouping of the clans in two classes or phratries, such as still exists at Wagawaga. He surmises that it formerly existed but has disappeared through the greater degeneracy of the native customs in the island.

Behaviour towards men and women of the same totem.

Exogamy.

Respect shown by husbands and wives for each other's totems.

In Tubetube totemism and exogamy are as usual found to coexist with the classificatory system of relationship. Thus, for example, a man gives the same name *tama* to his father and to his father's brothers; he gives the same name *sina* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; and he gives the same name *natu* to his own sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of his brothers. He calls each of the sons and daughters of his brothers his child (*natuna*), and each of them calls him "my father" (*tamagu*). In like manner a woman calls her sister's children her own children (*natu*) and they call her their mother (*sina*). But on the other hand a man does not speak of his sister's

Classificatory system of relationship in Tubetube.

children as his own children, nor do they call him their father. They are *game* (nephews and nieces), not *natu* (children), to him; and he is *bara* (maternal uncle), not *tama* (father), to them. The children of two brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and so are the children of two sisters. The same terms are used to express the relationship between the children of two brothers or the children of two sisters, whom we should call first cousins, as are used to express the relationship between full brothers and sisters. Such cousins, the children of two brothers or of two sisters, are actually regarded as brothers and sisters and in all things live and act accordingly. A woman is *duna* of her own brother, and *kanakava* of her own sister; she is also *duna* of the male child and *kanakava* of the female child of her mother's sister; but on the other hand she is *nubaina* of a child, whether male or female, of her mother's brother. Similarly a man is *duna* of his own sister and *kanakava* of his own brother; he is also *duna* of the female child and *kanakava* of the male child of his father's brother; but on the other hand he is *nubaina* of the child, whether male or female, of his father's sister. Under this system, as usually happens, a man may give the name of "father" (*tama*) to a man who is younger than himself and the name of "mother" (*sina*) to a woman who is younger than himself.<sup>1</sup> To us this sounds absurd only because we associate the ideas of procreation with the ideas of fatherhood and motherhood; but the imaginary absurdity disappears when we employ the terms father and mother in their classificatory sense to describe the social relation in which certain groups of persons stand to each other without in the least implying the physical act of procreation.

Peculiar features of totemism at Wagawaga and Tubetube.

The totemic systems of Wagawaga and Tubetube, which we have now reviewed, present some peculiar features. Such is the possession of three or four associated or linked totems by each clan, these totems being regularly a bird, a fish, a

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. T. Field, "Exogamy at Tubetube, British New Guinea," *Report of the Eighth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Ad-*

*vancement of Science, held at Melbourne, Victoria, 1900* (Melbourne, 1901), pp. 301-303.

snake, and (where a fourth totem is added) a plant. Again, the greater respect which a man, at least at Wagawaga, pays to his father's totem than to his own is remarkable. It may perhaps mark a transition from maternal to paternal descent of the totem; for if the reverence for his own totem, inherited from his mother, were to continue to wane, while the reverence for his father's totem were to continue to wax, the result might be that at last the maternal totem would be ousted entirely by the paternal totem, and we should have descent both of the totem and of the clan transferred from the female to the male line. Other interesting features of the totemism of Tubetube are the respect which husbands and wives shew for each other's totems and the reason which they assign for so doing. We have seen that in the Mawatta tribe of New Guinea married people are equally complaisant in the matter of their respective totems.<sup>1</sup> This rule of mutual respect, as I shall point out later on, may help to explain the classic tale of Cupid and Psyche.

Lastly, the Kworafi, a tribe near Cape Nelson, on the north-east coast of British New Guinea, have a system of totemism. Every person has as a rule a totemic animal, or a principal totemic animal; usually the creature is a bird. At marriage the wife takes the totemic animal of her husband, but the husband also respects his wife's totem. Children take the totem animal of their father as their principal totem. Possession of the same totem is not a bar to marriage. In the same village there are people of different totems, but persons of the same totem live together in the same row of houses and under the same roof.<sup>2</sup>

Totemism among the Kworafi.

### § 7. Totemism in Dutch and German New Guinea

The evidence adduced in the preceding section proves that totemism exists or has existed at intervals all along the southern coast of the island within the British dominions. But when we pass the British boundaries and enter the territories of Holland and Germany, the institution is found totally to disappear, or at most to leave only scanty and

Indications of totemism in German and Dutch New Guinea.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> R. Pösch, "Reisen in Neu-Guinea in den Jahren 1904-1906," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxix. (1907) p. 389.

dubious traces of itself. Whether totemism never existed there, or has vanished almost completely, or flourishes without attracting the notice of Dutch and German officials, travellers, and missionaries, is a question on which the future may throw light. That the general silence on this subject of the writers who have described Dutch and German New Guinea is to be ascribed rather to the inattention of observers than to the absence of the institution itself is suggested by the few hints or indications of totemism which loom dimly from their writings like lamps seen through a fog.

Amongst the Yabim at Simbang people think that they are akin to certain animals, which accordingly they spare.

Thus a German missionary, Mr. Konrad Vetter, reports as follows of the Yabim, a tribe who live near Simbang on the east coast of German New Guinea, about latitude  $6^{\circ} 50'$  South :—

“*Relations of families to particular animals: totemism.*— Different families assert that they once had an animal among their kinsfolk, because their ancestress gave birth to a crocodile or a pig in addition to ordinary human beings. Such monstrous occurrences are very frequent in their stories, in which all sorts of transformations are reported. In one case a man traces his descent directly from a pig and for that reason will not eat pork. Persons who are thus related on the mother's side believe that after death they will be changed into animals of the particular species. The crocodile is spared by his kinsfolk and they expect to be treated with equal consideration by him. If the beast is killed and eaten by other people, his kinsfolk are in duty bound to prepare a funeral feast, to strike up a lament, and perhaps also to perform a sham-fight. The doers of the deed give a present by way of expiation. Others allege that they will be changed into fabulous cave-pigs, which, though they have no existence, are very much feared by the natives. The inhabitants of one village are turned into wallabies as a punishment, because one of them knocked off the end of the canoe of the ghostly ferrymen.”<sup>1</sup> This tribe appears, as we might have anticipated, to have the

<sup>1</sup> K. Vetter, “Über papuanische Rechtsverhältnisse,” *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bis-*

*marck-Archipel*, 1897 (Berlin), pp. 87 sq. Compare *id.*, *Komm herüber und hilf uns!* Drittes Heft (Barmen, 1898),

classificatory system of relationship along with totemism. For example, a man gives the name of "father" to his father's brothers and the name of "mother" to his mother's sisters, but he gives different names, equivalent to our "uncle" and "aunt," to his mother's brothers and to his father's sisters. The children of two brothers or again of two sisters are reckoned brothers and sisters; and they are called elder or younger brother and sister, not with reference to their real ages, but according as their parents are elder or younger, so that a man may bestow the title of "younger brother" on a cousin who is actually older than himself. On the other hand the children of a brother on the one side and of a sister on the other side are not brothers and sisters, they are cousins. Married people may not touch their parents-in-law nor even mention their names.<sup>1</sup> All males are circumcised at a secret ceremony at which bull-roarers are swung and flutes played. The shrill or booming notes of these instruments are believed by the women to be the voice of the spirits which look after the lads at this time. A bull-roarer is kept in the young men's house (*lum*) of every village, and no woman or un-circumcised boy may see it under pain of death.<sup>2</sup> The flutes used at these rites are of two patterns, one called the male and the other the female; the two are married together. No woman may see these sacred flutes; it is supposed that any woman who saw them would die.<sup>3</sup> At circumcision the lads are supposed to be swallowed by a spirit, who vomits them up out of his stomach on receipt of a number of pigs, which are killed and eaten on these

Classifica-  
tory terms  
of relation-  
ship.

Practice  
of circum-  
cision ;  
bull-roarers  
and flutes.

p. 22. From the latter account we learn that the Crocodile family and the Pig family are both resident at Simbang. Mr. Vetter's information is repeated by B. Hagen, *Unter den Papua's* (Wiesbaden, 1899), p. 225, and by M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea* (Berlin, preface dated 1899), p. 183.

<sup>1</sup> K. Vetter, "Über papuanische Rechtsverhältnisse," *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 1897, pp. 88, 92. Compare M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea* (Berlin, n.d.), p. 166, who refers to Mr. Vetter as his authority.

<sup>2</sup> K. Vetter, *op. cit.* pp. 92 sq. ;

*id.*, *Komm herüber und hilf uns!* Zweites Heft (Barmen, 1898), p. 18 ; J. [? K.] Vetter, "Aus der Märchenwelt der Papuas in Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land," *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, xi. (1892) p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> O. Schellong, "Das Barlum-fest der Gegend Finsch-hafens," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii. (1889) p. 156. A long description of the circumcision rites is given by Mr. Schellong (*op. cit.* pp. 145-162). The village of Simbang appears to be situated on Finsch Harbour, so that the accounts of Messrs. Vetter and Schellong refer to the same people.

Stories told to promote the growth of the crops.

occasions.<sup>1</sup> The people live by the fruits of the earth and seek to promote their growth by the telling of popular tales, which are apparently supposed to act as spells or enchantments. When the yams have been gathered and stored in the houses, tales of wonder and adventure are told by the glimmering light of the fire to an attentive audience, and at the end a wish is expressed that the yams may bear fruit abundantly, that the taro may be very big, the sugar-cane very thick, and the bananas very long.<sup>2</sup> In their intention the stories thus told resemble the spells which in Central Australia the men of totem clans croon for the increase of their totems.

Traces of totemism at Doreh.

Far away from Simbang, nearly at the other end of New Guinea, another trace of totemism may perhaps be detected within Dutch territory at Doreh, on the north-west coast of the Great Geelvink Bay. Here there is a long communal house which has been described as "a sort of temple or building dedicated to the memory and erected for the worship of the ancestors of the people who are now settled at Doreh and Mansinama." The edifice is raised above the ground on posts which are carved in the likeness of men and women, crocodiles, a fish, and a serpent. These likenesses of men and women are said to represent the ancestors, and the effigies of crocodiles and so forth are explained by a legend that some of their forefathers were descended from these animals.<sup>3</sup> The story may possibly be a relic of totemism, since such tales of the descent of men from animals are commonly told to explain the origin of totem clans.<sup>4</sup> In Indonesia many stories are recounted of women who have given birth to animals, and in particular of women who have brought forth twins, one of the twins being a beast and the other a human being. Thus at Balen in New Guinea

<sup>1</sup> K. Vetter, "Über papuanische Rechtsverhältnisse," *Nachrichten über Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 1897, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> K. Vetter, in *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, xii. (1893) p. 95; *id.*, *Komm herüber und hilf uns!* Zweites Heft (Barmen, 1898), p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Nieuw Guinea ethnographisch en*

*natuurkundig onderzocht en beschreven* (Amsterdam, 1862), pp. 151-155 (*Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, New Series, vol. v.). The description of the edifice is repeated by H. von Rosenberg, *Der malayische Archipel* (Leipsic, 1878), pp. 451 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 5 sqq.

a native told a missionary that an ancestress of his had given birth to an iguana and a human child at the same time, for which reason he respected iguanas. The crested pigeon (*kroonduif* in Dutch) and the black cockatoo also belonged to his family, but he paid less respect to them than to iguanas, for he would not hesitate to shoot these birds whenever he got the chance, though he would not eat or even touch their dead bodies.<sup>1</sup> Again, another writer in speaking of the north-west coast of Geelvink Bay informs us that, according to the natives, their souls sometimes pass at death into cassowaries, fish, or pigs, and that in such cases the relatives of the dead will not partake of these animals.<sup>2</sup> Beliefs and taboos of this sort savour of totemism. Lastly, the Tugeri or Kaya-Kaya, a notorious tribe of head-hunters at Merauke in the south-east corner of Dutch New Guinea, close to the British boundary, are reported to have "a complicated totemic system, comprised of plants and animals, with head groups and subdivisions. The totem is hereditarily transmitted through the father. They have mask-dances, initiation ceremonies, with a ceremony of regeneration, but no circumcision. They have bull-roarers."<sup>3</sup>

Totemism among the Tugeri or Kaya-Kaya.

Both sexes among the Kaya-Kaya are divided into classes according to their ages; there are seven such classes or age-grades for the males and six for the females. Each class or age-grade has its distinctive badges and mode of wearing the hair. Amongst the males the first age-grade (*patur*) comprises all boys up to puberty. These live with their parents in the village and are free to go anywhere. But as soon as the signs of puberty appear on their persons, they pass into the second age-grade (*aroi-patur*) and are banished from the village, which they are forbidden to enter unless they fall ill. In that case they are carried to their father's house in the village, but must shun the presence of women and girls. Otherwise

The Kaya-Kaya are divided into age-grades, each with its distinctive badges and mode of wearing the hair. Seven age-grades of the men.

<sup>1</sup> Alb. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den indischen Archipel* (The Hague, 1906), p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> F. S. A. de Clercq, "De West- en Noordkust van nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea," *Tijdschrift van het kon.*

*nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, x. (1893) p. 635.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Rudolf Pöch, "Travels in German, British, and Dutch New Guinea," *The Geographical Journal*, xxx. (1907) pp. 614, 616.

they live with the young men in the bachelors' hall or men's house, called *gotad*, which is built by itself behind the village in the forest or under the shadow of the coconut palms. There may be more than one such bachelors' hall. Women may never enter one of these buildings when there are people in it, but the men often gather there. When the lad is fully developed, he passes into the third age-grade (*wokravid* or *bokravid*). He still may not enter the village, and the presence of women and girls is absolutely forbidden to him. If he sees one of them afar off on the path, he must hide himself or go round about to avoid her. The fourth age-grade (*ewati*), which may last three or four years, is the heyday of life for a Kaya-Kaya man. He is now in the prime of youth and vigour, and decked out in all his dandified finery he preens and plumes himself like a cock strutting before his dames. He knows that the world admires him, and that the girls in particular peep after him with languishing eyes. Now is the time for him to set people talking of him and telling how brave he is in the chase after the wild boar or the kangaroo, what a Turk he proves himself on the war-path when the men go out to snip off human heads. It is true that he must still avoid women, but when he knows that they are passing near the bachelors' hall he will make a loud noise, so that they may say, "That's he! What a young buck it is!" Now too is the time for him to choose a wife, if one has not been already reserved for him. He makes presents to the girl of his choice, and if she accepts them, the two are regarded as betrothed. The young man thus enters the fifth age-grade (*miakim*), which is that of the betrothed men. He is now free to return to the village and to live there, and he ceases to avoid women, though good manners require him to appear somewhat shy and bashful in their presence. When he marries he passes into the sixth age-grade (*amnangib*), which is that of the married men. He is now master of himself and of his wife; he is accountable to no man for his actions, for there are no chiefs and no judges. He lives a free man among his peers. When he grows old he passes into the seventh and last age-grade (*mes-miakim*),

The flower  
of his  
youth.

Marriage.

Old age.

which is that of the old men. He now receives the title of *somb-anem*, which may be translated "signior" or "great man," and his opinion carries weight in council. Every man, if he lives to old age, must pass through all of these age-grades; he may not omit any of them. The transition from one age-grade to another is always an occasion of feasting and dancing.

The six age-grades of the women correspond to the seven of the men, except that there is none among them which answers to the second age-grade of the men. Among the women the first two age-grades (called *kivazum* and *wahuku* respectively) comprise all girls up to the age of puberty. The third age-grade (*kivazum-iwag*) answers to the *ewati* of the men. It is the time when a girl blossoms out in the pride of youthful beauty, the admired of all admirers, the cynosure of neighbouring eyes. In the fourth age-grade (*iwag*) she is generally betrothed, and may either stay in the village or work in the plantations with the other women. But she is spared the heavy burdens and the hard toil; for care is taken to preserve the fresh bloom and grace of her youth till marriage. Hence the girls for the most part are plump and buxom. Strangers may not tamper with them in the presence of the men. More than one Chinaman and Malay has paid with his head for making too free with Kaya-Kaya maidens. The fifth age-grade (*saf*) is that of the married women. A wife is the slave of her husband. It is she who bends under the heavy load, while he saunters lightly behind her with his bow and arrows and perhaps a basket. However, he relieves her of the hardest field labour, hoeing the ground himself while she weeds it; and husband and wife may be seen side by side mending the ditches and cutting sago-palms and banana-trees. It is the wife's business to pound the sago and bake it into cakes; and she cooks the venison. The sixth age-grade (*mes-iwag*) is that of the old women. If she is hale and hearty, an old woman will still go out to the plantations to help her husband or her gossips; while the feeble old crones potter about in the village, weaving mats, mending nets, or making cradles to rock their infant grandchildren, who in due time will grow up to tread the same long weary

Six age-grades of the women.

Youth and beauty.

Marriage and toil.

Declining years.

way till death calls them too to rest from their labours.<sup>1</sup> So runs the common round of life for Kaya-Kaya men and women under the burning suns and in the verdurous forests of their native land.

Such are the scanty indications of totemism and kindred institutions which I have been able to glean in German and Dutch New Guinea. It is to be hoped that future research in these vast territories will supplement our meagre information on the subject.

<sup>1</sup> P. H. Nollen, "Les Différentes Classes d'âge dans la société kaikaia, Merauke, Nouvelle Guinée Néerlandaise," *Anthropos*, iv. (1909) pp. 553-573. The greater part (pp.

558-573) of this article is devoted to a description of the various badges and modes of wearing the hair which are distinctive of the different age-grades.

## CHAPTER VII

### TOTEMISM IN MELANESIA

#### § 1. *Melanesia and the Melanesians*

TO the north-east, east, and south-east of New Guinea stretches a long chain of islands from the Admiralty Islands on the north-west to New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands on the south-east. Between the extremities of the chain lie the islands of New Ireland (New Mecklenburg), New Britain (New Pomerania), the Solomon Islands, the Santa Cruz group, the Banks' Islands, and the New Hebrides, while to the east of the New Hebrides is situated the group of the Fiji Islands. The whole of this archipelago, or rather chain of archipelagoes, is known as Melanesia or the Black Islands on account of the swarthy complexion of the natives. It lies altogether within the southern tropics. The islands are for the most part volcanic and very mountainous, with a fertile soil, fine forests, and luxuriant tropical vegetation. Many of the volcanoes are active, vomiting fire and smoke or rolling down tides of glowing lava. Some of the mountains are lofty. The Solomon Islands, for example, contain peaks of eight and ten thousand feet in height. Star Island, or Meralava, in the Banks' Islands, is a massive cone towering so abruptly from the sea to a height of three thousand feet that strangers sailing past marvel that inhabitants should be found to cling to its steep shelving sides. The enormous crater of Ambrym in the New Hebrides, at the height of two thousand five hundred feet, is a centre of vast rugged fields of lava, hitherto unapproachable, while round the main mass of the volcano rise extinct cones covered with forests to their summits and forming a

The  
Melanesian  
Islands.

The  
Melanesian  
people,  
their  
language  
and  
culture.

lovely landscape. In other of the islands also, particularly in Fiji and Esperitu Santo, one of the New Hebrides, the scenery is very beautiful, a land of high mountains, fair valleys, deep woods, and murmuring streams, arched by the dreamy blue of the tropical sky.<sup>1</sup> In themselves as in their geographical situation the Melanesians appear to be intermediate between the Papuans of New Guinea on the one side and the Polynesians on the other. For while physically the dark-skinned, woolly-haired Melanesians resemble the dark-skinned, woolly-haired Papuans,<sup>2</sup> the Melanesian language is distinct from the Papuan, but akin to the Polynesian, exhibiting the common speech in an older and fuller form.<sup>3</sup> Socially and intellectually the Melanesians stand far above the level of the Australian aborigines; for they till the soil, lead a settled life, build regular houses, use bows and arrows, construct outrigger canoes, and even employ various native mediums of exchange, of which the well-known shell-money is the most remarkable.<sup>4</sup>

The  
Melanesian  
Islands fall  
into four  
groups, the  
Northern,  
Central,  
Southern,  
and  
Eastern.

For our purpose the vast number of islands which compose Melanesia may be conveniently distinguished into four great groups or archipelagoes, which I shall call Northern, Central, Southern, and Eastern Melanesia respectively. Northern Melanesia consists of what is now named the Bismarck Archipelago, embracing the large islands of New Britain and New Ireland, together with the lesser islands of New Hanover, St. Mathias, the Admiralty

<sup>1</sup> F. H. H. Guillelard, *Australasia, II. Malaysia and the Pacific Archipelagoes* (London, 1894), pp. 430, 431, 432, 435, 442, 444, 448, 450, 451, 452, 456, 458, 467 sq.; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 12 sqq.; H. B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands: their Geology, General Features*, etc. (London, 1887), pp. 1 sqq. Some glowing descriptions of Fijian scenery are given by Miss Beatrice Grimshaw, *From Fiji to the Cannibal Islands* (London, 1907), pp. 43 sq., 54 sq., 76-78, 106, 109 sq. New Caledonia, the most southerly island of Melanesia, while very mountainous, differs somewhat from the other islands in its comparatively cool climate and scanty vegetation (F. H.

H. Guillelard, *op. cit.* p. 458).

<sup>2</sup> J. Deniker, *The Races of Man* (London, 1900), pp. 45, 493; T. H. Huxley, *Man's Place in Nature and other Anthropological Essays* (London, 1906), pp. 224 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Sidney H. Ray, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. iii. *Linguistics* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 528; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesian Languages* (Oxford, 1885), pp. 10 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 498 sq. As to the mediums of exchange, particularly the shell-money, see R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 323 sqq.; R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 82 sqq.

Islands, and the Duke of York Islands (New Lauenburg), these last being a small group between New Britain and New Ireland. Central Melanesia is composed of the Solomon Islands. Southern Melanesia comprises the Santa Cruz group, Torres Islands, the Banks' Islands, the New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia. Lastly, Eastern Melanesia consists of the Fijian archipelago.

### § 2. *Exogamous Classes in Melanesia*

Roughly speaking, over the whole of the Melanesian Islands either exogamy or totemism or at least traces of them have been found either separately or in conjunction. The most notable exception to this general statement is presented by the large island of New Caledonia, where, so far as I know, neither totemism nor exogamy has been as yet discovered. Dr. Guillemard, indeed, tells us that "the various tribes are bound together by alliance into two main bodies, after a system similar to that mentioned as existing in the Aru Islands,"<sup>1</sup> but whether these bodies are exogamous classes does not appear. However, the New Caledonians have apparently the classificatory system of relationship, which always raises a presumption of the existence, past or present, of exogamous classes. Thus, we are told that in New Caledonia first cousins, the children of two brothers or of two sisters, are regarded as themselves brothers and sisters, and must therefore strictly shun each other not only in marriage but in ordinary social intercourse, being forbidden to look at one another or to meet in a path. But on the other hand first cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively are not regarded as brothers and sisters but merely as what we should call cousins, and there is no objection at all to their marrying each other; on the contrary marriages between such cousins are thought particularly proper. Again, just as the sons of brothers are themselves called brothers, so each of them applies the name of "father" to every one of his father's brothers; and in

Exogamy or totemism prevalent in Melanesia with the possible exception of New Caledonia.

Classificatory system of relationship in New Caledonia.

Cousin marriages.

<sup>1</sup> F. H. II. Guillemard, *Australasia, II. Malaysia and the Pacific Archipelagoes* (London, 1894), p. 459 (Stanford's

*Compendium of Geography and Travel*). As to the two brotherhoods of the Aru Islands, see below, pp. 200 *sq.*

Extra-ordinary privileges enjoyed by a man in respect of his sister's sons.

this way it may happen that a man has five or six men, all of whom he calls his father, and some of whom may be younger than himself.<sup>1</sup> All these are indubitable marks of the classificatory system of relationship. According to the experienced Catholic missionary, Father Lambert, children take the name of their father's family, not of their mother's;<sup>2</sup> but a clear trace of the mother-kin exists in the extraordinary privileges which a man enjoys in respect of his sister's son, who under a system of mother-kin would be his male heir. Thus if a man has lost blood from any cause, and his mother's brother sees the blood, he, the maternal uncle, at once pronounces the words *na kout* and thereby acquires very extensive rights over the property of his nephew. For example, if the nephew is out a-fishing and is bitten by a fish, his uncle may say *na kout* and take away from him his net. If the nephew has fallen from a coco-nut palm and hurt himself, the uncle is free to take possession of his yam fields. If the nephew has been wounded in battle or in sport, if in sickness he has been bled by a doctor, the uncle may repair to the dwelling of his wounded relative and after seeing the blood he may carry off from the house whatever he pleases. The sufferer has no right to murmur. Accordingly when a New Caledonian has hurt himself and knows that his uncles are in the neighbourhood, he conceals the accident, lest his affectionate relatives should get wind of it and hasten to pay him a series of domiciliary and predatory visits.<sup>3</sup> The remarkable privileges thus accorded to a maternal uncle in New Caledonia resemble those which in Fiji are mutually enjoyed

<sup>1</sup> Le Père Lambert, *Mœurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens* (Nouméa, 1900), pp. 114 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Le Père Lambert, *op. cit.* p. 82. He tells us that a tribe is composed of an aggregate of small tribes or family stocks ("*familles souches*"), the houses of which are mixed, without being confounded, in the same village. As examples of these families he mentions the Ouimoma, Teamboueonama, Bouaema, Oualairima, Pouadilima, Boualoma. These families take their names from certain men of past times,

Ouimo, Teamboueon, Bouae, Oualairi, Pouadili, Boualo, and so forth. When an Ouimo man marries a Teamboueon woman, the children are always Ouimoma. This, without amounting to an affirmation that the families are exogamous, points in the direction of exogamy with paternal descent.

<sup>3</sup> Le Père Lambert, *op. cit.* pp. 115 sq. A custom of the same sort is practised by the Goajiro Indians of South America. See above, p. 53.

by a man and his sister's son (*vasu*),<sup>1</sup> only that whereas in Fiji the balance of advantage would seem to be on the side of the nephew, in New Caledonia on the contrary it appears to be altogether on the side of the uncle.

In most other parts of Melanesia the evidence for the existence of exogamy, or of totemism, or at all events of something very like totemism, is comparatively plentiful. But while Melanesian exogamy is clearly identical in principle with the exogamy of Australia, Torres Straits, and New Guinea, it is not so certain that Melanesian totemism, if we may call it so, is identical in principle with the totemism of Australia and the other regions with which we have hitherto been concerned. Indeed the English missionary and scholar, the Rev. Dr. R. H. Codrington, who is our best authority on Central and Southern Melanesia, doubts whether the term totemism is applicable to the beliefs and customs of the islanders with which he is acquainted. Whether that be so or not, these customs and beliefs, taken along with the concomitant system of exogamous classes, present a sufficiently close resemblance to true totemism to justify us in considering them in this work. We shall begin our survey with Southern and Central Melanesia, that is, with those parts of the archipelago of which the natives have been described for us by Dr. Codrington. His book must always remain the standard authority on the subject, as indeed it is one of the fullest and most accurate accounts ever given of any savage race.<sup>2</sup> Its scope, he tells us, is confined to the Solomon Islands, Ysabel, Florida, Savo, Guadalcanar, Malanta (Malaita), San Cristoval, Ulawa, to the Santa Cruz group, the Banks' and Torres Islands, and three of the Northern New Hebrides, Aurora, Pentecost, and Lepers' Islands.<sup>3</sup>

"In the native view of mankind," says Dr. Codrington, "almost everywhere in the islands which are here under consideration, nothing seems more fundamental than the

Dr. Codrington doubts whether totemism occurs in Melanesia.

Melanesian society is divided into two

<sup>1</sup> See T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians* (London, 1860), i. 34 sq.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, D.D., *The Melanesians: Studies in their Anthropology and Folk-lore* (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1891). See also R. H. Codrington, "Notes on the Customs of Mota, Banks Islands," with remarks by the

Rev. Lorimer Fison, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria*, xvi. (1880) pp. 119-143.

<sup>3</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 2. The Torres Islands are not to be confused with the islands of Torres Straits.

or more  
exogamous  
classes with  
maternal  
descent.

division of the people into two or more classes, which are exogamous, and in which descent is counted through the mother. This seems to stand foremost as the native looks out upon his fellow-men ; the knowledge of it forms probably the first social conception which shapes itself in the mind of the young Melanesian of either sex, and it is not too much to say that this division is the foundation on which the fabric of native society is built up. There are no Tribes among the natives ; if the word tribe is to be applied as it is to the Maori people of New Zealand, or as it is used in Fiji. No portion of territory, however small, can be said to belong to any one of these divisions ; no single family of natives can fail to consist of members of more than one division ; both divisions where there are two, and all the divisions where there are more than two, are intermixed in habitation and in property ; whatever political organization can be found can never be described as that of a tribe grouped round its hereditary or elective chief.”<sup>1</sup>

The  
exogamous  
classes of  
Melanesia  
are analog-  
ous to  
those of  
Australia.

Thus the exogamous classes of Melanesia are strictly analogous to those of Australia. They are in no sense tribes, clans, or septs ; they are social divisions which have no other function than that of regulating marriage. And just as in Australia so in Melanesia the distribution of the community into exogamous classes determines the relations in which every member of it stands to every other and the terms in which he expresses it. Here, as elsewhere, the classificatory terms of relationship express the group relations which are a direct consequence of the division of the people into exogamous groups or classes. “Speaking generally,” observes Dr. Codrington, “it may be said that to a Melanesian man all women, of his own generation at least, are either sisters or wives ; to the Melanesian woman all men are either brothers or husbands. An excellent illustration of this is given in the story of Taso from Aurora in the New Hebrides, in which Qatu discovers and brings to his wife twin boys, children of his dead sister ; his wife asks, ‘Are these my children or my husbands?’ and Qatu answers, ‘Your husbands to be sure, they are my sister’s children.’ In that island there are two divisions of the people ; Qatu and his wife

Group re-  
lationships.

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 21.

could not be of the same, Qatu and his sister and her children must be of the same; the boys therefore were possible husbands of Qatu's wife, but had they belonged to the other division their age would have made her count them her children rather than her brothers. It must not be understood that a Melanesian regards all women who are not of his own division as in fact his wives, or conceives himself to have rights which he may exercise in regard to those women of them who are unmarried; but the women who may be his wives by marriage, and those who cannot possibly be so, stand in a widely different relation to him; and it may be added that all women who may become wives in marriage and are not yet appropriated, are to a certain extent looked upon by those who may be their husbands as open to a more or less legitimate intercourse. In fact appropriation of particular women to their own husbands, though established by every sanction of native custom, has by no means so strong a hold in native society, nor in all probability anything like so deep a foundation in the history of the native people, as the severance of either sex by divisions which most strictly limit the intercourse of men and women to those of the section or sections to which they do not themselves belong."<sup>1</sup>

Thus Dr. Codrington's view of the relation in which among the Melanesians individual marriage stands to the exogamous classes accords perfectly with the view which the best authorities on the Australian aborigines take of the relation in which individual marriage stands to the exogamous classes in Australia. In both these regions individual marriage is probably an innovation on an older system of group marriage, that is, of the marriage relations which are determined by the exogamous classes and expressed by the classificatory terms of relationship.

Individual marriage an innovation on group marriage.

### § 3. Totemism and Exogamy in Southern Melanesia

In the Banks' Islands and the Northern New Hebrides the exogamous classes or kins, as Dr. Codrington calls them, are only two in number; and the system, with its descent in

In the Banks' Islands and the

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 22 sq.

Northern  
New  
Hebrides  
there are  
only two  
exogamous  
classes,  
with  
descent  
in the  
female line.

the female line, corresponds accordingly to the simple two-class system of the Urabunna and other Australian tribes. Each of these classes is called a *veve* or *vev*, which properly means "mother." But neither in the Banks' Islands nor in the New Hebrides have the exogamous classes names to distinguish them from each other, nor has either of them any badge or emblem; "in their small communities every neighbour is well known."<sup>1</sup> Thus we see that when the exogamous divisions are few in number, the Melanesians, like some of the Central Australians,<sup>2</sup> are quite able to discriminate between them without having recourse to distinctive names for the divisions. And just as among the Australians so among the natives of the Banks' Islands, the Torres Islands, and the Northern New Hebrides each of these exogamous classes has its recognised equivalent in the neighbouring communities, even though the languages of these communities are different. Thus a Banks' Islander knows who are of his own class and who are not in every island of his own group which he visits; and if he passes to Aurora in the New Hebrides he finds the equivalents of the two classes there also. Similarly the Aurora men know well who are of their class in Pentecost and Lepers' Island; and the Lepers' Islanders know their class in Espiritu Santo.<sup>3</sup> Those who are of one class (*veve*) are said to be *tavala ima* to the others, that is "of the other side of the house." A woman who marries does not come over to her husband's side of the house, that is, she does not join his class (*veve*), but she is said to be "at the door" (*ape mateima*), the doors being at the ends of the native houses. Nor does the husband come over to his wife's side of the house; that is, he does not join her class. The children all belong to their mother's side; that is, they take her class. All of the same class are *sogoi* to one another. Hence a man's children are not his *sogoi*, since they belong to the other exogamous class; his nearest relations in the next generation are his sister's children.<sup>4</sup>

Not only are the members of each class forbidden to

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 24 sq. As to *veve* or *vev* meaning "mother," see R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesian Languages* (Oxford, 1885), p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 264 sq.

<sup>3</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 25.

marry within their own class and obliged to seek their wives or husbands, as the case may be, in the other class, but irregular intercourse between members of the same class is regarded as a crime, as incest. Formerly in the island of Florida a man who committed such a crime would have been killed and the woman would have been made a harlot ; now that the severity of ancient manners has been relaxed money and pigs can condone the offence, but a much heavier fine is exacted than if a man had been caught sinning with a woman of the other class, who might have been his wife. In the Banks' Islands, if it became known that two members of the same class had been guilty of this disgraceful crime, as they considered it, the people of the other class would come and destroy the gardens of persons who belonged to the same class as the erring couple, nor would the persons so attacked offer resistance or utter a complaint. It was the same in Lepers' Island, where the seducer had to make large payment to the near relatives of the woman he had seduced in order to appease their anger and "fence against" the fault. But cases of incest of this sort were always rare in all the islands ; so strong was the feeling against the commerce of the sexes within the class.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the feeling that the intercourse of the sexes was natural when the man and woman belonged to different classes, was shewn by the form of native hospitality which provided a guest with a temporary wife. The observance of this custom is now readily denied in the Solomon and Banks' Islands, but it is not denied in the Northern New Hebrides, and Dr. Codrington thinks there can be little doubt that it was once common everywhere. Only the woman lent to the guest must be one who might have been his wife ; she must belong to the other exogamous class (*veve*).<sup>2</sup>

These facts are rightly adduced by Dr. Codrington as evidence that individual marriage, or the appropriation of

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melan-esi-ans*, pp. 23 *sq.* However, in Araga, Pentecost Island, though irregular intercourse between persons of the same class is punished with the destruction of the gardens of the offending side by members of the other, yet marriages within the class are not unknown.

Those who contract them are despised and even abhorred, but money and pigs have been given and received, and so the marriage is allowed to stand. See R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 24.

Irregular intercourse as well as marriage is forbidden between members of the same exogamous class.

Are the exogamous classes relics of an old system of communal marriage?

In the Mota language the terms for mother, husband, wife, and child are in the plural form; they point accordingly to a time when these relationships were conceived to exist between groups rather than between individuals.

particular women to their own husbands, has neither so strong a hold on the people nor so deep a foundation in their history as the exogamy of the classes; in other words, they tend to shew that individual marriage was preceded by group marriage. The question whether the exogamous classes (*veve*) are in fact traces of an old communal system of marriage among the Melanesians has been raised by Dr. Codrington. He points out on the one hand that the natives have no memory of a time when all the women of one side were in fact common wives to all the men of the other side, and that there is no occasion on which the women become common to the men who are not of their class. The licence at festive gatherings is confessed to be great, but it is disorderly and illegitimate, and is not defended on the ground of prescription.<sup>1</sup> But "on the other side," says Dr. Codrington, "is to be set the testimony, the strong testimony, of words. This is given by the plural form in which the terms for 'mother' and 'husband' or 'wife' are expressed. In the Mota<sup>2</sup> language the form is very clear; *ra* is the plural prefix; the division, side, or kin, is the *veve*, and mother is *ra veve*; *soai* is a member, as of a body, or a component part of a house or of a tree, and *ra soai* is either husband or wife. To interpret *ra* as a prefix of dignity is forbidden by the full consciousness of the natives themselves that it expresses plurality. The kin is the *veve*, a child's mother is 'they of the kin,' his kindred. A man's kindred are not called his *veve* because they are his mother's people; she is called his *veve*, in the plural, his kindred, as if she were the representative of the kin; as if he were not the child of the particular woman who bore him, but of the whole kindred for whom she brought him into the world. By a parallel use to this a plural form is given to the Mota word for child, *veremera*, with a doubled plural sign; a single boy is called not 'child' but 'children,' as if his individuality were not distinguished from the common offspring of his *veve*. The same plural prefix is found in other Banks' Island words meaning mother; *rave* in Santa Maria, *retne* in Vanua Lava, *reme* in Torres Islands. The mother is called *ratahi* in

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Mota is one of the Banks' Islands.

Whitsuntide, and *ratahigi* in Lepers' Island, that is the sisters, the sisterhood, because she represents the sister members of the *waivung*<sup>1</sup> who are the mothers generally of the children. Similarly the one word used for husband or wife has the plural form. In Mota a man does not call his wife a member of him, a component part of him, but his members, his component parts; and so a wife speaks of her husband. It is not that the man and his wife make up a composite body between them, but that the men on the one side and the women on the other make up a composite married body. The Mota people know that the word they use means this; it was owned to myself that it was so, with a Melanesian blush, and a protestation that the word did not represent a fact."<sup>2</sup>

If the plural forms for the Melanesian words meaning mother, husband, wife, and child thus point to a time when only relations between groups were recognised and relations between individuals were ignored, the same inference may be drawn from the classificatory system of relationship which in common with so many savages the Melanesians employ. Thus to take the classificatory system of Mota, one of the Banks' Islands, which may serve as a representative example, a man applies the same term *tamai* to his father and to his father's brothers; he applies the same term *veve* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; he applies the same term *natui* to his own children and to the children of his brothers; and a woman applies the same term *natui* to her own children and to the children of her sisters. In fact, as Dr. Codrington puts it, "all of one generation within the family connexion are called fathers and mothers of all the children who form the generation below them; a man's brothers are called fathers of his children, a woman's sisters are called mothers of her children; a father's brothers call his children theirs, a mother's sisters call her children theirs."<sup>3</sup> It is true that this wide application of the terms father and mother does not imply any vagueness in the minds of the

<sup>1</sup> *Waivung* is the name for an exogamous class (*veve*) in Lepers' Island: the word means a bunch of fruit, as if all the members of the same class hung on one stalk. See R. H. Codrington,

*The Melanesians*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 28 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 36; compare *ib.* pp. 35-39.

natives of the present day as to physical paternity and maternity; they know quite well what women bore and what men begot what children, and they can distinguish if necessary between the real and the nominal parents.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the extended use of terms which we translate "father" and "mother" points to a time when the meaning of the words was very different from that of physical paternity and maternity. For under the system which we are considering a boy is sometimes called "father" to a man who is old enough to be his natural father, or "grandfather" to a man of his own age.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, a girl may be "mother" to a woman who is old enough to be her real mother, and "grandmother" to a woman of her own age. But no Melanesian in such a case is so foolish as to imagine that the boy begat the man or that the girl gave birth to the grown woman. It is obvious, therefore, that the Melanesians, like all peoples who employ the classificatory system of relationship, attach a meaning very different from that of physical paternity and maternity to the terms which we translate "father" and "mother." Here as elsewhere the application of the classificatory terms of relationship is only intelligible on the hypothesis that there was a time in the history of the race when a group of women were the common wives of a group of men, and when all the men were the "fathers" and all the women were the "mothers" of all the children born of the group marriage, these terms "father" and "mother" signifying merely that the persons so designated were members of intermarrying groups, not at all that they had begotten or borne, as the case might be, all the children whom they called their sons and daughters. Unless we can thus distinguish the classificatory sense of these terms from our own, it is vain to attempt to understand the primitive history of marriage.

Although in these islands the system of mother-kin prevails, since children belong to the exogamous class (*veve*) of their mother and not of their father, nevertheless "it must be understood that the mother is in no way the head of the family. The house of the family is the father's, the

The Melanesian use of the terms "father" and "mother" do not imply physical paternity and maternity.

Children belong to the exogamous class (*veve*) of their mother,

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 36 sq.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 39 note <sup>1</sup>.

garden is his, the rule and government are his ; it is into the father's house that the young bridegroom takes his wife, if he has not one ready of his own. The closest relationship, however, according to native customs, is that which exists between the sister's son and the mother's brother, because the mother who transmits the kinship is not able to render the service which a man can give. A man's sons are not of his own kin, though he acts a father's part to them ; but the tie between his sister's children and himself has the strength of the traditional bond of all native society, that of kinship through the mother. The youth, as he begins to feel social wants, over and above the food and shelter that his father gives him, looks to his mother's brother as the male representative of his kin. It is well known that in Fiji the *vasu*, the sister's son, has extraordinary rights with his maternal uncle. The corresponding right is much less conspicuous and important than this in the Melanesian Islands west of Fiji ; but it is a matter of course that the nephew should look to his mother's brother for help of every kind, and that the uncle should look upon his sister's son as his special care ; the closeness of this relation is fundamental."<sup>1</sup>

While in these islands marriage is regulated by the distribution of the whole community into two exogamous classes, the simple rule that a man may not marry a woman of his own class is supplemented, as usually happens, by further rules which prevent him from marrying women who are nearly related to him, even though they belong to the class into which he is allowed to marry. Such women are his female first cousins, the daughters of his mother's brother or of his father's sister : his other female first cousins, namely the daughters of his mother's sisters and of his father's brothers, necessarily belong to his own exogamous class, and being therefore debarred from him by the rule of class exogamy need not be considered here. But the rule of class exogamy raises no barrier to the marriage of a man with his first cousin when she is the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister, since in either of these cases she belongs to the other

and their nearest male relation is not their father, but their mother's brother.

The exogamous rule of the classes is supplemented by rules which prevent marriage between persons near of kin, particularly between cousins.

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 34.

exogamous class from which he is bound to take a wife. Indeed in some tribes, for instance the Urabunna in Australia, we have seen that such a first cousin is a man's proper wife.<sup>1</sup> But among the Melanesians of the Banks' Islands the marriage of such cousins is forbidden by custom, though not by the law of the classes; the children of a brother and a sister, though they necessarily belong to different exogamous classes, are nevertheless regarded as too near akin to marry; if they married they would be said to "go wrong."<sup>2</sup>

Custom of avoidance between a man and his mother-in-law.

Similarly, the two-class system with female descent, which prevails in these islands, permits a man to marry his mother-in-law, since she necessarily belongs to the same exogamous class as his wife; but custom strictly interdicts such marriages. Not only does it forbid them to marry, but as usual it also forbids them to hold ordinary social intercourse with each other. In the Banks' Islands these rules of avoidance and reserve are very strict and minute. A man will not come near his wife's mother and she will not come near him. If the two chance to meet in a path, the woman will step out of it and stand with her back turned till he has gone by, or perhaps, if it be more convenient, he will move out of the way. At Vanua Lava, in Port Patteson, a man would not even follow his mother-in-law along the beach until the rising tide had washed her footprints from the sand. Yet a man and his mother-in-law may talk to each other at a distance; but a woman will on no account mention the name of her daughter's husband, nor will he name hers. On the other hand a man does not avoid his wife's father nor does a woman avoid her husband's father, though neither of them will mention their father-in-law's name.<sup>3</sup> In the New Hebrides the practice is much the same as in the Banks' Islands. For example, in Lepers' Island a man and his mother-in-law will not come near each other, but they may converse; only when he

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 177 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* pp. 42-44. In the Solomon Islands, according to Dr. Codrington, there

is little avoidance between a man and his mother-in-law. But we are at present dealing with the marriage customs of the Southern Melanesians, not of the Central Melanesians, to whom the Solomon Islanders belong.

speaks to her, she must turn away. She may not address him by his name, though she does not mind using it in speaking of him to others. Here, too, as in the Banks' Islands a woman does not avoid her husband's father.<sup>1</sup> Hence it appears that in the eyes of these people the tie between a woman and her daughter's husband is closer than that between a man and his son's wife. This agrees with what we have observed elsewhere<sup>2</sup> and what we might have anticipated on general grounds, namely, that in an early stage of society the bond between a mother and her child is tighter than that between a father and his child, in other words, that maternity counts for more than paternity.

That all such customs of mutual avoidance between a man and his wife's mother originated in an instinctive feeling that they ought not to marry each other though the class system permitted them to do so, is, as we have seen, the view of Dr. A. W. Howitt,<sup>3</sup> and it is by far the most probable explanation of the custom that has yet been propounded. So far as the people we are now dealing with are concerned, the theory is to some extent confirmed by the parallel rules of avoidance which are observed among them, on the one hand between a mother and her sons, and on the other hand between brothers and sisters. Thus in Lepers' Island, one of the New Hebrides, when a boy has reached a certain age he no longer lives at home, as he had hitherto done, but takes up his quarters in the club-house (*gamali*), where he now regularly eats and sleeps. "And now begins his strange and strict reserve of intercourse with his sisters and his mother. This begins in full force towards his sisters; he must not use as a common noun the word which is the name or makes part of the name of any of them, and they avoid his name as carefully. He may go to his father's house to ask for food, but if his sister is within he has to go away before he eats; if no sister is there he can sit down near the door and eat. If by chance brother and sister meet in the path she runs away or hides. If a

Custom of avoidance between brothers and sisters, and between mothers and sons.

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Among exogamous peoples we sometimes find marriages of fathers with their daughters permitted, but

never marriages of mothers with their sons. See above, p. 40, and below, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 285 note.

boy on the sands knows that certain footsteps are his sister's, he will not follow them, nor will she his. This mutual avoidance begins when the boy is clothed or the girl tattooed. The partition between boys and girls without which a school cannot be carried on is not there to divide the sexes generally, but to separate brothers and sisters. This avoidance continues through life. The reserve between son and mother increases as the boy grows up, and is much more on her side than his. He goes to the house and asks for food; his mother brings it out but does not give it him, she puts it down for him to take; if she calls him to come she speaks to him in the plural, in a more distant manner; 'Come ye,' she says, *mim vanai*, not 'Come thou.' If they talk together she sits at a little distance and turns away, for she is shy of her grown-up son. The meaning of all this is obvious."<sup>1</sup>

Such rules of avoidance are apparently intended to guard against the risk of improper relations between these near kinsfolk.

In fact, such rules of avoidance seem only explicable on the hypothesis that they originate in a horror of sexual intercourse between a brother and a sister or between a mother and her son, a horror which has led the people consciously or unconsciously to remove as far as possible all temptations to such incest by socially dividing brothers from their sisters and mothers from their sons. The difference between these cases and the avoidance of a man and his mother-in-law is that, whereas under the two-class system with female descent a man and his mother-in-law belong to different exogamous classes and are therefore theoretically marriageable, brothers and sisters, mothers and sons belong to the same exogamous class and are therefore not even theoretically marriageable to each other. The reason why the custom of avoidance is still observed between the two latter sets of relations, though they are already excluded from each other by the rule of class exogamy, may be a feeling that incest with a sister or a mother is a crime so great that the rule of class exogamy

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 232. The mutual avoidance of brother and sister is found also in New Caledonia. A brother and sister do not lodge in the same house, and do not look at each other. If they meet by chance on a path, the sister

will throw herself into the bushes or into water to avoid her brother, and he will pass on without turning his head. See Le Père Lambert, *Mœurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens* (Nouméa, 1900), p. 114.

is an insufficient safeguard against it, and that it needs to be reinforced by other rules or customs which deepen and widen the gulf between these near relations. If most peoples, both barbarous and civilised, who share the horror at such unions, nevertheless place no social obstacles between brothers and sisters, between mothers and their sons, the reason may be that by inheritance through many generations the abstention from incest with sisters and mothers has become so habitual and instinctive in all normally constituted persons that the external barriers which were once placed between brothers and sisters, between mothers and sons, have grown superfluous and so have gradually fallen away of themselves. The widespread custom of lodging the young unmarried men in houses apart from their families may have been one of these artificial barriers; it may have been adopted for the purpose of preventing a dangerous intimacy between the youths and their mothers and sisters. At least the Melanesian practice described by Dr. Codrington points in this direction; for the marked avoidance of a youth by his mother and sisters begins just at the time when he becomes sexually dangerous and when, therefore, he is banished from the home to sleep with other males in the public club-house. Such club-houses, where the unmarried men lodge away from their families, are common in New Guinea, Melanesia, and other parts of the world.<sup>1</sup>

The custom of lodging unmarried men in separate houses is probably a precaution against incest.

In that part of Melanesia which is described by Dr. Codrington "the Levirate obtains as a matter of course. The wife has been obtained for one member of a family by the contributions of the whole, and if that member fails by death, some other is ready to take his place, so that the property shall not be lost; it is a matter of arrangement for convenience and economy whether a brother, cousin, or uncle of the deceased shall take his widow. The brother naturally comes first; if a more distant relation takes the woman he probably has to give a pig. In Lepers' Island if a man who is a somewhat distant cousin of the deceased wishes to take the widow, he adds a pig to the death-feast of the tenth or fiftieth day to signify and support his pretensions, and he probably gives another pig to the

Custom of the Levirate.

<sup>1</sup> See H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 202 sqq.

widow's sisters to obtain their good-will. If two men contend for the widow she selects one, and the fortunate suitor gives a pig to the disappointed. In fact a woman, when once the proper payment has been made for her, belongs to those who have paid, the family generally; hence a man, as in the story of Ganviviris, will set up his sister's son in life by handing over to him one of his own wives; not because the young man has a right to his uncle's wives, but because the woman is already in the family."<sup>1</sup> Thus in Melanesia the custom of the Levirate at the present day rests on a purely commercial or economic basis: the widow has been bought and paid for by the family, she is their property, and they will not part with her, at least without compensation. Here, as in most parts of the world, there is no evidence that the Levirate is derived, as J. F. McLennan thought, from a practice of polyandry; for in Melanesia "anything properly called Polyandry is unknown, nor is it easy for natives to conceive of it as a possible marriage state."<sup>2</sup>

In Melanesia, the Levirate rests on an economic basis; it is not a relic of polyandry.

Traces of totemism in Southern Melanesia.

Ceremony performed by a man of the Octopus family to catch octopuses.

Thus far we have found only exogamy in its simplest form among the natives of Southern Melanesia, the whole community being divided into two intermarrying classes with descent in the female line. It remains to ask, is the system of exogamous classes combined with totemism in Southern Melanesia as it is in so many other places? The traces of totemism which Dr. Codrington has found in these islands are few. In the northern part of Aurora, one of the New Hebrides, there is a family which is named after the octopus (*wirita*); and if a man of another family desired to catch and eat octopus, he would take one of the Octopus family with him to stand on the shore and cry "So-and-so wants octopus," after which plenty of the fish would be taken. This custom closely resembles the magical ceremonies (*intichiuma*) of totem clans in Central Australia who provide

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melan- esians*, pp. 244 sq.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 245. However, Dr. Codrington adds: "Still cases are known in the Banks' Islands where two widowers live with one widow, and she is called wife to both, any child she may have

being called the child of both. Such cohabitation, however, is not so much marriage as a convenient arrangement for people who find themselves alone in later life" (*op. cit.* pp. 245 sq.). The writer mentions a few more exceptions or apparent exceptions.

other people with a supply of their totem animals or plants to eat. However, this Octopus family in Aurora have no scruple about eating the fish from which they take their name, nor do they trace their descent from it.<sup>1</sup> If this is totemism, it is totemism in decay. Again, in Lifu, one of the Loyalty Islands, when a father was about to die, he might tell his family what sort of animal he would be after his death, it might be a bird or a butterfly. Henceforth creatures of that sort would be sacred to his family, who would neither hurt nor kill one of them. If a member of the family happened to light on one of the sacred birds or butterflies or whatever it might be, he would say, "That is papa" and offer him a coco-nut.<sup>2</sup> Similar customs occur, as we shall see, in the Solomon Islands. Such beliefs and practices clearly tend to establish totemism or something which resembles totemism so closely that it might be indistinguishable from it; for if the prohibition to kill and eat the sacred animal became hereditary in a family and were explained by a transformation of an ancestor into the animal, such a family would be to all intents a totem clan. But to this point we shall return later on.

Further, in some parts of the Banks' Islands and the New Hebrides certain of the natives believe that their life is associated with a material object, whether an animal, a plant, or an inanimate thing, which might be described as their personal or individual totem. In Mota, one of the Banks' Islands, such a personal totem, if we may call it so, is named an *atai* or a *tamaniu*; in Aurora, one of the New Hebrides, it is called a *nunu*; and it is highly significant that the first two of these terms (*atai* and *tamaniu*) are in different islands the accepted equivalents of the English "soul."<sup>3</sup> The following is Dr. Codrington's account of these curious objects, in which a portion of a man's life, or what has been called his external soul, is apparently supposed to reside: "The use of the word *atai* in Mota seems properly and originally to have been to signify something peculiarly

Dead  
people in  
birds or  
butterflies.

Belief of  
the natives  
of the  
Banks'  
Islands  
that their  
life is  
associated  
inseparably  
with some  
material  
object,  
which they  
call their  
*atai*,  
*tamaniu*,  
or *nunu*.

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melan-  
esians*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Tylor, "Remarks on Totem-  
ism," *Journal of the Anthropological  
Institute*, xxviii. (1899) p. 147, quot-

ing a note of Mr. Sleight of Lifu.

<sup>3</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melan-  
esians*, pp. 249, 251. The word for  
"soul" in Mota is *atai*, in Aurora it  
is *tamaniu*.

and intimately connected with a person and sacred to him, something that he has set his fancy upon when he has seen it in what has seemed to him a wonderful manner, or some one has shewn it to him as such. Whatever the thing might be the man believed it to be the reflection of his own personality; he and his *atai* flourished, suffered, lived and died together. But the word must not be supposed to have been borrowed from this use and applied secondarily to describe the soul; the word carries a sense with it which is applicable alike to that second self, the visible object so mysteriously connected with the man, and to this invisible second self which we call the soul. There is another Mota word, *tamaniu*, which has almost if not quite the same meaning as *atai* has when it describes something animate or inanimate which a man has come to believe to have an existence intimately connected with his own. The word *tamaniu* may be taken as properly 'likeness,' and the noun form of the adverb *tama*, as, like. It was not every one in Mota who had his *tamaniu*; only some men fancied that they had this relation to a lizard, a snake, or it might be a stone; sometimes the thing was sought for and found by drinking the infusion of certain leaves and heaping together the dregs; then whatever living thing was first seen in or upon the heap was the *tamaniu*. It was watched but not fed or worshipped; the natives believed that it came at call, and that the life of the man was bound up with the life of his *tamaniu*, if a living thing, or with its safety; should it die, or if not living get broken or be lost, the man would die. Hence in case of sickness they would send to see if the *tamaniu* was safe and well. This word has never been used apparently for the soul in Mota; but in Aurora in the New Hebrides it is the accepted equivalent. It is well worth observing that both the *atai* and the *tamaniu*, and it may be added the Motlav *talegi*, is something which has a substantial existence of its own, as when a snake or stone is a man's *atai* or *tamaniu*; a soul then when called by these names is conceived of as something in a way substantial."<sup>1</sup> Again, the word *nunu* "is used in Aurora to describe the fancied relation of an infant to some thing or person from

Mode of  
procuring  
a *tamaniu*.

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 250 sq.

which or from whom its origin is somehow derived. A woman before her child is born fancies that a cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, or some such thing has some original connexion with her infant. When the child is born it is the *nunu* of the cocoa-nut, or whatever it may be, and as it grows up it must by no means eat that thing, or it will be ill; no one thinks that there is any real connexion in the way of parentage, but the child is a kind of echo. There is another way in which a child is the *nunu* of a person deceased. Thus Arudulewari is the *nunu* of a boy whom his mother brought up and who was much beloved by her. This boy died not long before Arudulewari was born, and then the mother believed that her foster-child had wished to come back to her, and that the infant was his *nunu*. But Arudulewari is not that person, nor, as he says, is his soul supposed to be the soul of the dead boy; he himself is the *nunu*, the echo or reflection of him. So Vilemalas, a name which means 'Bring-the-day-after,' was born after an adopted child of his mother's had been killed and not brought back till the day after, and he is the *nunu* of the slain person come in his place. In Mota there is no such use of *nunuai*,<sup>1</sup> but there is a notion that a man may have something not exactly his *atai* or *tamaniu*, with which he is originally connected. A man will scatter money into a deep pool among the rocks on the shore into which the tide is pouring, a sacred place; he will call on his near forefathers, dive in, and seat himself upon the bottom. If he sees anything there, a crab or cuttle-fish perhaps, he fancies that is his real origin and beginning; he gets *mana*, supernatural power, from it, and pigs will multiply to him."<sup>2</sup>

This instructive account of the things with which some Melanesians believe their life to be mysteriously united

<sup>1</sup> *Nunuai* is the form which the word *nunu* has in Mota. It there means an "abiding or recurrent impression on the senses." "A man who has heard some startling scream in the course of the day has it ringing in his ears; the scream is over and the sound is gone, but the *nunuai* remains; a man fishing for flying-fish paddles all day alone in his canoe with a long light line fastened round his neck; he

lies down tired at night and feels the line pulling as if a fish were caught, though the line is no longer on his neck; this is the *nunuai* of the line. To the native it is not a mere fancy, it is real, but it has no form or substance" (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 251 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 252 sq.

The *nunu* is something which a pregnant woman fancifully associated with her child before its birth; when the child grows up, he must by no means eat that thing.

Thus while the *atai* and *tamaniu* are obtained by a man for himself, the *nunu* is determined for him by his mother before his birth; hence the *atai* or *tamaniu* and the *nunu* correspond in some measure to the personal totem and the clan totem respectively. Reincarnation and the conceptional theory of totemism.

suggests points of comparison with totemism or with beliefs akin to totemism elsewhere. A distinction must apparently be drawn between the *atai* and the *tamaniu* of Mota on the one side and the *nunu* of Aurora on the other; for whereas the *atai* and *tamaniu* are acquired by a man for himself, the *nunu* is determined for him by his mother at birth or rather before it. Hence, while the *atai* and the *tamaniu* correspond closely to the personal totem of the Australians and the personal totem or *manitoo* of the North American Indians,<sup>1</sup> the *nunu* resembles in some respects the ordinary clan totems of the Central Australians, since like them it is determined before birth by the fancy of the mother, and appears like them to be, at least in some cases, a reincarnation of the spirit of a dead person. For even though the natives may be serious in asserting that persons born like Arudulewari and Vilemalas are not the actual reincarnation but only the "echo" or "reflection" of the dead children who have "come back" or been "brought back" to the mother, yet it seems most probable that such beliefs are only a slightly modified form of a real belief in the reincarnation of the dead. And if the *nunu* may be or may formerly have been the spirit of a dead person reborn from the mother's womb, what are we to say when the *nunu* is a coco-nut, a bread-fruit, or some such thing? Analogy suggests that in these cases the nut, or the fruit, or whatever it was, may in like manner have been supposed to enter into the mother and impregnate her; in fact that her child may have been thought to be nothing but the nut, or the fruit, or whatever it was, disguised in human form. Similar stories of the impregnation of women by fruits and so forth are world-wide,<sup>2</sup> and no doubt they rest ultimately on a real belief that such things can happen. Thus the *nunu* of Aurora confirms, or at all events is explicable by, the primitive theory of conception which appears to lie at the root of totemism. Hence if the facts recorded by Dr. Codrington are not totemism of the ordinary type, they

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 49 *sq.*, 412 *sq.*, 482 *sq.*, 489 *sq.*, 497 *sq.* The custom of the personal totem (*manitoo* or guardian spirit) of the North American Indians will be fully described in the third volume of this work.

<sup>2</sup> See E. S. Hartland, *The Legend*

*of Perseus*, i. (London, 1894) pp. 71 *sqq.*; my note on Pausanias, vii. 17-11 (vol. iv. pp. 138-140), and the additional references, in my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), p. 79, note <sup>2</sup>.

nevertheless seem to throw light on the origin of the whole system.

Lastly, in Vate or Fate, one of the most southerly of the New Hebrides, a trace of totemism may perhaps be detected in the statement that "household gods were supposed to be present in the shape of stones, trees, fish, and fowls. These incarnations were never eaten by their respective worshippers."<sup>1</sup>

Trace of totemism in Fate.

Since the foregoing discussion of traces of totemism in Southern Melanesia was written and printed, I have received through the courtesy of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers an early copy of his paper "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," which embodies the results of investigations made by him personally in these regions in the year 1908. The results are part of the work done by Dr. Rivers for the Percy Sladen Trust Expedition. His evidence and conclusions both tend, as it appears to me, to confirm the inferences which I had drawn independently from Dr. Codrington's testimony. Accordingly I shall leave the foregoing discussion as I wrote it, and shall now embody the new facts which the recent enquiries of Dr. Rivers have brought to light.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Rivers's evidence as to totemism in Melanesia.

In the Reef Islands,<sup>3</sup> which form part of the Santa Cruz group, the people are divided into a number of exogamous classes or clans, each of them with one or more kinds of animals which the members of the class or clan are forbidden to eat. The exogamous classes are called *mata*, and each has its own special name. Dr. Rivers heard of eight such classes, though they are not all found on all of the islands. In the island of Nukap the classes are four in number and bear the names of Pelembo, Pependal, Penvel, and Pelengam. In the island of Peleni they are five in number and bear the names of Pelembo, Pependal, Pelewe, Pekuli, and Pepali. Dr. Rivers does not mention the rule of descent of the classes, but we conjecture that as elsewhere in Melanesia

Totemism in the Reef Islands, part of the Santa Cruz group.

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 156-180.

<sup>3</sup> In collecting the following information Dr. Rivers was much helped by members of the mission, especially by the Rev. W. J. Durrad and the Rev. C. E. Fox.

children belong to the class of their mother. Members of the Pelembo class may not eat eels, and on Nukap this prohibition applies both to sea eels and to fresh water eels. On the island of Peleni, however, members of the Pelembo class draw a distinction between sea eels and fresh water eels; for while none of them will eat sea eels, some of them will eat fresh water eels, though others will not, opinions differing as to whether the salt water and the fresh water species are the same or different animals. The very raising of this question of zoological classification suggests that totemism is here breaking down. Another indication of this falling away from totemic orthodoxy is that the Pelembo people in the same island of Peleni partake of turtle, while their stricter brethren in the island of Nukap do not. However, even in Peleni turtle is tabooed to the Pelembo people when sickness is rife; which shews how old superstitions revive in times of distress. Members of the Pelewe class in Peleni may not eat the flying fox (*peke*) nor the stingray (*fai*) nor a fish called *awau*, which is perhaps a *Scorpoena*. The forbidden animals of the other classes or clans are all fishes, the species of which Dr. Rivers was not able to identify. The islanders believe vaguely in their descent from the forbidden animals. They have common houses for the men, and apparently each exogamous class or clan (*mata*) should have its own men's house (*afalau*), though at the present time members of different classes live together in the same house. Thus it appears that the Reef Islanders have totemism of the ordinary sort characterised by exogamy of the totemic clans or classes and prohibitions to eat the totemic animals.<sup>1</sup>

Totemism  
in Temotu,  
another  
of the  
Santa Cruz  
Islands.

Further, in the Santa Cruz group Dr. Rivers ascertained the existence of normal totemism in the small island of Temotu, at the north-west corner of the larger island of Ndeni, and his informants were confident that the institution was general in Santa Cruz. They knew of four exogamous classes or clans called *nau* in their own island; one of the classes is named after a fish called *mbu*, another after the shark (*mbua*), another after a red fish like the trumpeter-fish

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in the Royal Anthropological Institute, Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of* xxxix. (1909) pp. 164 sq.

(*mbembla*), and another after the pawpaw (*tambao*). Each class or clan believes itself to be descended from the sort of animal from which it takes its name. The people who have the red fish (*mbembla*) for their totem are said to have red eyes, thus resembling their totemic animal. But in addition to their totems the members of each class or clan are forbidden to eat certain other kinds of animals or plants. Thus the *mbu* people, besides the fish of that name, may not eat the octopus (*mo*), a sea-snake (*vo*), a red yam (*ningiamb*), and the fowl (*kio*). The *mbembla* people may not eat the turtle (*vu*), the *londoï*, a sea crayfish, the octopus, and a big banana (*papindo*). The Shark (*mbua*) people may not eat that part of a shark's flesh which lies under the black part of its skin; whereas they are free to eat the flesh which lies under the white skin near the tail. No man may marry a woman of his own class or clan (*nau*).<sup>1</sup>

The existence of totemism in the Santa Cruz group, as Dr. Rivers afterwards learned, had already been reported by Mr. Wilhelm Joest. That traveller found the islanders divided into twelve exogamous and totemic classes or clans (*nau*), each named after a species of animals or plants, which members of the particular class or clan are forbidden to eat. The prohibited animals or plants are as follows: the shark (*mbua*), the dolphin (*natu*), the whale (*betila*), the dog (*kulî*), the pigeon (*mbo*), the fowl (*kio*), three fishes (*niöda*, *mbu*, *mbilla*), the pawpaw (*talao*), and two other plants (the *niaka* and *kanalapiti*). It is believed that any one who eats the prohibited fishes or the pigeon will fall to pieces, his teeth dropping out; while he who has a plant for his totem is forbidden to dig it as well as to eat it. Persons who have the dog for their totem may not give any of their food to a dog. Further, no man will utter any word of which the name of his totem forms part.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the combined evidence of Mr. Joest and Dr. Rivers clearly proves the existence of normal totemism in the Santa Cruz group. We see among these islanders what

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 165 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. Joest, reported by A. Baessler, *Neue Südsee-Bilder* (Berlin, 1900), pp. 386-388.

W. Joest's evidence as to totemism in the Santa Cruz Islands.

Dr. Rivers calls the cardinal signs of totemism, namely exogamous classes or clans named after animals or plants, a belief in the descent of members of the classes or clans from their eponymous animals or plants, and a prohibition to eat these animals or plants.

Totemism  
in Vani-  
kolo.

Further, Dr. Rivers with the help of the Rev. W. J. Durrad ascertained the existence of normal totemism in the island of Vanikolo. The islanders are divided into ten exogamous and totemic classes or clans, each named after its totem. The totems are as follows: a kind of fish (*mere*); the hermit crab (*vesenamaka*); the stingray (*vere*); a kind of fish (*nomerue*); the sea-lion (*ive*); a mullet (*wanue*); water (*wire*); fire (*nepie*); a bowl (*tegmete*); and grass (*ambumi*). Whenever the totem is a fish, members of the class or clan are forbidden to eat it; but the restrictions laid on people whose totems are not fish are various. Thus Water people may not drink the water of a certain bubbling pool; Grass people may not walk on grass; and Bowl people may not eat food prepared in a bowl. Only the Fire people seem to be subject to no taboo. In all cases people trace their descent from their totem. Thus Fish people are descended from fishes; Water people are descended from water; Fire people are descended from a fire which can still be seen; Grass people are descended from grass which gave birth to a female child; and Bowl people are descended from a child who floated to their island in a bowl. Thus it is quite clear, as Dr. Rivers observes, that in this district, in the heart of Melanesia, we have genuine totemism.<sup>1</sup>

Descent  
from the  
totem.

Totemism  
in Efate.

Again, far away from the Santa Cruz group, Dr. Rivers was informed by the Rev. Dr. J. W. Mackenzie of what appears to be normal totemism in the island of Efate, one of the most southerly islands of the New Hebrides group. For these islanders are divided into ten or more exogamous classes called *naflak*, each of which takes its name from a plant or animal. The following are the totems, as we may call them, from which the classes or clans derive their names: (1) the *namakaur*, a tuber like

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in the Royal Anthropological Institute, Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of* xxxix. (1909) pp. 166 sq.

the arrowroot ; (2) the taro ; (3) the yam ; (4) the coconut ; (5) the breadfruit ; (6) the *ber*, a kind of fungus ; (7) the *namal*, a kind of wild yam ; (8) the *nifa*, a plant with large leaves like those of the banana ; (9) the *kram*, a shell ; and (10) the *wiit*, the octopus. We are not told whether the members of these exogamous classes are forbidden to eat the plants or animals from which they take their names. In any case, as Dr. Rivers rightly observes, the association of exogamous divisions with eponymous plants and animals makes it highly probable that these divisions are totemic clans of the ordinary sort.<sup>1</sup>

But while Dr. Rivers has thus proved the existence of normal totemism both in the Santa Cruz group to the north of the New Hebrides and in the island of Efate to the south of it, he failed, after very full enquiries, to discover any evidence of the institution in the Northern New Hebrides, namely in the Banks' and Torres Islands. However, though he did not find the institution itself, he made a very interesting discovery ; for he found among these islanders, particularly among the natives of Mota and Motlav, a series of beliefs and customs from which a system of totemism pure and simple, that is, of totemism stripped of its later adjunct, exogamy, might easily have been developed. As the discovery is of great importance for its bearing on the whole question of the origin of totemism, it will be best to report it at full length in the discoverer's own words. Dr. Rivers writes as follows :—<sup>2</sup>

In the Banks' Islands there exist beliefs and customs from which totemism might be developed.

“ Though developed totemism thus appears to be absent, there was found in the Banks' Islands a group of beliefs which are of the greatest interest in connection with the possible origin of totemism. In these islands devoid of the developed institution there exist beliefs which seem to furnish the most natural starting point for totemism, beliefs

Dr. Rivers's account of these customs and beliefs.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, “ Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 172. I had already indicated the probable presence of totemism in Efate (Fate) on the strength of Dr. George Turner's evidence, who tells us that the fish and

fowls in which the “ household gods ” were incarnate were not eaten by their worshippers. See above, p. 85. That statement completes the evidence for totemism in Efate.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 173-175.

which Dr. Frazer has been led by the Australian evidence to regard as the origin of the institution.

In Mota certain edible animals and fruits are tabooed to certain persons, because their mothers are supposed to have received a certain influence from the particular kind of animal or fruit before the birth of the child.

"In the island of Mota in the Banks' group there are many individuals who are not permitted by the custom of the island to eat the flesh of certain animals nor to eat certain fruits nor touch certain trees. The ground for the prohibition in most cases is that the person is believed to be the animal or fruit in question, his mother having received some influence from the animal or plant at conception or at some other period of pregnancy.

"The course of events is usually as follows: a woman sitting down in her garden or in the bush or on the shore finds an animal or fruit in her loincloth. She takes it up and carries it to the village, where she asks the meaning of the appearance. The people say that she will give birth to a child who will have the characters of this animal or even, it appeared, would be himself or herself the animal. The woman then takes the creature back to the place where she had found it and places it in its proper home; if it is a land animal on the land; if a water animal in the pool or stream from which it had probably come. She builds up a wall round it and goes to visit and feed it every day. After a time the animal will disappear, and it is believed that that is because the animal has at the time of its disappearance entered into the woman. It seemed quite clear that there was no belief in physical impregnation on the part of the animal, nor of the entry of a material object in the form of the animal into her womb, but so far as I could gather, an animal found in this way was regarded as more or less supernatural, a spirit animal and not one material, from the beginning.

"It has happened in the memory of an old man now living on Mota that a woman who has found an animal in her loincloth has carried it carefully in her closed hands to the village, but that when she has opened her hands to show it to the people, the animal has gone, and in this case it was believed that the entry had taken place while the woman was on her way from the bush to the village.

"I could not find out what interval usually elapses between the disappearance of the animal and the birth of

the child, but this did not seem to be regarded as a matter of importance, for it was clear that this belief was not accompanied by any ignorance of the physical rôle of the human father, and that the father played the same part in conception as in cases of birth unaccompanied by an animal appearance. We found it impossible to get definitely the belief as to the nature of the influence exerted by the animal on the woman, but it must be remembered that any belief of this kind can hardly have escaped the many years of European influence and Christian teaching which the people of this group have received. It is doubtful whether even a prolonged investigation of this point could now elicit the original belief of the people about the nature of the influence.

“When the child is born it is regarded as being in some sense the animal or fruit which had been found and tended by the mother. The child may not eat the animal during the whole of its life, and if it does so, will suffer serious illness, if not death. If it is a fruit which has been found the child may not eat this fruit or touch the tree on which it grows, the latter restriction remaining in those cases in which the fruit is inedible. Thus a fruit used as a taboo mark would be useless for this purpose to one who owed to it his origin.

The child, when born, is identified with the animal or fruit, and may not eat it.

“A case has occurred quite recently in which a girl unwittingly offended against the prohibition. She was an eel-child, and when quite young had gone to fish with some companions on the shore. They caught some fish including an eel, and all were cooked by them on the shore in the same pot, and were then eaten. A few hours afterwards the child began to rave and became quite mad. The people inquired into the doings of the child and found that she had not eaten any part of the eel, but only the fish cooked in the same pot, and this was held to be sufficient to have produced her condition.

“I inquired into the idea at the bottom of the prohibition of the animal as food, and it appeared to be that the person would be eating himself. It seemed that the act would be regarded as a kind of cannibalism. It was evident that there is a belief in the most intimate relation

between the person and all individuals of the species with which he is identified.

The child partakes of the nature of the animal or fruit with which it is identified.

“A further aspect of the belief in the animal nature of a child is that it partakes of the physical and mental characters of the animal with which it is identified. Thus, if the animal found has been a sea-snake, and this is a frequent occurrence, the child would be weak, indolent and slow; if an eel, there will be a similar disposition; if a hermit crab, the child will be hot-tempered; if a flying fox, it will also be hot-tempered and the body will be dark; if a brush turkey, the disposition will be good; if a lizard, the child will be soft and gentle; if a rat, thoughtless, hasty and intemperate. If the object found has been a fruit, here also the child will partake of its nature. In the case of a wild Malay apple (*malmalagaviga*) the child will have a big belly, and a person with this condition will be asked ‘Do you come from the *malmalagaviga*?’ Again if the fruit is one called *womarakaraqat* the child will have a good disposition.

Similar beliefs in Motlav.

“In the island of Motlav not far from Mota they have the same belief that if a mother has found an animal in her dress, the child will be identified with that animal and will not be allowed to eat it. Here again the child is believed to have the characters of the animal, and two instances given were that a child identified with a yellow crab will have a good disposition and be of a light colour, while if a hermit crab has been found, the child will be angry and disagreeable. In this island a woman who desires her child to have certain characters will frequent a place where she will be likely to encounter the animal which causes the appearance of these characters. Thus, if she wants to have a light coloured child, she will go to a place where there are light coloured crabs.

The prohibition to eat the animal or plant, is not hereditary; otherwise these beliefs and customs

“I inquired very carefully whether a case had ever been known in which the prohibition of an animal as food due to this belief had been passed on to a child or other descendant, but it was clear that such an idea was quite foreign to the beliefs and customs of the people. The taboo is purely an individual matter. In every respect but this, there is the closest resemblance with totemism. In

the food prohibition and the belief in descent from or identity with the animal or plant, we have two of the constant and characteristic features of totemism, while the belief in the physical and mental resemblance of man and animal is found in typical totemism as in that of the Western people of Torres Straits. We have only to have the taboo and belief in descent and resemblance transmitted to a group of descendants to have typical totemism. We have here a perfectly natural and intelligible explanation of the origin or of one origin of totemism, and yet it occurs in a people whose social system has no totemic features at the present time whatever it may have had in the past."

closely resemble totemism.

Then, having referred to the conceptional theory of the origin of totemism which I proposed in 1905, and having quoted a passage from my exposition of it, which has been already laid before the reader,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rivers proceeds as follows:<sup>2</sup> "In this passage Dr. Frazer has assumed a series of situations very closely resembling that which I have actually found to exist in the Banks' Islands, and there is definitely established the existence of the belief which forms the basis of his conceptional theory. It is true that in the Banks' Islands the belief and attendant customs have not become the starting point of totemism, but there are many ways of accounting for this, whether it be true that totemism never existed in these islands or whether the institution was once present and was lost during the development of the secret societies. The most important feature of the Banks' belief is that the supposed animal or plant nature of the child is accompanied by a taboo on the flesh of the animal as food or on the use of the plant. Perhaps the most universal feature of totemism is the existence of a restriction of this kind and the conceptional theory of totemism furnishes a ready explanation of this universality. Further, it enables us to understand

These beliefs and customs of the Banks' Islanders support the conceptional theory of totemism, which explains the characteristic feature of totemism in an easy and natural way.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 154 *sqq.*, where my original exposition is reprinted without any change except the addition of a marginal summary. The particular passage quoted by Dr. Rivers will be found on p. 159.

"Thus if she chanced at the time to be watching a kangaroo," etc.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 176.

not only belief in descent from the totem, but also the ambiguity which so often accompanies this belief. Thus in the Eastern Solomons we have seen that while acknowledging their descent from the totem-animal, the people regard this animal rather as the representative of a human ancestor than as the ancestor itself.<sup>1</sup> This belief becomes perfectly natural if the ancestor has two natures, one human and the other animal; if he is, as in the Banks' Islands, an animal in human form. The characteristic features of totemism become perfectly natural if the institution has grown out of such a belief as that of the Banks' islanders, or the similar beliefs suggested by Dr. Frazer."

Dr. Rivers's evidence agrees with that of Dr. Codrington as to the *nunu*.

This highly instructive and important evidence of Dr. Rivers suggests some remarks. In the first place the customs and beliefs described by him in Mota and Motlav are clearly equivalent to the *nunu* customs and beliefs described by Dr. Codrington in Aurora, another of the New Hebrides; and Dr. Rivers's account confirms on all points the interpretation which I had given independently of the *nunu*.<sup>2</sup>

The customs and beliefs of Mota and Motlav, described by Dr. Rivers, agree closely with the totemic system of the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes.

In the second place it is to be observed that if only all the inhabitants of Mota and Motlav imagined themselves to have been conceived and born in this fashion, and if they all observed the corresponding taboos, we should have what may be called a totemic system which would resemble very closely the totemic system of the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia. For in that case every man, woman, and child would believe himself to be for all practical purposes the incarnation in human form of a spirit animal or plant which had entered into his or her mother's womb at some time during pregnancy; for in the circumstances described by Dr. Rivers the spirit animal or plant is apparently not supposed to enter her at the actual moment of impregnation but always at some other time. The main differences between the beliefs of the Australians and the Melanesians in this respect are two. First, whereas according to the Melanesians the thing which enters the

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 104 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 83-85, where my interpretation of the *nunu* stands as it

was printed before I received Dr. Rivers's paper on the subject.

woman is a spirit animal or plant, according to the Australians it is a spirit child, the reincarnation of an ancestor who is associated rather than identified with an animal or plant. But this distinction is after all a very slender one; for we are expressly told that to the thinking of the Arunta the ancestors who are thus born again "are so intimately associated with the animals or plants the name of which they bear that an *alcheringa* man of, say, the kangaroo totem may sometimes be spoken of either as a man-kangaroo or as a kangaroo-man. The identity of the human individual is often sunk in that of the animal or plant from which he is supposed to have originated."<sup>1</sup> Second, the other main distinction between the Australian and the Melanesian beliefs is, that whereas the Australians believe the unborn spirits of their totemic ancestors to be distributed over the country at certain definite spots, each of which as a rule is inhabited by the spirits of only one totem, the Melanesians appear to imagine the unborn spirits of their totemic animals and plants to be under no such local restrictions, but to be free to enter into women anywhere. In this respect, therefore, the Melanesians occupy precisely the stage of thought which on purely theoretical grounds I postulated as the one immediately antecedent to the stage at present occupied by the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes; in fact the Melanesian system is exactly what I called "the original pattern, the absolutely primitive type of totemism."<sup>2</sup> At the present day, it is true, the system is not universally diffused among the islanders; many, but not all, of them believe themselves to have been thus conceived by their mothers, and accordingly many, but not all, of them observe the totemic taboos which such a mode of conception entails with regard to the particular kind of animal or plant with which each person so brought into the world believes himself to be identified. But when we remember that the islanders have for many years been subjected to European influence and missionary teaching, we may reasonably surmise that the system which now partially obtains among them was

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 119. See

above, vol. i. p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 157-162.

formerly universal, in other words, that in the old days every man, woman, and child believed himself or herself to have been thus conceived and to be thus related to a particular species of animals or plants, which accordingly he or she respected as their kinsfolk. If that was so, it becomes probable that the knowledge which these Melanesians now possess of the part played by the father in the begetting of children was learned by them from Europeans, and that formerly they were as ignorant of it as many Australian tribes are to this day.

In Motlav there is an approach to the local totem centres of the Arunta.

Amongst the Melanesians we may perhaps detect an approach to the characteristic Australian distribution of the unborn spirits among local totem centres ; for we have seen that in Motlav, when a woman wishes to conceive a child of a particular sort, she resorts to a place known to be frequented by spirit animals or plants of the kind which she desires the infant to resemble. In the case mentioned by Dr. Rivers the place frequented by light coloured crabs, to which women repair in order to receive spirits of light coloured crabs into their wombs, is hardly distinguishable from what the Arunta would call an *oknanikilla* or local totem centre of a Crab clan.<sup>1</sup>

We do not know whether in Melanesia, as in Central Australia, a man is free to marry a woman of the same conceptional totem as himself. But we may conjecture that he is free to do so, since the conceptional totems are not hereditary. If

Thus the conceptional totemism, as we may call it, of the Banks' Islanders presents many points of resemblance to the conceptional totemism of the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia. But on one point of fundamental importance our information in regard to the system of the Banks' Islanders is unfortunately defective. Dr. Rivers omitted to enquire whether a man may or may not marry a woman who has the same conceptional totem as himself ; whether, for example, an Eel man is allowed or forbidden to marry an Eel woman. In other words, we do not know whether the Banks' Islanders apply the rule of exogamy to their conceptional totems as they do to the two great social classes (*veve*) into which they are divided. Dr. Rivers has written to Melanesia to enquire into the matter, and it is to be hoped that information will be forthcoming which will clear up the ambiguity. Meantime the question remains in suspense. Arguing from analogy, I conjecture that the

<sup>1</sup> As to these *oknanikilla*, see above, vol. i. pp. 189 *sqq.*

Banks' Islanders, like the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes, do not apply the rule of exogamy to their conceptional totems, in fact, that their conceptional totemism has no influence whatever on marriage. The reason why, like the Arunta, they should keep their totemism quite distinct from their exogamy is, if my interpretation of exogamy be correct, very simple. It is that exogamy was devised to prevent the marriage of certain kinsmen with their kinswomen, and that this object could not be achieved by applying the rule of exogamy to totemic groups which, like those of the Banks' Islanders and the Central Australians, are not hereditary. For example, with conceptional totemism such as we find it in these two regions, we may have a family consisting of a Crab father, a Lizard mother, a Rat son, and an Eel daughter. Now if you wish to prevent the brother from marrying his sister, the father from marrying his daughter, and the mother from marrying her son, it is clear that you cannot do it by laying down a rule that no man may marry a woman of his own totem. For this rule, even if strictly observed, would still leave the Rat brother free to marry his Eel sister, the Crab father free to marry his Eel daughter, and the Lizard mother free to marry her Rat son. That is why, as I have already pointed out,<sup>1</sup> the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes, retaining the primitive system of conceptional totemism, have not applied the rule of exogamy to their totemic clans, which accordingly have no influence whatever on marriage; and that is why I conjecture that the Banks' Islanders in like manner, who have a similar system of conceptional totemism, do not apply the rule of exogamy to the groups of persons who have the same conceptional totems, though they do, like the Central Australians, apply the rule rigidly to the two great hereditary classes (*veve*) into which the whole community is divided. If my conjecture should prove to be correct, it is obvious that the resemblance between the conceptional totemism of the Banks' Islanders and that of the Central Australians would be very close indeed; and we should have fresh and strong confirmation of the view, which I have advocated, that the two institutions of exogamy and totemism are in

this conjecture should prove to be correct. the resemblance between the conceptional totemism of Melanesia and of Central Australia would be very close.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. pp. 165 *sq.*

their nature and origin entirely distinct from and independent of each other. Whether these things are so or not, will hang in large measure on the answer to be given to Dr. Rivers's question. I hope that the answer may yet come in time to find a place later on in this work.

If the beliefs and customs of the Melaneseans represent totemism in embryo it becomes difficult to discriminate between a clan totem and an individual or personal totem, since the difference appears to be one of number rather than of kind.

Another observation suggested by Dr. Rivers's important discoveries is this. If he is right, as I believe him to be, in thinking that the beliefs and customs of the Banks' Islanders with regard to conception practically amount to totemism in embryo, it becomes very difficult to draw a sharp line of distinction between what I call the clan totem and the individual or personal totem. For it seems clear that on the Mota, as on the Arunta, system the relation between a man and his totem is one and the same whether he is the only man who stands in that relation to the totemic animal or whether there are a multitude of people who do so. For example, if in any community there are fifty people who claim to be Eels because the spirit of an eel entered into their mothers; and if there be one solitary man who claims to be a Hermit Crab because the spirit of a hermit crab entered into his mother, shall we say that the fifty Eel people have got the eel for their totem, and that the one solitary Hermit Crab man has not got the hermit crab for his totem, merely because there is only one of him, while there are fifty of the others? It is hardly right thus to discriminate between kinds on the ground of a merely numerical difference. If we call the eel the clan totem of the fifty, we seem bound to call the hermit crab the individual or personal totem of the one. And it is to be remembered that with the conceptional mode of determining the totems, which was probably in all cases the original mode, it is very much a matter of accident whether a totemic group expands into a multitude or dwindles away to one or nothing. If many pregnant women happen to be visited, say, by butterflies, then there will be many Butterfly men and women born, and the Butterfly clan will be strong accordingly; and if only one pregnant woman happens to be visited by, say, a flying fox, then there will be only one Flying Fox man or woman in the community. But accident or fashion (for we have seen that women have their

tastes in such matters) might easily determine that these proportions should be reversed, so that Flying Foxes should swell into a powerful clan and Butterflies be reduced to a single specimen. In short in truly primitive totemism the distinction between a clan totem and an individual totem is merely one of number; the clan totem is the totem of many, the individual totem is the totem of few or one.

Further, it may be observed that a system of concep-  
 tional totemism like that of the Arunta and the Banks' Islanders leaves a good deal of freedom to the women in determining what shall be the totem of their child. For in Motlav, as we saw, a woman will visit the place which is known to be frequented by a particular sort of animal, in order that the spirit of one of these animals may enter her womb and be born in human form. It is probable that this choice is often exercised by women in similar circumstances; hence it would be easy for a mother to arrange that her child should be of her own or of her husband's totem, and so to initiate descent of the totem either in the maternal or in the paternal line. This is another way in which purely conceptual totemism might easily pass into hereditary totemism; whereas it is very difficult to imagine how a system of hereditary totemism could ever develop or degenerate into a system of conceptual totemism pure and simple. This is, as I have already pointed out, a reason for holding that the conceptual totemism of the tribes in the centre of Australia is older than the hereditary totemism of the coastal tribes.<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, it is not without significance that the taboos imposed by conceptual totemism on the Banks' Islanders come into operation from birth and not merely from puberty. Even children must strictly abstain from eating their totems or they will suffer severely if they partake of the forbidden food. The reason for the abstinence is, on Dr. Rivers's shewing, very simple; it is that each person identifies himself so completely with the animal or plant, which is his totem, that were he to eat it he would be in a manner eating himself. Thus the abstinence from the flesh of the animal or from the fruit of the plant has no relation to

A system of conceptual totemism leaves much freedom to the women to determine the totems of their children, and renders easy the transmission of the totem either in the male or in the female line.

The taboos imposed by conceptual totemism come into operation at birth, not at puberty.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 156 *sq.*, 242 *sq.*

marriage, as we might suspect it of having if it did not come into operation till puberty. This so far confirms the conclusion which I have conjecturally reached, that among the Banks' Islanders, as among the Arunta and kindred tribes of Central Australia, the two institutions of totemism and exogamy are totally distinct. If that conclusion should prove to be correct, we should accordingly in both these regions enjoy the great advantage of being able to study the two systems separately; for in both regions, if I am right, exogamy has crossed but not confused the totemic scent. With these two examples before us of totemism and exogamy existing side by side, yet not commingling, in the same community, it should be as easy for us to discriminate between the institutions in theory as it obviously is for the natives to distinguish between them in practice.

Further information obtained by Dr. Rivers in regard to the *tamaniu*, the animal with which a man's life is thought to be bound up.

Some fresh information was further procured by Dr. Rivers with regard to the *tamaniu* of the Banks' Islanders, which has already been described on the authority of Dr. Codrington.<sup>1</sup> The *tamaniu*, says Dr. Rivers, is at the same time a person's familiar and his life-token. When any one wishes to obtain a *tamaniu* he resorts to a wizard who has supernatural power (*mana*) in such matters or who is the hereditary possessor of a stone endued with magic virtue. The wizard then solemnly extracts the juice of certain leaves, drinks it, and deposits the leaves in some cleft of the rocks, where they cannot be reached by salt water. The people wait till the leaves stink and then watch the cleft to see some animal come out. When the creature appears, it is regarded as the *tamaniu* of the person on whose behalf the rite has been performed. It is taken up, put in a suitable place, and visited from time to time. No man will eat an animal of the same sort as his *tamaniu*. The creature is supposed to perform two functions, a maleficent and a beneficent. In its maleficent character it acts as a minister of vengeance, attacking the enemies of its master at his desire communicated through the wizard who procured it originally for him. Thus, if it is an eel, it will bite its master's foes; if it is a shark, it will swallow them. On the other hand, when the owner of the *tamaniu*

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 81 *sqq.*

falls ill, the animal appears in the more amiable character of a life-token. The patient goes or sends to inspect it and ascertain how it fares; for the life of the man is bound up with that of the animal. If something is discovered sticking to the creature's skin, it is removed, and the man naturally recovers. But if the animal is found dying, the man is dying also; and when it departs this life he gives up the ghost. A case of this kind happened lately in Mota. A blind man had as his familiar animal (*tamaniu*) a large lizard which lived in the roots of a big banyan tree near the village. Having fallen sick he told a friend to go and see the reptile, saying "Look at me," by which he meant to say "Look at the lizard, which is me." The first time the friend went to the tree, his heart failed him and he retreated without daring to call upon the lizard. But fortified by the companionship of some other men he returned to the spot and called to it, and out crawled the lizard, looking very sluggish and weak. They asked it if it felt poorly, and the creature nodded its head and slunk back into the roots of the tree. Soon after the blind man died and the banyan tree fell down, and that was the end of the lizard also. The banyan tree is still lying down, and if you doubt the truth of what I say, you may go and see it for yourself.<sup>1</sup>

The blind man and his familiar (*tamaniu*) the lizard.

#### § 4. Totemism and Exogamy in Central Melanesia

In the Solomon Islands, which form what may be called Central Melanesia, the people are also divided into exogamous classes, with female descent; but whereas in Southern Melanesia these exogamous classes are only two in number, in Central Melanesia they are more than two. Thus in the island of Florida there are six exogamous classes (*kema*), each with its distinctive name. These six classes are the Nggambata, the Manukama or Honggokama, the Honggokiki, the Kakau, the Himbo, and the Lahi. The meanings of three of these class-names are known; for Honggo signifies "cat's cradle," Manukama is "an eagle," and Kakau is "a

Six exogamous classes (*kema*) in Florida.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909), pp. 176 sq.

crab." But these six exogamous classes (*kema*) in Florida "no doubt represent a much simpler original division; for two of them have local names, of Nggaombata in Guadalcanar, and Himbo, the Simbo somewhat indefinitely placed among the islands to the west, from whence these two *kema* are known to have come. The Nggaombata and the Himbo, perhaps only as strangers, go together; and the Lahi, a small division, are said to be so closely connected with Himbo that the members cannot intermarry. Whether Honggokama and Manukama are names of one *kema*, or of two divisions into which the one is separating, is a question. The Honggokama and the Honggo-kiki, the great and the little, are plainly parts of one original. It is not the case in Florida that an original double division has simply split and split again; but the settlement of foreigners has so complicated the arrangement that few natives profess to be able to follow it."<sup>1</sup> Again, in Bugotu of Ysabel Island there are three exogamous classes (*vinahuhu*) called respectively Dhonggokama, Vihuvunagi, and Posomogo. None of these three classes corresponds exactly to any of the six classes in Florida, but one of them (the Dhonggokama) is said to be the same as the ancient class which split into the Honggokama and Honggokiki in Florida; and the other two, in Dr. Codrington's opinion, may well be believed to be themselves the divided other member of the original pair.<sup>2</sup> Thus, if Dr. Codrington is right, the three exogamous classes of Ysabel have been produced by the subdivision of one original pair of classes; while the six classes of Florida have been formed partly by subdivision, partly by the immigration of people of other classes than those of the old inhabitants. All this points to the conclusion that in Central, as in Southern, Melanesia the original exogamous classes may have been only two in number. When the exogamous divisions increase beyond two, separate names for them become necessary; whereas when there are only two "sides of the house," as the Melanesians call them, no name is needed for either.<sup>3</sup> We have seen that two of the

Three exogamous classes in Ysabel Island.

These classes seem to have been formed by subdivision.

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melan-* 30 *sq.*  
*esians*, pp. 29 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* pp. 31.

<sup>3</sup> R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* p.

exogamous classes in Florida are named after animals, the eagle and the crab.

As usual, these exogamous classes (*kema*) are not political divisions. Members of different classes are necessarily intermixed in every village and even in every family, since husband and wife never belong to the same class and children never belong to the class of their father. But while the population of every village must necessarily be mixed, it is not necessary that members of all the six classes should be found in it. In a considerable village the principal chief is the head of the class which predominates there, while the headmen of the lesser classes are lesser chiefs. But with the system of maternal descent and the rule that the wife goes to live with her husband's people the predominance of any one class in a village cannot be permanent. A chief passes on as much of his property and authority as he can to his sons, and as his sons are never of his own class, it follows that in any particular district authority tends to shift from one class to another with each generation. "If then in a certain district one kindred is now most numerous, in the next generation it cannot be so, for the children of those now most numerous will be naturally many more in number, and will none of them be of kin to their fathers."<sup>1</sup>

It adds very much to the distinction between these six exogamous classes (*kema*) in Florida that each of them has one or more things which it holds in abhorrence, the members of the class being strictly forbidden to eat, approach, or behold the thing or things in question. Such things are called the *buto* of the class. One of the very first lessons learned by a Florida child is what is its *buto*, to eat or touch or see which would be a dreadful thing. In one case only is this abomination (*buto*) the living creature from which the class takes its name: the Kakau class is

The exogamous classes are social, not political, and in any one district they change from generation to generation.

Each exogamous class (*kema*) has its *buto* or thing which it holds in abhorrence and may not eat, touch, or see.

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melaneseans*, pp. 33 *sq.* We have seen (above, p. 75) that in Melanesia a young man takes his wife to live with him in his father's house. If on the contrary it had been the custom for the husband to take up his abode with his wife's people, this, combined with

the rule of maternal descent, would have caused the exogamous classes in any one district to be stable and permanent from generation to generation, since the women would remain at home and give birth to children of their own class.

named after the *kakau* crab and may not eat it. The Nggaombata class may not eat the giant clam; the Lahi may not eat of a white pig; the Manukama class, which is called after the eagle, may eat the eagle but may not eat the pigeon; the *Kakau* or Crab class is forbidden to eat both the crab and the parrot *Trichoglossus Massena*.<sup>1</sup>

The *buto* (abomination) of a class is said to have been its ancestor or associated with him.

If any member of these classes be asked why he abstains from his abomination (*buto*), he will probably answer, Dr. Codrington tells us, that it is his ancestor; for example a Manukama man will say that the pigeon which he will not eat is his ancestor. An intelligent native, however, gave Dr. Codrington in writing a somewhat different account of the matter. He wrote: "This is the explanation of the *buto*. We believe these *tindalo* (the object of worship in each *kema*) to have been once living men, and something that was with them, or with which they had to do, has become a thing forbidden, *tambu*, and abominable, *buto*, to those to whom the *tindalo* belongs." The example which this native took was the clam of the Nggaombata class. The ghost (*tindalo*) of a famous ancient member of that class was called Polika and used to haunt a beach opposite Mage, where a large snake (*poli*) was believed to represent him. Members of the Nggaombata class might not approach that beach because Polika was their abomination (*buto*). On another beach, where they catch fish wherewith to sacrifice to Polika, there is a clam (*gima*) to which they give the name of Polika and they used to believe the clam to be in some way Polika himself; hence they abstained from the clam (*gima*) and it became their abomination (*buto*).<sup>2</sup>

Probably the old view was that the people were actually descended from their *buto*.

The difference between these accounts of the origin and meaning of the abominations (*buto*) of the exogamous classes is perhaps not great. The ordinary native says simply that the animal from which he abstains was his ancestor; the educated and perhaps sophisticated native in his written account of the matter says that the animal was not his ancestor but was merely associated in an unexplained way with the ghost of an ancestor. We may suspect that the

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melan-*  
*esians*, p. 31 sq.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* pp.  
31 sq.

latter account is nothing but an attempt to rationalise what seemed to an educated native the absurd belief of his less enlightened fellows that they were descended from a real animal of the species. No doubt such a belief is absurd, and Dr. Codrington's sable informant was right to reject it. But for all that the belief in their descent from animals in the most literal sense may very well have been held by these savages long before any of them under European influence bethought himself of saying that the animal was not really his ancestor but only associated with him. Such cheap and transparent devices for transforming ancient nonsense into a bastard imitation of sense meet us in all mythologies, the Greek as well as the Melanesian. It is a common article of faith with totem clans that they are descended from their totem animals or plants; and we may surmise that the things from which these exogamous classes in Melanesia abstain were originally totems of the ordinary sort, to which the members of the classes or clans traced their origin. However, Dr. Codrington, our authority for all the facts with which we have been dealing, takes a somewhat different view of the matter; and as the opinion of so accurate and judicious an observer is entitled to the highest respect, I will subjoin his instructive observations in full. He says:—

"There will occur at once the question whether in this we do not find totems. But it must be asked where are the totems? in the living creatures after which two of the divisions are named, or in those creatures which the members of the several divisions may not eat? It is true that the Kakau kindred may not eat the crab *kakau*; but the Manukama may eat the bird *manukama*. If there be a totem then it must be found in the *buto*; in the pigeon of the Manukama and the giant clam of the Nggaoombata, which are said to be ancestors. But it must be observed that the thing which is abominable to eat is never believed to be the ancestor, certainly never the eponymous ancestor, of the clan; it is said to represent some former member of the clan, one of a generation beyond that of the fathers of the present members of it, a *kukua*. The thing so far represents him that disrespect to it is disrespect to him. The most

Dr. Codrington thinks that the *buto* is the thing into which some ancestor said that he would be changed at death, and which is accordingly respected by his descendants.

probable explanation of these *buto* may indeed throw light upon the origin of totems elsewhere, but can hardly give totems a home in the Solomon Islands. The *buto* of each *kema* is probably comparatively recent in Florida; it has been introduced at Bugotu within the memory of living men. It is in all probability a form of the custom which prevails in Ulawa, another of the Solomon Islands. It was observed with surprise when a Mission school was established in that island, that the people of the place would not eat bananas, and had ceased to plant the tree. It was found that the origin of this restraint was recent and well remembered; a man of much influence had at his death not long prohibited the eating of bananas after his decease, saying that he would be in the banana. The elder natives would still give his name and say, 'We cannot eat So-and-So.' When a few years had passed, if the restriction had held its ground, they would have said, 'We must not eat our ancestor.' This represents what is not uncommon also in Malanta near Ulawa, where, as in Florida also, a man will often declare that after death he will be seen as a shark."<sup>1</sup>

The thing into which the ancestor changed at death, and which thus became the *buto* of his descendants, may have been the particular thing (*atai*, *tamaniu*, or *nunu*) with which in his lifetime the existence of the ancestor was thought to be bound up. As that thing

Thus Dr. Codrington is of opinion that the abominations (*buto*) or taboos of the exogamous classes may have originated within recent times in the fancies of influential men, who at their death announced that their spirits would haunt certain animals or plants and warned their kinsfolk henceforth to abstain from eating these animals or plants. Dr. Codrington may be quite right in this opinion; but granting that he is so, we have still to ask what put these fancies into the heads of these dying men? was it a mere whim? a caprice for which they could assign no reason? We may conjecture that they had what seemed to them good reasons for thinking that after their decease they would be in the bananas or the sharks or whatever it might be. A sufficient ground for such a belief seems to be furnished by what Dr. Codrington himself has told us about the *atai* and *tamaniu* of Mota and the *nunu* of Aurora.<sup>2</sup> We have seen that in these islands some men think that there exists an intimate and vital connection between themselves and certain material objects,

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 32 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 81-83.

whether animals, plants, or inanimate things, which accordingly they may not kill, eat, or injure; and further that in the case of the *nunu* these tabooed objects (which closely resemble the *buto* of the Solomon Islands) are determined by the fancies of the mothers before the birth of the children. It is not unreasonable to suppose that such beliefs furnish the clue to the seemingly arbitrary declaration of some Solomon Islanders that after death they will be in particular species of animals or plants; a man might naturally imagine that his departed spirit would dwell hereafter in the thing with which it had all his life been mysteriously associated. If so, the prohibitions which such men lay on their friends, and which, transmitted by inheritance to a group of kinsfolk, do constitute substantially a totem clan, may ultimately be traceable to what appears to be the tap-root of totemism, that is, to the sick fancies of pregnant women. For such fancies fully explain two of the most characteristic features of totemism, namely the identification of a man with his totem and the belief in the descent of the clan from it. The mother identifies her child with the thing that she supposed to have entered her womb when she first felt it quickened; the man as he grows up identifies himself with that thing and respects it accordingly all his life; and if he enjoys influence over his fellows, he may persuade them to respect the same thing after his death, because they imagine that he will be in it. Thus through the identification of dead men with their totems a reverence for the totems tends readily to be combined with or to pass into a reverence and worship of ancestors.

However that may be, each exogamous class in Florida has not only its abomination (*buto*) or taboo but also its ghost (*tindalo*), whom the members of the class worship and call vaguely their ancestor. Such worshipful ghosts are Polika of the Nggaombata class (who is identified with the clam which is the *buto* of the class),<sup>1</sup> Barego of the Kakau class, Kuma of the Honggokama class, Sisiro of the Himbo class, Manoga of the Manukama or Lahi class, and a ghost whose personal name is unknown of the Honggokiki class. As the classes are intermixed in the villages, though one of

was often determined for him by his mother before his birth, the sick fancies of pregnant women are here also the tap-root of totemism.

Each exogamous class in Florida has its ghost (*tindalo*) whom the members of the class worship and call their ancestor.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 104.

them generally musters more members than the rest in any particular district, sacrifices are offered in each village or group of villages to each of the ghosts of the classes; and the sacrificer is the man who knows the special leaves and creepers, and sorts of dracaena, and ginger, and shavings of a tree, and words of power (*mana*), with which the particular ghost is best approached. This knowledge the sacrificer receives from his predecessors. He belongs to the exogamous class which is dominant in the place, and he is in fact the ostensible chief.<sup>1</sup> The place of sacrifice is near the village and consists of an enclosure with a little house or shrine in which relics are preserved. When a public sacrifice is to be offered, the people assemble on the spot, but only the sacrificer, who is chief and priest in one, may enter the shrine. He makes a small fire of sticks, muttering words of power (*mana*), but he may not blow the sacred flame. On it he throws a little food, asking the ghost to take it and to grant his prayer. If the flame blazes up, he knows that the ghost is there blowing it. The remainder of the sacrificial food the priest carries back to the assembled people, eats some of it himself, and gives portions to the worshippers who eat it or take it away. At the sacrifice to Manoga, the ghost of the Manukami or Lahi class of the Florida people, the procedure is as follows. When the sacrificer invokes this ghost, he heaves the offering round about and calls him; first to the east, where rises the sun, saying, "If thou dwellest in the east, where rises the sun, Manoga! come hither and eat thy *tutu* mash!" Then turning he lifts it towards the place where the sun goes down, and says, "If thou dwellest in the west, where sets the sun, Manoga! come hither and eat thy *tutu*!" There is not a quarter to which he does not lift it up. And when he has finished lifting it he says, "If thou dwellest in heaven above, Manoga! come hither and eat thy *tutu*! If thou dwellest in Buru or Hagetolu, the Pleiades or Orion's belt; if below in Turivatu; if in the distant sea; if on high in the sun, or in the moon; if thou dwellest inland or by the shore, Manoga! come hither and eat thy *tutu*!"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melan-*  
*esians*, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.* pp. 130-  
132.

The existence of exogamous and perhaps totemic divisions of the people in the Solomon Islands has been observed and recorded by others than Dr. Codrington. Thus Mr. C. M. Woodford writes: "During my last residence on Guadalcanar, it came to my knowledge that an extensive and widespread system of 'castes' or totems, for want of words to better express my meaning, exists upon this and some of the adjacent islands. The name for them on Guadalcanar and upon Gela or Florida is *Kema*, upon Savo *Ravu*. At Veisali, at the west end of Guadalcanar, the word used is *Kua*. I could find out very little about them. Their influence is, however, powerful. The natives told me that a man might not marry a woman belonging to his own caste. They are not confined to tribes speaking one language, but, as in some of the instances I cite below, natives belonging to tribes speaking a different language will be found to belong to the same caste. I can conceive it due to the protection afforded by these castes that certain natives can pass freely backwards and forwards between tribes at open war, as occurred to my knowledge last year, when severe fighting was taking place between the island of Savo and the west end of Guadalcanar, or that natives are enabled to remain in a village when others have had to leave on account of anticipated attack by another village. Of these castes the largest and most powerful is the Gambata." Other classes, or castes as he calls them, which Mr. Woodford met with were the Kiki, Lakoli, Kakau, and Tanakindi.<sup>1</sup>

More details with regard to totemism and exogamy in the central group of the Solomon Islands were obtained by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers during a visit which he paid to the archipelago in 1908. His investigations confirm and supplement the account of Dr. Codrington. He found that the natives of Florida, Ysabel, Guadalcanar (possibly only the northern half), Savo, and probably part of the Russell Islands are divided into several exogamous classes or clans, marriage being forbidden between members of the same class. In the island of Florida two of the six exogamous

Mr. C. M. Woodford's evidence as to exogamous classes in the Solomon Islands.

Dr. Rivers's researches in the Solomon Islands.

EXO-gamous classes or clans in Florida, Ysabel, Guadalcanar, and Savo.

<sup>1</sup> C. M. Woodford, *A Naturalist's Islands in 1886, 1887, and 1888 among the Headhunters; being an Account of three Visits to the Solomon* (London, 1890), pp. 40 sq.

classes (*kema*) recorded by Dr. Codrington, namely the Himbo and the Lahi, have now apparently either died out or been absorbed into others. Over the greater part of the island of Ysabel there are only three exogamous classes, namely the Dhonggokama, the Vihuvunagi, and the Posomogo. In the island of Guadalcanar Dr. Rivers heard of six exogamous classes, called the Lakwili, Kindapalei, Haumbata, Kakau, Kiki, and Simbo. In the island of Savo he reports the existence of five exogamous classes called *ravu*, bearing the names respectively of Gaumbata, Dhonggo, Lakwili, Kikiga, and Kakauga. Further, Dr. Rivers ascertained that, just as among neighbouring Australian tribes, so among these Solomon Islanders the exogamous classes of one island have their recognised equivalents in the exogamous classes of the other islands. Thus the Kindapalei of Guadalcanar corresponds to the Dhonggokama of Ysabel, the Honggokama of Florida, and the Dhonggo of Savo. If a Guadalcanar man of the class Kindapalei went to live on the island of Ysabel, he would not be allowed to marry a woman of the class Dhonggokama but would be limited in his choice to women of the two other exogamous classes (Vihuvunagi and Posomogo) in that island. The Dhonggokama of Ysabel appears to answer to both the Honggokama and the Honggokiki of Florida. The Lakwili of Guadalcanar or Savo corresponds to the Vihuvunagi of Ysabel, while the Kakau corresponds to the Posomogo.<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, Dr. Codrington believes that the number of the exogamous classes has been multiplied by the subdivision of an original pair of classes.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Rivers on the other hand suggests that in some cases the number may have dwindled through the extinction of one or more classes, and he points to the Himbo and Lahi of Florida as instances of extinct classes.<sup>3</sup>

In all of the islands each exogamous class has one or more sacred objects, and when these are animals they may not in general be eaten. Sometimes the natives believe that they are descended from the tabooed animals.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*,

xxxix. (1909) pp. 168, 170.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 170.

Equivalence of the exogamous classes in the various islands.

Sacred objects associated with the exogamous classes.

These sacred objects will be considered separately for each island.

In the island of Florida the sacred objects are called *tindalo*, that is, ghosts. These have already been described on the authority of Dr. Codrington,<sup>1</sup> to whose account Dr. Rivers has nothing to add. In the island of Ysabel the holy things are called *tindadho*, which appears to be only a dialectical variation of *tindalo* ("ghost"). The three exogamous classes have each its sacred bird which members of the class may not eat. The bird of the Vihuvunagi class is the eagle (*manuhutu*); the bird of the Dhonggokama class is the frigate-bird (*mbelama*), and the bird of the Posomogo class is a parakeet (*higara*). A man of the Vihuvunagi class said that this class has five other sacred objects (*tindadho*), namely, the shark (*ele*), crocodile (*vua*), snake (*poli*), eel (*oloi*), and thunder (*rete*), and that the four animals may not be eaten by members of the class.<sup>2</sup>

In the island of Guadalcanar the sacred objects are called *tinda'o*, which is merely a variant of *tindalo*, the *l* having dropped out. Each exogamous class has here a large number of these venerated things. Thus the Lakwili class reveres certain men who were said to have been the first members of the class or clan, certain images and two animals, namely, the eel (*mauvo*) and a small fish (*kohe*), neither of which may be eaten by members of the class. The Kindapalei class reveres their first man, together with a snake called *choholisi*, the sun and moon (spoken of together in one word as *vulamanso*), and a sacred fire called *lake tambu*. The Haumbata class reveres their first man, a shark (*baheanapombo*), and a pigeon (*narohe*); members of the class will not eat the shark nor the pigeon. About the other exogamous classes the information obtained by Dr. Rivers was less definite; but it seems that the shark was tabooed as food both to the Kakau and to the Kiki class, and that members of the Simbo class might not eat the monitor lizard.<sup>3</sup>

In the island of Guadalcanar the sacred objects (*tinda'o*)

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 103 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of*

*the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxvix. (1909) p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 168 *sq.*

Great reverence for the sacred objects (animals, sun, moon, etc.) in Guadalcanar.

of the exogamous classes are much revered ; Dr. Rivers's informant, a Christian, said that they were worshipped. If a man of the Haumbata class wishes to kill an enemy on the land, he goes to a place which belongs to the sacred pigeon (*naroha*), and there he calls on the bird to give him supernatural power (*mana*) and strength (*susuliha*). He offers a pudding, fish, pork, and tobacco, and the pigeon bestows on him supernatural power to slay his foe. But if he wishes to kill his enemy at sea, he makes offerings to the sacred shark, and the beast will smash his enemy's canoe and eat him up. Again, the sacred snake (*chopolisi*) of the Kindapalei class is a very big creature which lives on a rock at a place called Koli. The place is forbidden to everybody except to members of the class Kindapalei, and even they only go there to worship the snake. If other people wish to pass the spot, they must paddle past it in a canoe or walk far out on the reef. The Kindapalei people offer puddings and other things to the snake, and in return he gives them supernatural power (*mana*). They obtain supernatural power also from the sun and moon and likewise from the sacred fire. The fire springs out of the rock at a certain place, and the people carry offerings thither and burn them in the flame. Also if they kill a man, they bring his tongue and lips and offer them to the sacred fire. There is also a place sacred to the sun and moon, where similar offerings are made. If people eat their sacred animal (*tinda'o*), they fall ill. For example, if a man of the Haumbata class eats a sacred pigeon, he grows sick and blood gushes from his mouth and nostrils. To cure him it is needful to make offerings to the pigeon, after which he may perhaps recover. If any man eats his sacred shark, sores will be sure to break out on his body.<sup>1</sup>

Sacred animals, etc., in the island of Savo.

In the island of Savo the sacred objects are called *manjali*. When they are animals they are tabooed and not eaten by members of the class ; but they are not worshipped. Members of the Gaumbata class respect an image, a spirit woman, and the monitor lizard (*vava*), which they will not eat. Members of the Dhonggo class respect a spirit man

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in the Royal Anthropological Institute, Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of* xxxix. (1909) p. 169.

and a sacred bird (*tambu kosu*), which is the same as the eagle (*manuhutu*) of Ysabel. Members of the Lakwili class will not eat a small monitor lizard (*sangavulu*); and members of the Kikiga class abstain from three kinds of animals, namely, the shark, a large flat fish (*limanibarava*), and a pigeon (*kurau*).<sup>1</sup>

Reviewing the information which he obtained from the Solomon Islands, Dr. Rivers observes that "the evidence, taken as a whole, points strongly to the condition being one of genuine totemism, but in a relatively late stage, in which the totems and other sacred objects, including human ancestors, are all classed together as *tindalo*, while so far as the social aspect is concerned, it is possible that there has been a considerable departure from the original condition. The only piece of evidence I can bring forward in favour of this latter position is derived from a place called Kia at the north-western end of Ysabel. While I was in the Western Solomons I was told that at Kia they had a large number of social divisions which appeared to be clans. When in Ysabel I asked the late Dr. Welchman about this, and he said that they had there a large number of divisions in place of the normal three of the rest of the island. Shortly before his death he sent me a list of these divisions showing that each of the three normal Ysabel sections was divided into a number of smaller divisions, each taking its name from an object which Dr. Welchman called a totem. He did not expressly state in his letter to me that these totems were not eaten, but I have no doubt that his use of the term was meant to imply this."<sup>2</sup> The following table exhibits Dr. Welchman's list of the subdivisions and the sacred objects or totems from which they take their names:—<sup>3</sup>

All this points to genuine totemism in a relatively late stage.

Totemic clans at Kia in Ysabel.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*,

xxxix. (1909) pp. 169 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 171.

Classes.	Subdivisions with their Totems.
Vihuvunagi	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A tree like the banyan (<i>mbahei</i>).</li> <li>2. A blue pigeon (<i>mbaumbakulu</i>).</li> <li>3. The dugong (<i>rumu</i>).</li> <li>4. Tree with edible leaves (<i>hombarae</i>).</li> <li>5. The paper mulberry (<i>mamara</i>).</li> <li>6. A large banana (<i>etingi</i>).</li> </ol>
Dhinggokama	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A white cockatoo (<i>nggahili</i>).</li> <li>2. The sun (<i>taunu</i>).</li> <li>3. The porpoise (<i>gogosulu</i>).</li> <li>4. The flying fox (<i>nggenggefe</i>).</li> <li>5. The bivalve <i>Unio</i> (<i>rurugu</i>).</li> <li>6. The opossum (<i>paike</i>).</li> <li>7. The boatbill heron (<i>kopi</i>).</li> <li>8. The toucan (<i>memeha sondu</i>).</li> <li>9. A fish (<i>vavalu</i>).</li> </ol>
Posomogo	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The kingfish? (<i>kusa</i>).</li> <li>2. The turtle (<i>tengge</i>).</li> <li>3. A black banana, wild and inedible (<i>posa</i>).</li> <li>4. A shell fish, <i>Pteroceras lambis</i> (<i>ronggisi</i>).</li> <li>5. A night bird, identified from a picture with the jerrfalcon (<i>kikituru</i>).</li> <li>6. The <i>Conus generalis</i> (<i>mbulau</i>).</li> <li>7. The large areca nut (<i>etieti</i>).</li> <li>8. A grass (<i>sesehu</i>).</li> <li>9. A clam (<i>fafalehe</i>).</li> <li>10. The bright yellow coco-nut (<i>koilo</i>).</li> <li>11. A yellow land snail, <i>Carocolla</i> (<i>taraoa</i>).</li> <li>12. A small sword fish? (<i>pakehana</i>).</li> </ol>

Thus we have here, as Dr. Rivers observes, a grouping of what seem to be totemic clans into a number of larger groups or classes. If similar subdivisions formerly prevailed all over Ysabel and the other islands where exogamy is still practised, we could understand the diversities which now exist in regard to the exogamous classes throughout the archipelago.<sup>1</sup>

The natives of Ysabel have the classificatory system of relationship.<sup>2</sup> Thus, in the generation above his own a man

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 171 sq.

<sup>2</sup> For the following particulars as to the classificatory terms of relationship in Ysabel I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers.

applies the same term *tamanggu* to his father and to his father's brothers. He applies the same term *indonggu* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; but he also applies the same term to his father's sisters. In his own generation he has different terms for elder brother (*toganggu*) and younger brother (*tahinggu*); and he applies these same terms to the sons of his father's brothers and to the sons of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term *vavimenggu* to his sisters and to the daughters of his father's brothers and of his mother's sisters. On the other hand he applies a different term, *panjanggu*, to all his other first cousins, the sons and daughters of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers. A husband calls his wife *tauungu*, and she also calls him *tauungu*. He calls his wife's sisters *ivanggu*, and she similarly calls his brothers *ivanggu*. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term *dadhenggu* to his sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of his brothers; but he applies a different term *tumbunggu* to the sons and daughters of his sisters. A woman on the other hand applies the same term *dadhengga* to her sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters both of her sisters and of her brothers. Thus, the system of Ysabel confuses the father's sister with the mother; it distinguishes the wife's sisters from the wife; it distinguishes the husband's brothers from the husband; and in the mouth of a woman it confuses the sons and daughters of her brothers with the sons and daughters of her sisters. All these are so many signs of the incipient break-down of the classificatory system. The system prevails in very similar forms among the natives of Florida and Guadalcanar.

Again, exogamous classes with animal badges, if not with totems, have been recorded in the northern islands of the Solomon group. Thus with regard to the Shortlands Group we learn that "the people are divided into nine classes respectively, *Bomana*, pigeon: *Talasaki*, heron: *Banafu*, white cockatoo: *Talapuni*, the eagle-hawk: *Fanapara*, like the minor bird. The subdivision of this latter one is *Maratigino*, the minor bird: *Oita*, the flying fox: *Tafoita*, the iguana: *Simea*, the horn-bill, a subdivision of which is *Semeapeka*. There is a subdivision

Classificatory system of relationship in Ysabel.

Exogamous classes with animal badges in the Shortlands Islands.

Mr. C.  
Ribbe's  
evidence.

of *Bomana* called *Bomana karo*. These divisions are all exogamous.”<sup>1</sup> Again, Mr. C. Ribbe, who spent two years in the Solomons, informs us that in Shortland Island or Alu, which lies to the south of the large island of Bougainville, “the division of the natives into secret societies or rather into totems is remarkable. There is quite a number of such totems in the Shortlands. They are generally named after animals, for there are Dove, Shark, Eagle, Cuscus, and Crocodile totems. Many of them are friendly, many are hostile to each other. Men may not marry girls of the same totem; the son belongs to a different totem than that of his father, since he follows his mother. Father and son may therefore be opposed to each other as enemies. Sometimes certain totems are powerful and respected and dominate the rest by their might. Thus in the lifetime of King Gorei the Dove totem was the most powerful and respected, but after his death it soon declined, and when I was in the Shortlands it numbered only a few members. The totems of the Shortland Islands have also adherents in Northern Choiseul, in Treasury Island, and on the north-east and south-west coasts of Bougainville. Even people who speak quite different languages or dialects, for example, the natives on the north-east coast of Bougainville by comparison with the rest, may belong to one and the same totem. It is not unusual even in time of war for persons from hostile villages to go to and fro without being killed, for their totem protects them. Whether they have any outward badges, I could not definitely ascertain, but I am inclined to assume it, otherwise it would be inexplicable how the islanders can distinguish to what totem a stranger belongs. Several times I observed that when people of Gieta were come to Fauro, the Fauro people could positively say whether the persons disembarking from the canoe belonged to the Dove or the Shark totem. At all festivities, whether at dances, marriages, funeral ceremonies or what not, there are exact rules as to the order in which the people are to be provided with food. In the

<sup>1</sup> Extract from an account by Mr. Macdonald of the cremation of the body of a famous chief Gorai in the Shortlands Islands. The passage was

kindly extracted and sent to me by the Rev. George Brown, D.D., of the Wesleyan Mission.

different villages, in which there are mostly several totems side by side, each has its council house and its leader, who may be also chief of the village. In other cases the leader is subordinate to the village chief, but only provided that the chief's totem is at the time the most powerful."<sup>1</sup> Although the system of mother-kin prevails in respect of the exogamous classes, Mr. Ribbe tells us that "all the rights are on the side of the man. The woman is more the slave and beast of burden than the mate and companion of her husband."<sup>2</sup> And we learn from him that the usual rule of avoidance is observed between a man and his wife's mother. After his marriage he may neither see nor converse with her. If he meets her, he may not recognise her, but must make off and hide himself as fast as he can.<sup>3</sup>

Again, we learn from Mr. R. Parkinson, who has resided for many years in Melanesia, that the whole population of Buka, the island to the north of Bougainville, is divided into two great classes, which have the cock and the frigate-bird for their respective crests, and are named accordingly *Kereu* and *Manu*, each of them after the name of its bird. The classes are exogamous: a man of the one class must always marry a woman of the other, and the children always take the class and crest of their mother. In Northern Bougainville the same two birds are the crests of the classes or clans, and the rules of marriage and descent are the same. But while the name of the frigate-bird (*manu*) is the same, the name of the cock (*atoa*) is different. In Southern Bougainville and in the islands of Bougainville Strait the relations of the classes are the same, except that a larger number of birds serve as crests, and that the people who have the same crest are not named after it, but have a separate class or clan name. Thus the people who have the dove (*baolo*) for their crest are called Baumane; those who have the hornbill (*popo*) are called Simäa; those who have the cockatoo (*ana*) are called Banahu; those who have the frigate-bird (*manua*) are called Talapuini; those who have the *tigenou* are called the Hanapare; those who have the *kapi* are called Talasaggi;

<sup>1</sup> C. Ribbe, *Zwei Jahre unter den Kannibalen der Salomo-Inseln* (Dresden-Blasewitz, 1903), pp. 140 sq.

<sup>2</sup> C. Ribbe, *op. cit.* p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> C. Ribbe, *op. cit.* p. 144.

and those who have the *talile* are called Habubusu. These classes or clans are exogamous; a man always marries a woman of another class or clan; the children always belong to their mother's clan. There are no outward and visible badges; everybody seems to know everybody else's crest. People who have the same crest regard each other as nearly related. For example, if a man of the cock or the hornbill crest comes to another village, he will there be hospitably lodged and entertained by people of the same crest. The crests are always birds, never beasts or fish. As children always belong to their mother's clan, into which their father marries, it follows that a man may theoretically marry his own daughters. Indeed in Buka and Northern Bougainville the theory is carried out in practice; there it happens not infrequently that a father weds his own daughter and begets children by her. This is not regarded as illegitimate, whereas the union of two persons of the same crest is viewed as a crime. In Southern Bougainville and in the islands of Bougainville Strait the same opinion is held, only it is not put in practice so often as in the north.<sup>1</sup> We have seen that in the island of Kiwai, off New Guinea, a father is similarly allowed to marry his own daughter.<sup>2</sup>

The crests are always birds.

Men free to marry their own daughters.

### § 5. Totemism in Northern Melanesia

Exogamous classes with maternal descent in Northern Melanesia.

Northern Melanesia is composed mainly of the two large islands of New Britain (New Pomerania) and New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) with the small islands of the Duke of York (New Lauenburg) group lying in the channel between them. Here as in Southern Melanesia the natives are divided into two exogamous classes with descent in the maternal line, and each class has a particular species of insect to which it pays the same sort of respect that a

<sup>1</sup> R. Parkinson, *Zur Ethnographie der nordwestlichen Salomo Inseln* (Berlin, 1899), p. 6 (*Abhandlungen und Berichte des Königlichen Zoologischen und Anthropologisch-Ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden*, 1898-99, vol. vii.). Compare *id.*, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 481, 660 *sq.* The exogamous divisions are variously called by Mr. Parkinson

classes, stocks or kins (*Stämme*), clans, and totem groups. Some of the names of the classes reported by Mr. Parkinson for Bougainville and the islands of Bougainville Strait are clearly identical with those reported by Mr. Macdonald for the Shortlands Islands, which lie in Bougainville Strait. See above, pp. 115 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 40.

totemic clan pays to its totem. How far these exogamous classes extend in New Britain and New Ireland we are unable to say, since the greater part of the interior of both these islands is still unexplored. Of New Britain only the northern portion, which bears the name of the Gazelle Peninsula, is comparatively well known, and even within the peninsula there is an aboriginal race named the Baining, inhabiting the mountainous country in the west, about whom our information is meagre.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly the following account of the exogamous classes in New Britain must be understood to apply only to the natives of the tableland and coasts in the north-east of the Gazelle Peninsula. In their language, as well as in other respects, these people closely resemble the inhabitants both of the Duke of York Islands and of the southern half of New Ireland; and Mr. R. Parkinson may be right in thinking that New Ireland is the hive from which the present natives of the Duke of York Islands and of the Gazelle Peninsula have swarmed southward.<sup>2</sup>

The first apparently to observe and record the existence of exogamous classes among these people was the experienced Wesleyan missionary, the Rev. George Brown;<sup>3</sup> and the fullest account of them we owe to another English missionary, the Rev. Benjamin Danks. It may be well to subjoin Mr. Danks's account in his own words:—

“For marriage purposes the people of New Britain are divided into two classes or divisions. The names of these

<sup>1</sup> R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 43 sqq., 155 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> R. Parkinson, *op. cit.* pp. 46-48.

<sup>3</sup> See the Rev. G. Brown, “Notes on the Duke of York Group, New Britain, and New Ireland,” *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xlvii. (1877) p. 149: “All the people in Duke of York Group, New Ireland, and New Britain, so far as we have been, are divided into two distinct classes, called respectively Maramara and Pikalaba, and the custom is that a Maramara must marry a Pikalaba, and *vice-versa*. It is considered to be a

very vile thing indeed if this rule is ever broken. In fact, there are only two instances known where two chiefs on New Ireland had dared to disregard this prohibition. The children are all of the same class as the mother, in all cases, and as they must all marry into the other class, intermarriages are thus in a great measure prevented, though in addition to this there are also prohibited degrees even between Maramara and Pikalaba. The land, coco-nuts, and fruit-bearing trees also in all districts are apportioned between these two classes, so that on the death of the father, the children in most cases go to the mother's village, where alone they have land or coco-nuts.”

The natives of New Britain and the Duke of York Island are divided for purposes of marriage into two classes called respectively *Maramara* and *Pikalaba*.

divisions on the Duke of York Island and New Ireland are *Maramara* and *Pikalaba*. On New Britain proper the two classes are named after two mythological personages, one named *To Kabinana*, the other *To Kovuvuru*. The first of these two is considered as the founder, creator, or inventor of all good and useful things. Fruitful land, well-built houses, fine fish traps, were all the work or inventions of *To Kabinana*; also all good institutions, customs, and usages are supposed to have been derived from him. Hence the word *kabinana* in the New Britain language means *wise*, and in *kabinanapa ia* we have an active transitive verb, which means to do a thing wisely or well. The *To* written before *Kabinana* simply denotes the masculine gender and may in English be strictly rendered as 'Mr.' In this name we may have wisdom personified. All savages like and respect, and view with no little reverence, a wise man. In New Britain to call a man *To Kabinana* when he is working at anything is simply to pay him a very high compliment.

"*To Kovuvuru* is considered by far the lesser person of the two. He is credited with having created all the bad barren land, all the high hills, and everything which is clumsy or ill formed. To call a man *To Kovuvuru* when he is doing anything is simply to make him ashamed. Yet I have never found that the class which bears the name of *To Kovuvuru* is considered to occupy, socially, an inferior position to the *To Kabinana* class.

"On the Duke of York group the names given to these two personages are *To Kabinana* and *To Pulgo*.

In the Duke of York Island the totems of these two classes are two insects.

"The *totems* of these classes on Duke of York are two insects. That of the *Maramara* is the *Ko gila le*, i.e. the leaf of the horse chestnut tree, so named because being about the length and size, and resembling very much in other respects the leaf of that tree. It is a beautiful insect, and when resting on a leaf of the tree, from which it takes its name, it is difficult to distinguish it from the leaf. The *Pikalaba's* totem is the *Kam*, which is doubtless the *Mantis religiosus*.

Respect for the totems.

"The *Maramara* class will on no account injure, or allow to be injured with impunity, their totem, the *Ko gila le*, but they have not the slightest compunction in abusing the *Kam*. The *Pikalaba* class reverence the *Kam*, but do

not hesitate to destroy the *Ko gila le*, if they can do it secretly. Both these classes believe that their ancestors descended each from their own particular totem, which they designate as *Takun miat*, *i.e.* our relative. Any evil or abuse inflicted by one class on the other's totem is considered as a *casus belli*, and is an insult which the class is bound to avenge.

"No man may marry a woman of his own class. To do so would bring instant destruction upon the woman, and if not immediate death to the man, his life would never be secure. The nearest relative (male) of the woman would immediately seek her and kill her the moment he found her. I have been told by natives that both man and woman would be killed as early as possible. The relatives of the woman would be so ashamed that only her death could satisfy them. The man might possibly escape, but I think not. But it is scarcely any use speculating as to what would be done to the man, because such a case never occurs in a thickly populated district. If a man should be accused of adultery or fornication with a woman, he would at once be acquitted by the public voice if he could say, 'She is one of us,' *i.e.* she belongs to my totem, which in itself precludes the possibility of any sexual intercourse between us. The shame of such intercourse is as great between them as is the shame and disgrace of sexual intercourse between brother and sister in a Christian community.

"But while such is the case, the evil consequences of inter-family connections are not averted altogether, and but for an inner regulation which exists, but which is not absolutely binding, those evil consequences would be accelerated. Two brothers are both of the same totem, say *Pikalaba*. They each marry a *Maramara* woman. Their children are of the mother's totem, taking their descent from their mother. Now it is possible for one brother to take the other brother's daughter to wife, and no exception may be taken to it because the girl does not belong to his totem, but to her mother's. A man may not take to wife his sister's daughter, because she is of his totem. So upon theoretical grounds a man may without law-breaking marry his niece. But there is great repugnance to such unions

The classes are exogamous: persons of the same class who marry each other are put to death.

The marriage of a paternal uncle with his niece, though not forbidden by the law of the classes, is strongly condemned by public opinion.

among the natives of New Britain, and in one case where such an union was brought about, the natives with whom I conversed upon the subject utterly condemned it. This public feeling against such marriages is that inner regulation mentioned above."<sup>1</sup> A curious corollary of the exogamy of the two classes is that "if twins are born, and they are boy and girl, they are put to death because being of the same class and being of opposite sex, they were supposed to have had in the womb a closeness of connection which amounted to a violation of their marital class law."<sup>2</sup> The two exogamous classes are not distinguished from each other by any outward badge or mark which a European can recognise. Yet a native knows at once the class to which another native belongs.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. G. Brown on the exogamous class of New Britain, etc.

"All lands, fruit-trees, fishing-grounds in the lagoon belong definitely to the respective classes. A *Maramara* cannot set his fish-trap on *Pikalaba* fishing-stones, and *vice versa*. Such an act would certainly cause a fight. Inter-marriage in either class is absolutely forbidden. Any such marriage would be considered incestuous and would bring speedy punishment: in fact, the whole of the people would be horrified at such an event and the parties would almost certainly be killed. They also called incestuous (*knou*) any one who killed or ate any portion of a person of the same class as himself, e.g. a *Maramara* who killed or ate a *Maramara*. The children all belong to the mother's class. These respective classes are well known, but there are no outward signs or marks to distinguish them. I think that in theory, but in theory only, every *Maramara* woman is every *Pikalaba* man's wife, and *vice versa*, but there is no trace, so far as I know, of anything like communal marriage: on the contrary it appears to me that the

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Benjamin Danks, "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 281-283.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. B. Danks, *op. cit.* p. 292.

<sup>3</sup> Joachim Graf von Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee* (Brunswick, 1899), p. 27. This writer's account of the exogamous

classes and totems of the New Britain, Duke of York, and New Ireland natives (*op. cit.* pp. 27 sq.) agrees closely with that of Mr. B. Danks and may be borrowed from it. That there is no external mark to distinguish the two exogamous classes in the Gazelle Peninsula is stated also by Mgr. Couppé, "En Nouvelle-Poméranie," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xxiii. (1891) p. 365.

regulations prohibiting the intercourse or even mentioning the names of relatives show that this was very repugnant to public sentiment and feeling."<sup>1</sup>

Other writers who have noticed the two exogamous classes of the natives of the Gazelle Peninsula make no mention of the class names *Maramara* and *Pikalaba*, but merely tell us that the natives distinguish the two classes by two words which in their language mean or are derived from the personal pronouns "we" and "they." Thus a man speaking of his own class would say *a te avet* "our class," and speaking of the other class he would say *a te diat* "their class."<sup>2</sup> This may be compared to the custom in Southern Melanesia, where there are no distinctive names for the two classes, but where the members of each class distinguish their own class as "our side of the house" and the other class as "the other side of the house."<sup>3</sup>

As usually happens under a system of mother-kin, the relation between a man and his sister's children is especially close. The relation is expressed by the word *matuana*, which is a reciprocal term, being applied both by the nephew to his uncle and by the uncle to his nephew. The maternal uncle, we are told, "takes the chief place in the Melanesian family, and the parents fall into the background before him. The whole law of the family and of inheritance is regulated by the relation between kinsfolk on the mother's side; kinship on the father's side is not considered. The children belong neither to the father nor to the mother but to the mother's brother or to her nearest kinsman. If a woman marries a man

Other modes of designating the two classes.

Close relationship between a man and his sister's children.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. G. Brown, D.D., *Melanesians and Polynesians, their Life Histories illustrated and compared* (in manuscript). The author has kindly allowed me to quote from some portions of this forthcoming work.

<sup>2</sup> P. A. Kleintitschen (Missionary in New Britain), *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel* (Hiltrup bei Münster, preface date Christmas, 1906), p. 191. According to Monsignore Couppé, the term which people apply to their own class is *A-temavet*, from *a-te* "sprung from" and *a-vet* "we"; and the term which they apply to the other class is

*A-tematan*, from *a-te* "sprung from" and *tan* "some one," "another." See Mgr. Couppé, "En Nouvelle-Poméranie," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xxiii. (1891) p. 365. According to Mr. R. Parkinson the terms in question are *tavevet* "we" and *tadiat* "they." See R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 67. In the Duke of York Islands "we" is *dat* and "they" is *diat*. See R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesian Languages* (Oxford, 1885), p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 70.

of another tribe, all the children must return to the tribe of the mother and to her sept. The maternal uncle has the full right to dispose of his nephews and nieces, and in coming to his decisions he need not trouble himself about the wishes of the parents. When the children are grown bigger, they leave their father and mother and go to their *matuana*. They live in his house and work for him. They have every motive to stand on a good footing with him, for they look to him entirely and are dependent on him. From their parents they have nothing to expect, after they have received from them bare life. When they are marriageable, the maternal uncle must buy them a wife. On the death of the *matuana*, it is not his own children but his nephews who come forward as heirs. With the inheritance goes also the honour to bury the deceased and to divide his shell-money."<sup>1</sup>

Mutual  
avoidance  
of brothers  
and sisters,

The mutual avoidance between brother and sister which we have met with in Southern Melanesia<sup>2</sup> is practised to some extent among the natives of the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain. After her marriage a sister is not allowed to have social intercourse or to talk with her brother; she never utters his name, but designates him by another word.<sup>3</sup> Strict rules of etiquette also regulate the relations between a man and his wife's family; a violation of them would be regarded as a grave breach of decorum and punished correspondingly. A man and his wife's parents call each other *nimuan*, but they never call each other by their own names, indeed it is forbidden to do so. The taboo goes so far that if, for example, the father-in-law is called Breadfruit (*kapiaka*), or Coco-nut (*lama*), two not uncommon names, the son-in-law may not call breadfruit breadfruit or coco-nuts coco-nuts, but must use some other word for one or the other. Son-in-law and parents-in-law may offer each other betel-nuts, but they may not eat with each other nor see each other eat. A man may not enter the house of his wife's parents. After her marriage a woman stands in precisely the same relations to her husband's family.<sup>4</sup> Brothers-in-law are also

and of  
relations by  
marriage.

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel*, pp. 190 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 77 sq.

<sup>3</sup> R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 67 sq.

<sup>4</sup> R. Parkinson, *op. cit.* p. 67.

forbidden to mention each other's names. If one of them speaks to another, he always uses the plural form; the proper name of his brother-in-law never passes his lips. A man who addresses his brother-in-law by his name, offers thereby the greatest insult to the whole of his wife's family. How deeply the insult is felt may be inferred from its punishment; for the affront is a capital offence, and the offender is put out of the way.<sup>1</sup>

As usual, exogamy coexists with the classificatory system of relationship. "While we, for example, specially designate by the word 'father' the person who is father, the Melanesian rather expresses by that word the relation which exists between father and son. Thus he says of a father and son '*Dir tamana*,' 'They two are fathers,' that is, the relation of fatherhood exists between them. The uncle on the father's side is also addressed as father, and the children of different brothers call each other brothers. But if the father of one child and the mother of another are brother and sister, then these children call each other *a Nauvana*. The Melanesian child gives the name of mother not only to the woman who bore it, but also to all its aunts on the mother's side. A European who is not familiar with these relations is surprised when he hears a Melanesian boasting of having three mothers. His confusion becomes greater when the three mothers in question stoutly assert '*Amital qa kava ia*,' 'We all three gave birth to him.'"<sup>2</sup> This passage, which I have translated literally from the account of a Catholic missionary who has lived among the people he describes, well illustrates the difference between the savage and the civilised conceptions of fatherhood and motherhood, and proves once more, if another proof were needed, how vain it is to attempt to understand the classificatory system of relationship if we persist in associating the ideas of

Classi-  
ficatory  
system of  
relation-  
ship in  
New  
Britain.

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Kleintitschen, *Die Kustenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel*, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> P. A. Kleintitschen, *op. cit.* pp. 188, 190. The Rev. B. Danks writes: "The uncle (maternal) has often been called *father* in my hearing, while the father's brother has been termed on Duke of York *Labag*, and on New Britain *Matwaqu*, which may

be rendered uncle. The aunt on the mother's side has also been termed mother" (B. Danks, "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 294). In this statement it would seem that the paternal uncle and the maternal uncle have been inadvertently interchanged.

procreation with the terms which in that system are the nearest equivalents to our terms "father" and "mother."

Totemism  
and exo-  
gamy in  
New  
Ireland.

In New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) marriage may only take place between persons who have different family crests or totems; sexual intercourse between persons of the same totemic group is regarded as incest and is still punished with the death of the woman at least and often with that of both the culprits. The avengers are always men of the same totem. The totems are birds (*manu*). Children always take their totem from their mother. Persons who have the same totem regard each other as near relations, even if they are quite strangers, and they receive and entertain each other in their houses, as if they had been friends and acquaintances for years. As a rule they band together to carry out enterprises in common. In wars between the districts, if there should be men of the same totem arrayed on both sides, they will tacitly avoid each other and attack men of a different totem. In the great carvings which serve as memorials of the dead the totemic bird (*manu*) of the deceased must always be represented. Among these totemic birds are the hornbill and the dove. But other animals, such as serpents, lizards, sharks, dolphins, and pigs, also figure in the memorial carvings, some of them representing evil spirits which combat and are vanquished by the totem.<sup>1</sup>

Totemic  
dances.

The natives of New Ireland dance totem-dances in imitation of the movements of their totemic birds, and the dancers who personate the bird always belong to its totemic group. For example, men who have the hornbill (*Rhytidoceros plicatus* Forst.) for their totem stand in pairs, one pair behind the other in a long row, each man holding in his mouth a carved and painted mask of a hornbill's head. The hornbill is a shy and wary bird which, while it eats the fruits on the tree-tops, keeps a sharp look-out for its foes, turning its head in all directions, and flying away with a peculiar scream and a loud flapping of

<sup>1</sup> R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 267, 648-651. The word *manu*, with variations of it (*man*, *men*, *mon*, etc.), stands for "bird" in many Melanesian languages. See R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesian Languages*, p. 39.

its wings whenever it takes alarm. These motions and these sounds are all mimicked by the dancers. Another totemic dance represents a dove, which is a totem, pursued by its enemy the serpent. Two men personate doves hopping from bough to bough, while two long lines of men represent the serpent wriggling after its prey.<sup>1</sup>

In the central part of New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) the whole native population is divided into two exogamous classes which bear the names of *Pakilaba* or *Malabar* and *Tarago* or *Taragau* respectively.<sup>2</sup> These names are borrowed, with slight changes, from the native names for two birds *Malaba* (*Haliaetus leucogaster*) and *Taraga* (*Pandion leucocephalus*). Both the birds are sacred to the natives, who say of them *a man tabu*, "a bird sacred," and will not catch or kill them. They are also displeased if the birds are shot by a European or a Chinese; and should they obtain possession of the dead bird, they treat it like a human being. Members of the exogamous class to which the bird gives its name bury it and give a feast in its honour, just as is customary at the death of a man. However, this custom is more and more on the wane. The two birds may provisionally be called the totems of their respective classes.<sup>3</sup> It is commonly supposed that the original ancestor of each class had his abode in a flowing water especially in a mountain spring. The waters of the *Pikalaba* or *Malabar* class do not allow people of the *Tarago* class to bathe in them, and *vice versa*. The souls of all the dead, whether men, women, or children, go to the water of their totem and sometimes live in great trees beside it. They may not stray far from the spot, but at night they can quit the water,

Two exogamous classes (*Pakilaba* and *Tarago*) with bird totems in Central New Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 279 sq.

<sup>2</sup> P. G. Peckel, "Die Verwandtschaftsnamen des mittleren Neumecklenburg," *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) p. 458; Albert Hahl (Herbertshöhe), "Das mittlere Neumecklenburg," *Globus*, xci. (1907) p. 313. The former writer gives the names as *Pakilaba* and *Tarago*, without noting any variations. The latter writer gives the names as *Malabar* and *Taragau* or *Taravo*, but notes that

alternative names for *Malabar* class are *Pikalabar* (*sic*) and *Manikulai*. The names *Pakilaba* and *Malabar* seem to be merely other forms of the names *Pikalaba* and *Maramara*. See above, pp. 119 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> P. G. Peckel and A. Hahl, *l.c.* According to the latter writer, the dead bird is buried in the chief's enclosure or compound (*takul*). Both these writers speak of the two birds as the totems of their respective classes.

and then it is dangerous for living people of the other totem to meet them. However, in such a ghostly encounter a man is protected by the ghosts (*taberan*) of people of his own totem.<sup>1</sup>

Maternal descent of the classes: marriage within the class punished with death.

The wife of a *Pakilaba* man must always be a *Tarago* woman, and the wife of a *Tarago* man must always be a *Pakilaba* woman; in short, the two classes *Pakilaba* and *Tarago* are exogamous. All the children belong to the class of their mother and take her totem. If nevertheless two persons of the same class marry, they fall under what is called the *budo* or ban. The punishment for their crime is hanging, which the culprits must inflict upon themselves. However, under the influence of the whites this custom is falling into desuetude. The children of such an incestuous union are called a *nat-na-tahanuo*.<sup>2</sup>

Sub-divisions of the two classes.

Each of the two exogamous classes is divided into numerous clans or families called a *Hun* or a *Huntunan*, all of them with their own names, which are said to be those of influential ancestors long dead. Thus the *Pakilaba* class includes the clans or families a *Tunubuah*, a *Hunanar*, a *Isnamarodu*, etc.; and the class *Tarago* includes the clans or families a *Sosir*, a *Rapis*, a *Selaman*, a *Ulohothot*, etc.<sup>3</sup> In Sohun the clans, arranged under their respective classes, are as follows:—<sup>4</sup>

- |                           |   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|---------------------------|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Pakilaba<br>or<br>Malabar | { | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Bisakubar (said to mean "red earth").</li> <li>2. Banban (said to mean "harbour").</li> <li>3. Sarauai (meaning ?).</li> <li>4. Balage (?).</li> <li>5. Dunobua (name of a stream in Sohun).</li> <li>6. Heba (?).</li> </ol>          |
| Tarago                    | { | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Baka (name of a river in Kudukudu ?).</li> <li>2. Karbabus (name of a tree).</li> <li>3. Buranta (name of a stream in Sohun).</li> <li>4. Matalapuau (name of a stream in Matanangas).</li> <li>5. Dul (name of a serpent).</li> </ol> |

<sup>1</sup> A. Hahl, "Das mittlere Neu-mecklenburg," *Globus*, xci. (1907) pp. 313, 314.

<sup>2</sup> P. G. Peckel, in *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) p. 458. Compare A. Hahl, in *Globus*, xci. (1907) p. 313, who says that the punishment of death is

inflicted on the criminals by their nearest kinsfolk.

<sup>3</sup> P. G. Peckel, in *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) p. 459.

<sup>4</sup> A. Hahl, in *Globus*, xci. (1907) p. 313.

At her first menstruation every girl must retire into a small house or chamber (*mbak*), which is built in the ordinary large house of the women. Here she has to hide herself for ten months, though at night she is allowed to go into the open on condition of cowering down so that no one may observe her state. She is attended to by old women, who introduce to her all the men, even the married men. But after she emerges from her seclusion, she belongs to her future husband alone.<sup>1</sup> This custom appears to be a relic of sexual communism or of group marriage.

Apparent relic of group marriage or sexual communism.

The natives of Central New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) combine, as usual, totemism and exogamy with the classificatory system of relationship. Children apply the same term *mama* or *tamagu* (both meaning "my father") to their own father and to his brothers; and conversely a man applies the same term *natigu* ("my child") both to his own children and to the children of his brothers. Descent being in the maternal line, the totem of a man and his brothers is always different from the totem of their children.<sup>2</sup> Children apply the same term *makai* ("my mother") to their own mother and to her sisters; and conversely a woman applies the same terms *r'anugu bulu* ("my boy") and *r'anugu hinasik* ("my girl") both to her own children and to the children of her sisters. Descent being in the maternal line, the totem of a mother and her sisters is always the same as the totem of their children.<sup>3</sup> The sons of two brothers or of two sisters call each other brothers (*hatatacin*), and the sons of these sons also call each other brothers, and so on through all generations. Brothers in the same generation have always the same totem.<sup>4</sup> The daughters of two sisters or of two brothers call each other sisters (*hatasahin*), and the daughters of these daughters also call each other sisters, and so on through all generations. Sisters in the same generation have always the same totem.<sup>5</sup> The son and daughter of two brothers (*hatatacin*) or of two sisters (*hatasahin*) call each other brother and sister (*hatahinen*), and the son and

Classificatory system of relationship in Central New Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> A. Hahl, in *Globus*, xci. (1907) p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> P. G. Peckel, in *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) pp. 463, 472.

<sup>3</sup> P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* pp. 464, 472.

<sup>4</sup> P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* p. 464.

<sup>5</sup> P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* p. 465.

daughter of that son and that daughter call each other brother and sister (*hatahinen*), and so on through all generations. Such a son and daughter in the same generation have always the same totem.<sup>1</sup> The sons of a brother and a sister call each other *dir lapun*; and the daughters of a brother and a sister also call each other *dir lapun*. Such sons have always different totems, because their mothers have different totems; and such daughters have also always different totems, because their mothers have different totems.<sup>2</sup> The son and daughter of a brother and a sister (*hatahinen*) call each other *dir hinen kokup*. They have always different totems, because their mothers have different totems.<sup>3</sup>

Some marriages between persons near of kin are prohibited by the class-law and others by custom.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that marriage between a mother and her son is excluded by the law of class exogamy, because mother and son belong to the same class and totem. Further, marriage between a brother and sister is excluded for the same reason, because both belong to the same class and totem. Further, marriage between cousins who are children of two brothers is excluded, for the same reason, because the children are of the same class and totem. Further, marriage between cousins who are children of two sisters is excluded for the same reason, because the children are of the same class and totem. But on the other hand the law of class-exogamy does not, with maternal descent of the classes, exclude the marriage of a father with his daughter, because he and she always belong to different classes and totems; nor does it exclude the marriage of cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively, because such cousins always belong to different classes and totems. Yet both such marriages, though not forbidden by the law of class-exogamy, are most rigidly forbidden by custom. The penalty for incest with a daughter is death by hanging.<sup>4</sup> Cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively not only may not marry each other; they may not approach each other, they may not shake hands or even touch each other, they may not give each other presents, they may not

Mutual avoidance of cousins.

<sup>1</sup> P. G. Peckel, in *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) pp. 465 sq.

<sup>2</sup> P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* p. 467.

<sup>3</sup> P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* p. 470.

<sup>4</sup> P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* p. 463.

mention each other's names. But they are allowed to speak to each other at a distance of some paces.<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that this mutual avoidance of cousins who are forbidden by custom, though not by the class-law, to marry each other is a precaution to prevent the violation of the custom; whether it has been instituted deliberately or grown up instinctively, its effect is to raise an artificial barrier between the forbidden persons and so far to deliver them from temptation. Now similar rules of avoidance are observed not only between such cousins but also between brother and sister, although brother and sister, being always of the same totem, are forbidden by the law of class-exogamy to marry each other. There is a mutual shyness or shame between them. They may not come near each other, they may not shake hands, they may not touch each other, they may not give each other presents; but they are allowed to speak to each other at a distance of some paces. The penalty for incest with a sister, like that for incest with a daughter, is death by hanging.<sup>2</sup> We can therefore scarcely doubt that the mutual avoidance of brother and sister has been either instituted deliberately or grown up instinctively as a precaution against incest between them; sexual intercourse between a brother and sister is apparently viewed as a crime so serious, that the ordinary rule of exogamy is not a sufficient safeguard against it, but must be reinforced by other and stringent measures. In Southern Melanesia, as we have seen, the same mutual avoidance of brother and sister exists and is to be explained in the same way.<sup>3</sup>

A brief account of totemism and exogamy in Southern New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) is given by Messrs. E. Stephan and F. Graebner. It applies to the coast from Umuddu to Cape St. George and runs as follows:—

"The social life is founded on marriage, and the marriage union is first of all influenced by the circumstance that the inhabitants of every district belong to two totems, as to which, with the exception of those of Laur, it is doubtful whether, in spite of their designation as *Pissin*,

<sup>1</sup> P. G. Peckel, in *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) pp. 467, 470 sq.

<sup>2</sup> P. G. Peckel, *op. cit.* p. 467.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 77 sqq.

The mutual avoidance of cousins and of brothers and sisters is a precaution against incest.

Totemism in Southern New Ireland.

they are named after birds. It was only after long acquaintance with the people of Lamassa that we were able to penetrate in some measure into these complicated relations. There the people belong either to the class<sup>1</sup> *baumbaum* or to *marrmarr*, and every native in the village can tell with surprising certainty the 'class bird'<sup>2</sup> of every inhabitant. These two totems extend,<sup>3</sup> according to Tompuan's statements, to Lambell, Kandass and Mioko. Mioko and Lamassa are quite different linguistic areas, but the inhabitants trade with each other and live on good terms. . . . Laur has for its class birds *tarrangau* (*Pandion haliaetus*) and *mannigulai* or *mallawa*. Marriages between Laur and the districts Kandass and Pugusch seem not to take place. Persons who have the same totem may not marry each other. The children always belong to their mother's totem, that is, mother-right is the rule." To which the writers add: "It must always be emphatically stated that the terms father-right and mother-right indicate simply and solely the group to which the individual belongs and the other definite systems of relationship determined thereby; they have not the least to do with the higher or lower position of women. Indeed it might on the contrary be affirmed that in general women are more highly esteemed in districts where father-right is the rule than in districts where mother-right prevails."<sup>3</sup> Of these two exogamous classes *baumbaum* and *marrmarr* the name of the latter appears to be identical with *maramara*, the name of one of the two exogamous classes in New Britain.<sup>4</sup>

Mother-right does not imply mother-rule, rather the contrary.

Totemism in the islands of Tanga and Aneri.

Off the east coast of New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) lie two groups of islands, the one called Tanga or Caens and the other Aneri or St. John. In these islands and in the district called Siara on the south-eastern coast of New Ireland all the natives have totems, which they call *manu* ("birds"), though in fact among the totems are animals as well as birds. These totemic creatures are the sea-eagle

<sup>1</sup> *Stammesgenossenschaft*.

<sup>2</sup> *Stammesvogel*.

<sup>3</sup> Emil Stephan und Fritz Graebner,

*Neu-Mecklenburg (Bismarck-Archipel), Die Küste von Umuddu bis Kap St. Georg* (Berlin, 1907), pp. 106 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 119 sqq.

(*manlam*), the dove (*am bal*), the black and white fly-catcher (*an dun*), two kinds of parrots (*angkika* and *am pirik*), the sea-gull (*tagau*), the dog (*fumpul*), and the pig (*fumbo*). No man may marry a woman of his own totem, and more than that, the men of any one totem clan are not free to marry the women of any other totem clan. The Sea-gull men always marry Sea-eagle women. The Parrot men of one clan (the *am pirik*) may only marry Parrot women of the other clan (the *angkika*) or Dove women. The Black and White Fly-catcher men may marry Sea-eagle, Sea-gull, and Dove women, and also the women of one of the two Parrot clans (namely, the *angkika*). The Pig men may marry women of any other totem except Sea-eagle women, and Dog men may marry women of any totem but their own. Sexual intercourse between men and women of the same totem is punished with death. At festivities and gatherings of all sorts, as well as in the frequent feuds, members of the same totem keep together. The totem birds and animals are not in any way respected; they are eaten just like any ordinary beasts and birds.<sup>1</sup>

In the St. Mathias and Kerue or Emirau Islands, to the north of New Hanover, the natives are divided into exogamous classes each with its totem or totemic badge, but no particulars as to the system have been obtained.<sup>2</sup> Lastly, the totemic system exists among the natives of the Admiralty Islands, which may be regarded as forming the north-western extremity of Melanesia. The Admiralty Islanders are divided into three tribes or stocks, the Moanus, the Matankor, and the Usiai. Of these the Moanus are a sea-faring folk, who inhabit the coast; they build their villages on the beach or in shallow water on reefs; the houses always stand upon piles. The Usiai are an inland people who build their houses on the ground. The Matanakor are intermediate between the other two tribes, for they are tillers of the soil as well as mariners. In many respects the islanders resemble the Papuans of New Guinea, but the population seems to be hybrid; for there are traces of a fairer race mixed with the swarthy Papuan element, which

Totemism  
in the St.  
Mathias,  
Kerue, and  
Admiralty  
Islands.

<sup>1</sup> R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 652 sq.

<sup>2</sup> R. Parkinson, *op. cit.* p. 337.

dominates the breed.<sup>1</sup> All three tribes of the Admiralty Islanders are divided into totemic clans or groups, of which the following have been recorded :—

1. The group *Kol*, with five different totems, namely a kind of fish (*kanas*), the pig (*pou*), the cuscus (*lauat*), the crocodile (*mbuai*), and a large fish (*kemendra*). The *Kol* group is strongly represented in Papitalai.
2. The group *Poendrilei*, a kind of fish, dominant in Siwisa.
3. The group *Pal*, the dove, strongly represented in the island of Pak.
4. The group *Peu*, the shark.
5. The group *Kobat*, the crab.
6. The group *Tjunjak*, a kind of oyster, and *Sawol*, the pearl-oyster.
7. The group *Tjauka*, Philemon coquerelli, and *Pongopong*, a fruit.
8. The group *Uri*, a species of silurus (German *Schweinfisch*).
9. The group *Kareng*, a parrot, and *Kararat*, the turtle.
10. The group *Karipou*, a kind of heron.
11. The group *Tjilim*, a kind of starling, and *Tjihir*, a parrot.
12. The group *Ngong*, the sea-swallow, and *Palimat*, the flying squirrel.
13. The group *Kata*, the frigate-bird, and *Kanau*, the tropic-bird.
14. The group *Kanau*, a kind of sea-swallow.

Rules of marriage and descent.

Relations between persons of the same totem.

Respect for the totem.

The totem (*patandrusu*) is inherited by children from their mother. Persons of the same totem may not marry each other, but of late the rule has been less strictly observed, especially among the Usiai and Matankor. Among the Moanus, on the other hand, marriage with a woman of the same totem is viewed as incestuous and disgraceful. Persons of the same totem arrayed on opposite sides in battle will not attack each other. Castaways and strangers are treated as friends by people of the same totem; and a man will not steal from members of his totemic group. But there is no outward mark or badge to distinguish the persons, the houses, or the canoes of the different totem clans. When the totem is an edible animal, members of the totem clan abstain from eating it.<sup>2</sup>

### § 6. Totemism in Eastern Melanesia (Fiji).

Exogamous classes not found in Fiji.

The most easterly branch of the Melanesian stock are the Fijians, whose archipelago, including the two large islands of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, is situated in the

<sup>1</sup> R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 351, 354.

<sup>2</sup> R. Parkinson, *op. cit.* pp. 392 sq.

Pacific Ocean to the eastward of the New Hebrides. While exogamous classes such as prevail in the rest of Melanesia have not been found in Fiji, clear traces of totemism have been detected in the respect which tribes and subdivisions of tribes pay to particular species of animals and plants. Thus the English missionary Thomas Williams, one of our earliest and best authorities on the people of Fiji, writes as follows: "Certain birds, fish, plants, and some men, are supposed to have deities closely connected with or residing in them. At Lakemba, Tui Lakemba,<sup>1</sup> and on Vanua Levu, Ravuravu,<sup>2</sup> claim the hawk as their abode; Viavia, and other gods, the shark. One is supposed to inhabit the eel, and another the common fowl, and so on until nearly every animal becomes the shrine of some deity. He who worships the god dwelling in the eel, must never eat of that fish, and thus of the rest; so that some are *tabu* from eating human flesh, because the shrine of their god is a man. The people clearly maintain the Popish distinction between the material sign and the spiritual essence symbolized; but, in one case as in the other, the distinction seems sometimes to be practically lost. Thus the land-crab is the representative of Roko Suka, one of the gods formerly worshipped in Tiliva, where land-crabs are rarely seen, so that a visit from one became an important matter. Any person who saw one of these creatures, hastened to report to an old man, who acted as priest, that their god had favoured them with a call. Orders were forthwith given that new nuts should be gathered, and a string of them was formally presented to the crab, to prevent the deity from leaving with an impression that he was neglected, and visiting his remiss worshippers with drought, dearth, or death."<sup>3</sup> On the coast of Viti Levu another English missionary, the Rev. Lorimer Fison, found a native teaching his son to worship his god, which was the native Fijian rat, at a small shrine near the beach. On being asked why he worshipped the rat, the man answered, "Because he is our father."<sup>4</sup>

Traces of totemism.

Thomas Williams on the indwelling deities of animals, plants, and men in Fiji.

<sup>1</sup> A god.

<sup>2</sup> Another god.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, Second Edition (London, 1860), i. 219 sq. Compare B. Seeman, *Viti, an Account of a Government*

*Mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands* (Cambridge, 1862), p. 392.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. Lorimer Fison, "On Apparent Reminiscences of Totemism in Fiji," *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 136.

Father de Marzan on totemism in Fiji.

A Catholic missionary, Father J. de Marzan, reports that in the large island of Viti Levu certain tribes have each a pair of principal totems consisting of a tree and an animal, and that some tribes call themselves by the name of one or other of their totems, but oftener by the name of their tree totem than of their animal totem. Thus the Vunaqumu tribe has for its totem the *qumu* tree; the Bau tribe has for its totem the *bau* tree; the Namoto tribe has for its totem the *moto* or *voto* tree; and the Nareba (Naremba) tribe has for its totem the *reba*, which is a kind of hawk. But many tribes are not named after their totems. Father de Marzan gives the following list of tribes with their totems:—

List of Fijian tribes with their totems.

Tribes.	Tree Totem.	Animal Totem.
Vunaqumu	<i>qumu</i>	<i>auna</i> (eel)
Nasalia	<i>wi</i>	<i>balei</i> (serpent)
Namoto	<i>moto</i>	<i>kula</i> (kind of parrot, French <i>perruche</i> )
Jubai	<i>baka</i> (banyan)	<i>beka</i> (bat)
Naboro	<i>boro</i> (pepper)	<i>ura</i> (shrimp)
Nanuyamalo	<i>vasili</i>	<i>vokai</i> (lizard)
Naha	<i>boa</i>	<i>beli</i> (? loach, French <i>lochet</i> )
Batinikia	<i>vasa</i>	<i>boto</i> (frog)
Navitilevu	<i>sou</i>	<i>lele</i> (titmouse)
Waimaro (Solo i ra)	<i>molaca</i>	<i>sici</i> (a shell)
Oralau	<i>boa</i>	<i>saca</i> (Fijian quail)
Nareba	<i>yakona</i> (kava)	<i>reba</i> (hawk)
Nagole	<i>dakua</i>	<i>reve</i> (perch)
Lomairuna	<i>masulele</i>	<i>waituitui</i> (hawk)
Naboubuco	<i>mako</i>	<i>soge</i> (pigeon)

Accessory totems.

The subdivisions of a tribe sometimes have what may be called accessory totems of their own in addition to the general tribal totem. For example, the Nanuyamalo tribe has for its totem the lizard, and the division of the tribe which lives at Wainimala has for its accessory totem the parrot (*kaka*) in addition to the lizard, the totem of the whole tribe.

Respect paid to the totems.

The respect paid to the principal totems was very great. Thus the tree totem might not be cut, except to procure its

leaves or branches as a personal decoration in the dances ; the animal totem might not be eaten without incurring death or the anger of the spirits. Hence old people still abstain from eating their totems. The younger generations are less particular, but still they have a great respect at least for the totem animal. Strangers passing through the territory of another tribe may not eat the tribal totem, and they are strictly forbidden to mention its name aloud. Any stranger who infringes these rules must pay a fine to the tribe or receive a beating. A woman who is married in another tribe respects the totems of her husband's tribe as well as her own. But her children respect only the paternal totems, unless they go to live in their mother's tribe. The totem animal was supposed always to appear to a mother just before the birth of her child. Further, the totem was consulted in war, in sickness, at marriage, and so forth. Its appearance was a good or bad omen, a sign of life or of death according to the place where it appeared. Before a war the priest or diviner used to dream of the totem and in accordance with his dream he predicted to the people the issue of the war. For example, if the tribal totem was a lizard, and the priest in his dream saw the lizard going up a tree, it was an omen of victory ; but if he saw it coming down the tree, it was an augury of defeat.<sup>1</sup>

Appearance of the totem animal to women before child-birth; omens drawn from it in war.

Further traces of totemism in Fiji were independently observed and recorded by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers during a short visit which he paid to the islands in 1908.<sup>2</sup> He tells us that the people of the interior of Viti Levu form a number of independent communities, which may probably be regarded as tribes, and each tribe is again divided and subdivided into sections which now bear little resemblance to totem clans of the ordinary pattern. The animals from which descent is traced and whose flesh is forbidden as food are usually associated with the tribes rather than with their divisions, though some of these divisions have often sacred animals or plants peculiar to themselves in addition to those which are

Dr. Rivers on totemism in Fiji.

Belief in descent from the sacred animals.

<sup>1</sup> J. de Marzan, "Le Totémisme aux Isles Fiji," *Anthropos*, ii. (1907) pp. 400-405.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Fiji," *Man*, viii. (1908) pp. 133-136.

In his researches Dr. Rivers was helped by Mr. A. B. Joske, who has long been in charge of the northern and eastern parts of the interior of the island.

sacred or tabooed to them as members of the tribe. The following are examples all taken from a small district in the northern part of the interior of Viti Levu. The people of Cawanisa have as their sacred animal the *dravidravi*, a small aquatic creature of some kind; they believe that they are descended from it, and they will not eat it. The Nadrau (Nandrau) or Navuta people have as their sacred animal the *qiliyago*,<sup>1</sup> a small black bird with a long beak, and this bird is tabooed to the whole tribe. But some of the divisions of the tribe have in addition taboos peculiar to themselves; thus the Wailevu division will eat neither the dog nor a fish called *dabea*, and the Kaivuci division may not eat snakes. Again, the Navatusila people had as the sacred animal common to them all the *ganivutu*, a fish-hawk; but one of their divisions, the Hamarama, was also forbidden to eat fowls; another, the Vadrasinga, might not eat the *cogi*, a pigeon; the Naremba (Nareba) might not eat the bird called *reba*;<sup>2</sup> and three divisions, the Ivisi, Nanoko, and Iasawa, might not eat the dog. In each case the members of the smaller groups believed in their descent from the tabooed animal. Other sacred animals of this part of the island were the owl, a bird called *tuitui*, a species of lizard, the kingfisher, and a prawn. The people who believed in their descent from a prawn were allowed to eat the animal, but only with its shell.

On the foregoing evidence Dr. Rivers observes:<sup>3</sup> "I think that few will doubt that the foregoing facts demonstrate the existence of totemism in Fiji. There are present the three characteristic features of this institution: belief in descent from the totem, prohibition of the totem as an article of food, and the connection of the totem with a definite unit of the social organisation. In the third feature Fijian society differs from that usually associated with totemism in that the sacred animal usually belongs to a group which appears

<sup>1</sup> In the official spelling of Fijian words *q* stands for the sound of *ng* in finger, *g* for the sound of *ng* in singer, *b* for the sound of *mb*, and *d* for the sound of *nd*. Some writers adopt the official spelling, others retain the ordinary English mode of representing the sounds. I have not at-

tempted to reduce these divergences in my authorities to uniformity; hence some inconsistencies in spelling may be observed in my statements.

<sup>2</sup> The *reba* is a hawk. See above, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Fiji," *Man*, viii. (1908) pp. 134 sq.

Additional  
totemic  
taboos.

In Fiji the  
sacred  
animals are  
associated  
rather with  
tribes than  
with their  
subdivi-  
sions, and  
marriage is  
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by kinship,  
not by  
exogamous  
classes.

to correspond to a tribe instead of belonging to a division of the tribe. The Fijian social organisation has, however, departed so widely from the primitive type that this is not surprising. At present marriage is regulated solely by kinship, and there is no evidence that any of the social divisions are exogamous. Though the sacred animals usually belong to the tribe, they are, as we have seen, still also frequently connected with the smaller divisions which may possibly be the representatives of exogamous septs; and the customary connection of a sacred animal with the tribe as a whole is probably late, a result of the high development of chieftainship in Fiji, the chief having imposed his totem on the whole tribe.

“Among these hill tribes it seemed clear that the sacred animals had become gods, which had, however, retained their animal form definitely. I was told by one of the Nadrau people of certain rules of conduct given to them by the bird *qiliyago*, and it would seem that we have here an early stage in the evolution of a god from a totem animal. During a short stay in the Rewa district in the low country, I found a condition showing a later stage in this evolution. Here each village had a deity called *tevororo* with a name which usually showed no sign of an animal origin, but in many cases these deities had the power of turning into animals, and in such cases the people of the village in question were not allowed to eat the animal. Thus, the people of Lasakau, a division of Bau, had a *tevororo* called Butakoivalu, who turned into the *sese*, a bird of the same shape as the *qiliyago*, but of a different colour, being blue with a white breast. The bird could not be eaten, and here, as in the hills, it was clear that the restriction extended to the whole people and was not limited to either of the two divisions of which the Lasakau people are composed. The village of Tokatoka had as *tevororo*, Rokobatidua, lord of one tooth (mentioned by Williams),<sup>1</sup> who could turn into a hawk. The

Fijian  
totems  
have  
passed or  
are passing  
into gods  
with animal  
attributes.

Deities  
(*tevororo*)  
who turn  
into  
animals.

<sup>1</sup> “Roko Mbatindua, ‘the one-toothed lord,’ has the appearance of a man with wings instead of arms, and emits sparks of fire in his flight through the air. On his wings are claws with which to catch his victims, and his one

tooth, fixed in the lower jaw, rises above his head” (Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*,<sup>2</sup> i. 218). The wings and claws of this deity may well be vestiges of his former character as a hawk.

people of Vunivaivai had as *tevoru* Goniogo, who could turn into a snake. The *tevoru* of Moana and Naluna were Ranasau and Rokodelana respectively, both of whom were in the habit of turning into the large shark called *qio*."

Dr. Rivers appears to be unquestionably right in holding that the sacred animals associated with tribes or subdivisions of tribes in Fiji are totems in the process of evolving into gods, and that a more advanced stage in this evolution is represented by the village deities called *tevoru*, which, though no longer conceived as animals, can yet assume at pleasure the shapes of those animals with which they were formerly identical; while the ancient totemic prohibition to eat of the totem survives in the rule which forbids the worshippers of the village god to partake of the particular creature, be it bird, or beast, or fish, into which their deity can thus transform himself. Such transformations throw light on the fables of ancient Egypt and Greece, which describe the metamorphoses of the gods into animals.

If the tribal divisions in Fiji no longer observe the rule of exogamy, and thus a characteristic feature of totemism has disappeared, nevertheless a record of the former existence of exogamous classes survives in the classificatory system of relationship, which appears to be universally prevalent among all peoples who retain or have lately lost the totemic organisation. Thus in the generation above his own a Fijian applies the same term *tama-nggu* "my father" to his own father and to his father's brothers; and if he wishes to distinguish between his father's brothers, he calls his father's elder brother "my great father" (*tama-nggu lavu*) and his father's younger brother he calls "my little father" (*tama-nggu lili*). But he applies a different term, namely *vungo-nggu* "my uncle" to his mother's brother. He applies the same term *tina-nggu* "my mother" to his own mother and to his mother's sisters; and he calls the wife of his father's elder brother "my great mother" (*tina-nggu lavu*), and he calls the wife of his father's younger brother "my little mother" (*tina-nggu lailai*). But he applies a different term, namely, *vungo-nggu*, to his father's sister. In her own generation a woman applies the same term *wati-nggu* "my husband" to her husband and to her husband's brothers. In

Fijian totemism throws light on the myths of ancient Egypt and Greece.

Classificatory system of relationship in Fiji.

the generation below his own a man applies the same term *luve-nggu* "my child" to his own children and to his brothers' children; a woman applies the same term *luve-nggu* "my child" to her own child and to her sisters' children.<sup>1</sup> But while a man calls his brothers' children his own children, and a woman calls her sisters' children her own children, a man applies a quite different term (*vungo-nggu* "my nephew" or "my niece") to his sisters' children, and a woman applies quite a different term (*vungo-nggu* "my nephew" or "my niece") to her brothers' children.<sup>2</sup> And corresponding to these differences, whereas the children of two brothers are themselves regarded as brothers and sisters, and are therefore not marriageable with each other, and whereas similarly the children of two sisters are themselves regarded as brothers and sisters, and are therefore not marriageable with each other, on the other hand a man's children are not regarded as the brothers and sisters of his sister's children, and these two sets of children, the offspring of a brother

Distinction between marriageable and not marriageable cousins.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Washington, 1871), pp. 573, 576, from information supplied by the Rev. Lorimer Fison. Morgan's work forms vol. xvii. of the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*. On the classificatory system in Fiji, see further L. Fison, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 360-371; and Basil H. Thomson, *ibid.* pp. 371-387. A different set of classificatory terms was obtained among the Nandrau people of Fiji by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, to whom I am indebted for the following particulars. A man applies the same term *kamu* to his father and to his father's brothers; the same term *nau* to his mother and to his mother's sisters; the same terms *tutua* "elder brother" and *tathinggu* "younger brother" to his brothers and to the sons, elder or younger, of his father's brothers and of his mother's sisters; he applies the same term *nganenggu* to his sisters and to the daughters of his father's brothers and of his mother's sisters; and the same term *luvenngu* to his sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters both of

his brothers and sisters. A man calls his wife *mangua*, but his wife's sisters *veilavi* or *tavali*. A wife calls her husband *mani*, but her husband's brothers *ndaku*. The distinctions thus drawn between a wife and her sisters, and between a husband and his brothers, and the confusion between a man's children and his sister's children, mark the decay of the classificatory system. Dr. Rivers confirms the accuracy of the classificatory terms given by Mr. Lorimer Fison for the coast of Fiji.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 570, 573; Basil H. Thomson, "Concubintancy in the Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 372; *id.*, *The Fijians, a Study of the Decay of Custom* (London, 1908), p. 183. The form of the word given by Mr. Thomson (*vugo*) in the former of these two passages differs from that given by Morgan (*vungo*) only in spelling. See above, p. 138, note<sup>1</sup>, as to the spelling of Fijian words.

and a sister respectively, are marriageable with each other; indeed they are each other's proper mates. Thus sharply, as regularly happens under the classificatory system, do the Fijians distinguish cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively, from cousins who are the children of two brothers or of two sisters. The former, when they are male and female, are born husband and wife to each other; the latter are born brother and sister to each other and may on no account marry. The relation of the former to each other is expressed by the Fijian term *veindavolani*, which means "marriageable," literally "concubitants"; the relation of the latter is expressed by the Fijian term *veinganeni*, which means "not marriageable," literally "those who shun each other."<sup>1</sup> "The young Fijian is from his birth regarded as the natural husband of the daughters of his father's sister and of his mother's brother. The girls can exercise no choice. They were born the property of their male concubitant if he desire to take them."<sup>2</sup> *Veindavolani* or concubitants "are born husband and wife, and the system assumes that no individual preference could hereafter destroy that relation; but the obligation does no more than limit the choice of a mate to one or other of the females who are concubitants with the man who desires to marry. It is thus true that in theory the field of choice is very large, for the concubitous relation might include third or even fifth cousins, but in practice the tendency is to marry the concubitant who is next in degree—generally a first cousin—the daughter of a maternal uncle."<sup>3</sup>

*Veinda-*  
*volani*  
(marriage-  
able) and  
*veinganeni*  
(not  
marriage-  
able).

In some  
parts of  
Fiji first  
cousins,  
the children  
of a brother

It is interesting to observe that whereas first cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, are generally in Fiji regarded as the proper mates for each other, "in Lau, Thakaundrove, and the greater part of

<sup>1</sup> L. Fison and Basil H. Thomson, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 360 sq., 371-373; Basil H. Thomson, *The Fijians*, pp. 182 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Basil H. Thomson, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 373; *id.*, *The Fijians*, p. 184. Elsewhere Mr. Thomson observes

that "every man went to his mother's tribe for a wife, and was indeed under an obligation to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother" (in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 343).

<sup>3</sup> Basil H. Thomson, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 375; *id.*, *The Fijians*, pp. 186 sq.

Vanualevu, the offspring of a brother and sister respectively do not become concubitant until the second generation. In the first generation they are called *tabu*, but marriage is not actually prohibited.”<sup>1</sup> Thus in respect of first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, the general Fijian practice resembles that of the Urabunna in recommending or even enjoining their marriage; whereas the practice of Lau, Thakaundrove, and the greater part of Vanualevu resembles that of the Dieri, in discouraging, if not forbidding, the marriage of such first cousins, while at the same time it allows their children, who are second cousins, to marry each other freely.<sup>2</sup> As I have already pointed out the rule which enjoins the consanguineous marriage of certain first cousins is older than the custom which forbids it. The prohibition was another step onward in the exogamous march, another impediment opposed to the freedom of marriage, another degree added to the table of forbidden kin.

It is to be remarked that under the ordinary Fijian rule all a man's female first cousins, the daughters of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers, were equally his concubitants or legitimate wives; in other words, he had the right to marry all his wife's sisters. “This brings us,” says Mr. Basil Thomson, “to a fresh starting-point from which the concubitous relationship is established. Since a man who is the concubitant of a woman is necessarily also the concubitant of all her sisters, by a natural evolution, if he marries a woman unrelated to him by blood, and *ipso facto* makes her his concubitant, all her sisters become his concubitants also. In the past they would have been his actual wives, for a man could not take one of several sisters—he was in honour bound to take them all. In the same way a woman and her sisters became the concubitants of all her husband's brothers, and upon his death she passed naturally to her eldest brother-in-law if he cared to take her. This does not imply polyandry or community among brothers, but rather what is known to anthropologists as

and a sister respectively, are not allowed to marry; but second cousins, the offspring of these first cousins, are allowed to do so. This agrees with the practice of the Dieri as against the Urabunna.

Right of a man to marry all his wife's sisters.

<sup>1</sup> Basil Thomson, *The Fijians*, pp. 190 sq.; *id.* in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 177 sq., 180 sq., 346.

Levirate, a woman's marriage to her brother-in-law being contingent on her husband's death."<sup>1</sup>

This right, taken with the right of a man to marry his brother's widow, points to a former system of group marriage between a number of brothers on the one side and a number of sisters on the other.

The rule that when a man marries a woman he has a right to marry her sisters also is widespread, notably among the Indians of North America.<sup>2</sup> It is clearly the converse of the rule which assigns a man's widows to his brothers, and as the latter rule points to the marriage of women to a group of brothers,<sup>3</sup> so the former rule points to the marriage of men to a group of sisters. Taken together, the two customs seem to indicate the former prevalence of marriage between a group of husbands who were brothers to each other and a group of wives who were sisters to each other. In practice the custom which permits a man to marry several sisters has diverged in an important respect from the custom which permits a woman to marry several brothers; for whereas the permission granted to a man to marry several sisters simultaneously in their lifetime has survived in many races to this day, the permission granted to a woman to marry several brothers has generally been restricted by the provision that she may only marry them successively, each after the death of his predecessor. We may conjecture that the cause of the divergence between the two customs was the greater strength of the passion of jealousy in men than in women, sisters being more willing to share a husband between them than brothers to share a wife.

Temporary reversions to group marriage in Fiji.

The Fijian classificatory term *veindavolani*, denoting groups of men and women who are by birth potential spouses to each other, corresponds to the *unawa* of the Arunta, the *nupa* of the Urabunna, and the *noa* of the Dieri.<sup>4</sup> And just as in Australia the terms expressive of group marriage coexist with customs which can only be regarded as temporary reversions to an actual practice of group marriage, so it is apparently also in Fiji. On this subject Mr. Fison tells us that "the term *veindavolani* expresses something more than is conveyed by our own

<sup>1</sup> Basil Thomson, *The Fijians*, pp. 185 sq.; *id.* in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 374 sq.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence will be given in the

sequel. The custom is practised also by some Australian tribes. See above, vol. i. p. 577, note<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 501 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 363.

word 'marriageable.' It expresses a *right*, and an *obligation*, as well as a *qualification*; a right which asserts itself clearly enough, even in settled agricultural tribes such as the Fijian, on certain ceremonial occasions. Under ordinary circumstances it is overridden by the later proprietary right conferred by actual marriage or betrothal, but it is still strong enough to assert itself on those occasions when the people deem it necessary to revert for a time, as they say, to the customs of their ancestors."<sup>1</sup>

One of the occasions when the old group rights between men and women are temporarily revived is the celebration of the rites of circumcision. In some parts of Viti Levu, namely in those in which the mysteries of the *nanga* or Stone Enclosure are practised, when a man of note is dangerously ill, the relations meet in council and agree to circumcise a lad as a propitiatory measure. Notice having been given to the priests, an uncircumcised lad, either the sick man's son or one of his brother's sons, is taken by his kinsmen to the *Vale tambu* or God's House and there presented as a *soro*, or offering of atonement, that his father may recover. His escort at the same time make valuable presentations of property and liberal promises of more. The priest graciously accepts both the presents and the promises and appoints a day for the performance of the operation. When the day has come, and the son of the sick chief has been circumcised along with other lads whose friends have agreed to take advantage of the occasion, the bloody foreskins, each stuck in the cleft of a split reed, are taken to the *nanga* or sacred stone enclosure and there presented to the chief priest. Holding the reeds in his hand, the priest presents the foreskins to the ancestral gods, and prays for the sick man's recovery. "Then follows a great feast, which ushers in a period of indescribable revelry. All distinctions of property are for the time being suspended. Men and women array themselves in all manner of fantastic garbs, address one another in the most indecent phrases, and practice unmentionable abominations openly in the public square of the town. The nearest relationships—even that of own brother and sister—seem to be no bar to the

Revival  
of group  
marriage  
at rites of  
circum-  
cision.

<sup>1</sup> L. Fison, "The Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 367.

general licence, the extent of which may be indicated by the expressive phrase of an old Nandi chief who said, 'While it lasts, we are just like the pigs.' This feasting and frolic may be kept up for several days, after which the ordinary restrictions recur once more. The rights of property are again respected, the abandoned revellers settle down into steady-going married couples, and brothers and sisters may not so much as speak to one another. Nowhere in Fiji, as far as I am aware, excepting in the Nanga country, are these extravagances connected with the rite of circumcision."<sup>1</sup>

On these occasions tribal brothers and sisters were intentionally coupled.

Fuller accounts of the licence permitted on these occasions, based in part on a written statement taken down by Mr. Edward O'Brien Heffernan, Native Advocate and Stipendiary Magistrate, from the lips of a native in presence of the principal chiefs of Nandi, Vunda, and Sambeto, were sent in manuscript by Mr. Fison to Professor E. B. Tylor, who writes on the subject as follows: "The details of indecent dances and rites referred to may be left in MS., but it is of interest, as bearing on the argument as to early communal intercourse, of which such customs may possibly be ceremonial survivals, to notice that their principle is formulated in an accepted native phrase. On the fourth day, when the food is no longer *tabu*, but *tara* (permitted), and the great feast is prepared, it is said that there are no *taukei ni vuaka se alewa* ('owners of pigs or women'). Not only does it appear that the groups of tribal brothers and sisters (using this term according to the native system of kinship) are not excluded from this temporary communion, but another MS. account by Mr. Fison mentions their being intentionally coupled, falling in one behind another in the Nanga procession, with the accompanying chant in the most explicit terms, *Ne cégentia e tu e mata*. This rite seems at least open to interpretation as a remarkable case of 'consanguine marriage' being kept up as a ceremonial institution."<sup>2</sup> Similarly Mr. Fison himself,

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Lorimer Fison, "The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure of Wainimala, Fiji," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) pp. 27 sq. As to the *nanga* or sacred stone enclosure and the rites performed in it, see further A. B. Joske, "The

Nanga of Viti-levu," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii. (1889) pp. 254-266.

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Tylor, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 28, note<sup>2</sup>.

commenting on the temporary licence accorded to the sexes at these times, justly observes: "We cannot for a moment believe that it is a mere licentious outbreak, without an underlying meaning and purpose. It is part of a religious rite, and is supposed to be acceptable to the ancestors. But why should it be acceptable to them unless it were in accordance with their own practice in the far away past?"<sup>1</sup>

The full force of the argument from this coupling together of brothers and sisters in a licentious orgy can only be appreciated when we remember that in Fiji brothers and sisters, whether own or tribal, are in ordinary life forbidden even to touch or to speak to each other. On this subject Mr. Fison tells us that "in Fiji, my sister's son's son looks upon my daughter's daughter or my brother's daughter's daughter as his sister (*ngane*) quite as much as if she were his own sister. He will *nganena* (avoid) her as carefully as if she were the daughter of his own mother. If she enter a house in which he is sitting with his legs extended, he will draw up his feet and look away from her. If he meet her in the path he will ignore her existence. It would be indecent for him to be alone with her, to touch her, or even to speak to her. If he must speak of her, he will not use the term of relationship between them; he will not say 'my *ngane*' (my sister)—he will refer to her as 'one of my kinsfolk.' In short, he makes no distinction between her and his own sister, the daughter of his own father and mother."<sup>2</sup> Similar rules of avoidance, as we have seen, are observed between brothers and sisters in other parts of Melanesia and appear to be only explicable on the hypothesis that they are intended to obviate the danger of incest between these near relations.<sup>3</sup> That hypothesis is rather confirmed than weakened by the Fijian custom which permits and even apparently compels incest between brothers and sisters, whether own or tribal,

In ordinary life brothers and sisters, own or tribal, are forbidden to touch or speak to each other.

The permission or even obligation of incest between

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Lorimer Fison, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Lorimer Fison, "The Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 363. Compare Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*<sup>2</sup>,

i. 136 sq.: "Brothers and sisters, first cousins, fathers and sons-in-law, mothers and daughters-in-law, and brothers and sisters-in-law, are thus severally forbidden to speak to each other, or to eat from the same dish."

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 77 sqq., 124, 131.

brothers and sisters, own or tribal, as a solemn rite can only be explained as a temporary reversion to an ancient custom.

as a solemn rite; for if such a thing were known to be possible on certain special occasions and it was deemed most desirable, as it was, to prevent it at all other times, we can easily understand why in common life not merely decorum but the most scrupulous reserve should be observed between brothers and sisters. The two extremes of habitual reserve and occasional licence are equally explained by the theory that the licence is a temporary reversion to an old and discredited practice, against the general recrudescence of which the reserve is intended to act as a safeguard. For it is to be borne in mind that notwithstanding the sexual orgy which takes place at circumcision the Fijians, like all the other peoples with whom we have been dealing, hold the incest of brothers with sisters, whether own or tribal, in great horror. If a man in ordinary life were to run off with a girl who stands in the relation of sisterhood (*veinganeni*) to him, even though the sisterhood were not own but tribal, "the whole tribe would be up in arms, for he has brought pollution upon them all, and all are in danger."<sup>1</sup> Thus the very same act which ordinarily is regarded as a crime that endangers the whole tribe is at other times permitted or even enforced as a religious rite for the opposite purpose of propitiating the deified ancestors on whose favour the welfare of the community is believed to depend.<sup>2</sup>

The Fijian custom which gives a man a right to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother or of

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Lorimer Fison, "The Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> As to the place of ancestor-worship in the religion of Fiji, see Basil H. Thomson, "The *Kalou-Vu* (Ancestor-Gods) of the Fijians," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 340-359, who observes (p. 343): "You are not to understand that every man when he died was deified by his sons and grandsons. . . . It was rather the masterful and oppressive chiefs that were deified, because their subjects doubted whether even in death they lost their power to harm. This brings us to the second fact about the gods of Fiji.

They were malevolent. Firstly, they had been chiefs of the blood royal who had been masterful and oppressive in life; and secondly, they were malevolent and must be appeased by propitiatory sacrifices. If you pressed a Fijian to say what became of the kind and wise chiefs, he would perhaps say that they too became spirits honoured in the world to come, but that since they were by nature inoffensive there was no object in propitiating them and so they were forgotten." However, Williams distinguishes the *kalou vu*, or gods strictly so-called, who are supposed to be eternal, from the *kalou yalo*, or deified mortals, the spirits of chiefs, heroes, and friends. See Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*,<sup>3</sup> i. 216.

his father's sister, was carefully investigated by Mr. Basil H. Thomson, formerly in charge of one of the Government departments in Fiji. In order to ascertain the frequency of such concubitous (*veindavolani*) marriages and their effect on the offspring he and his coadjutors caused a census to be taken of twelve villages, not selected from one province, but chosen only for convenience of enumeration in the widely separated provinces of Rewa, Colo East, Serna, and Ba. As regards the frequency of marriage between relations, whether first cousins or others, an analysis of the census shewed that the concubitous (*veindavolani*) relations, who had married together and who in nearly every case were actual first cousins, formed 29.7 per cent of the total number of families, and that "the concubitant and other relations who have intermarried number over two-fifths of the people, while one-third of the married people have been brought up together in the same village, and only one-fourth, not being relatives, have come from different towns."<sup>1</sup> With reference to the effect on the offspring, the results of the census shewed that concubitous marriages, that is, the marriages of first cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively, were much superior to any of the other marriages as regards both the number and the vitality of the children; for not only were more children born to them, but a larger proportion of the children born survived.<sup>2</sup> "In every respect," says Mr. Basil H. Thomson, "the concubitants appear to be the most satisfactory marriage class";<sup>3</sup> and he adds: "I am aware that the figures are far too small to allow of any generalisation from them, but at the same time, it is to be remembered that the inhabitants of these twelve villages represent a fair sample of the population, and also that we found the relative positions of the married classes to be generally the same in each village taken individually. We have here a phenomenon probably unique in the whole

Frequency and effect of cousin marriage in Fiji.

Superiority of the offspring of first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively.

<sup>1</sup> Basil H. Thomson, "Concubitancy in the Classificatory System of Relationship," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) pp. 382 sq. Of the relations other than concubitous cousins who have married two-fifths "are near relations, uncle and niece, and non-marriageable

cousins-german, brother and sister according to the Fijian ideas. But the remaining three-fifths are more distantly related than are the concubitants" (*ibid.* p. 383).

<sup>2</sup> Basil H. Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 383.

<sup>3</sup> Basil H. Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 385.

range of anthropology—a people who for generations have married their first cousins and still continue to do so, and among whom the offspring of first cousins were not only more numerous but have greater vitality than the children of persons unrelated. Nay more, the children of concubitants—of first cousins whose parents were brother and sister—have immense advantages over the children of first cousins who are the offspring of two brothers or two sisters respectively.”<sup>1</sup> And in conclusion he asks: “Is the classificatory system of relationships after all more logical in an important respect than our own? Is there really a wide physical difference between the relationship of cousins who are offspring of a brother and sister respectively and that of cousins whose parents respectively were two brothers or two sisters? Ought marriage in the one case to be allowed or even encouraged, and in the other case as rigidly forbidden as if it were incestuous?”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Basil H. Thomson, “Concubitan-  
cy in the Classificatory System of  
Relationship,” *Journal of the Anthro-  
pological Institute*, xxiv. (1895) p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> Basil H. Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 387.

The results of Mr. Thomson’s investi-  
gations into cousin-marriages in Fiji  
have been republished by him in his  
book *The Fijians* (London, 1908),  
pp. 195 *sqq.*

## CHAPTER VIII

### TOTEMISM IN POLYNESIA

#### § 1. *Traces of Totemism in Samoa*

IN the wide area occupied by the Polynesian race totemism and exogamy appear to exist, or at all events to be reported, together only in the Pelew Islands, which are situated in the extreme west and are inhabited by the Micronesian branch of the Polynesian family. It is true that in some of the other islands, particularly in Samoa, there exists or existed a system of animal-worship and plant-worship associated with families or clans which bears a close resemblance to totemism, and has probably been developed out of it. But in these islands the system lacks one of the characteristics of ordinary totemism in that the families or clans are not reported to be exogamous; and moreover in Samoa the sacred animals and plants seem certainly to have advanced beyond the stage of totems pure and simple and to have attained to the dignity of gods. Thus it would appear that in this part of Polynesia totemism has developed into a religion. Accordingly, it is better not to speak, as I and others have spoken, of the Samoan system as if it were totemism of the ordinary type.<sup>1</sup> An excellent account of that system has

Totemism and exogamy in the Pelew Islands.

In Samoa there is a worship of animals and plants which seems to have been developed out of totemism.

<sup>1</sup> In my *Totemism* (Edinburgh, 1887), which is reprinted above, vol. i. pp. 1 *sqq.*, I spoke of Samoan totems without qualification, though I pointed out (pp. 81 *sq.*) rightly, as I still believe, that in Polynesia and particularly in Samoa, totemism was passing into the worship of anthropomorphic deities with animal or vegetable attri-

butes. Professor E. B. Tylor objects to the application of the term totems to the sacred animals and plants both of Samoa and Fiji ("Remarks on Totemism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1898) pp. 142 *sq.*), and I so far agree with him that I think I should not have spoken of them as totems without qualification;

been given us by the experienced English missionary Dr. George Turner,<sup>1</sup> and it deserves our attention, since it exhibits what seems to be the passage of pure totemism into a religion of anthropomorphic gods with animal and vegetable attributes, like the deities of ancient Egypt and Greece.

Dr. Turner's account of the household and village gods of Samoa.

Dr. Turner distinguishes the gods of the household from the gods of the village. The following are the general explanations which he gives in regard to both these classes of deities:—

“At his birth a Samoan was supposed to be taken under the care of some god, or *aitu*, as it was called. The help of several of these gods was probably invoked in succession on the occasion, and the one who happened to be addressed just as the child was born was fixed on as the child's god for life.

Animal incarnations of the Samoan household gods.

“These gods were supposed to appear in some *visible incarnation*, and the particular thing in which his god was in the habit of appearing was to the Samoan an object of veneration. It was, in fact, his idol, and he was careful

for they are, in my judgment, not normal totems but totems developed or developing into deities. But if, as I understand, Professor Tylor denies all connection between them and totemism, I am unable to follow him. I am not alone in holding that both in Fiji and in Samoa we can detect the passage of pure totemism into religion. Dr. Rivers, as we have seen (pp. 138 *sq.*), is decidedly of this opinion with regard to Fiji. And other experienced observers, the Rev. G. Taplin, the Rev. George Brown, and Mr. R. Parkinson, agree in interpreting the sacred animals and plants of Samoa as totems or survivals of totems. See the Rev. G. Taplin, quoted above, vol. i. pp. 481 *sq.*; the Rev. G. Brown, “On Totemism in New Britain and Samoa,” *Annual Report on New Guinea, 1897-1898* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 137. (“We have both in New Britain and in Samoa customs which certainly appear to be survivals of totemism,” etc.); R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 673 (“Auch auf einigen polynesischen Inseln finden wir Überreste einer Institution, welche sich nur als Totem

*deuten kann. So hatte auf Samoa jede bedeutende Familie irgend ein Tier,*” etc.). That Dr. George Turner, to whose admirable work we are mainly indebted for our knowledge of the Samoan religion, should not have compared the sacred animals and plants of the Samoans to the totems of the North American Indians and other savages is not surprising when we remember how little attention the subject of totemism had received even from anthropologists at the time (1884) when his book was published. It was not to be expected that a missionary engaged in his own absorbing work in remote islands of the Pacific should make himself acquainted with the latest results of comparative anthropology and mythology.

<sup>1</sup> George Turner, LL.D., *Samoa a hundred years ago and long before*, with a preface by E. B. Tylor, F.R.S. (London, 1884). Much of the information contained in this very valuable book had already been published by the author in an earlier work (*Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, by the Rev. George Turner, London, 1861).

never to injure it or treat it with contempt. One, for instance, saw his god in the eel, another in the shark, another in the turtle, another in the dog, another in the owl, another in the lizard, and so on throughout all the fish of the sea, and birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. In some of the shell-fish, even, gods were supposed to be present. A man would eat freely of what was regarded as the incarnation of the god of another man, but the incarnation of his own particular god he would consider it death to injure or eat. The god was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body, and causing to generate there the very thing which he had eaten, until it produced death. This class of genii, or tutelary deities, they called *aitu fale*, or gods of the house.

"The father of the family was *the high priest*, and usually offered a short prayer at the evening meal, that they might all be kept from fines, sickness, war, and death. Occasionally, too, he would direct that they have a family feast in honour of their household gods; and on these occasions a cup of their intoxicating *ava draught* was poured out as a drink-offering. They did this in their family house, where they were all assembled, supposing that their gods had a spiritual presence there, as well as in the material objects to which we have referred. Often it was supposed that the god came among them and spoke through the father or some other member of the family, telling them what to do in order to remove a present evil or avert a threatened one. Sometimes it would be that the family should get a canoe built and keep it sacred to the god. They might travel in it and use it themselves, but it was death to sell or part with a canoe which had been built specially for the god.

"*Another class of Samoan deities* may be called gods of the town or village. Every village had its god, and every one born in that village was regarded as the property of that god. I have got a child for so-and-so, a woman would say on the birth of her child, and name the village god. There was a small house or temple also consecrated to the deity of the place. Where there was no formal temple, the great house of the village, where the chiefs were in the habit of assembling, was the temple for the time being, as occasion

The father of the family was the priest of the household god.

Samoan village gods.

required. Some settlements had a sacred grove as well as a temple, where prayers and offerings were presented.

Samoan  
temples.

"*In their temples* they had generally something for the eye to rest upon with superstitious veneration. In one might be seen a conch shell, suspended from the roof in a basket made of cinnet network; and this the god was supposed to blow when he wished the people to rise to war. In another, two stones were kept. In another, something resembling the head of a man, with white streamers flying, was raised on a pole at the door of the temple, on the usual day of worship. In another, a cocoa-nut shell drinking cup was suspended from the roof, and before it prayers were addressed and offerings presented. This cup was also used in oaths. If they wished to find out a thief, the suspected parties were assembled before the chiefs, the cup sent for, and each would approach, lay his hand on it, and say, 'With my hand on this cup, may the god look upon me, and send swift destruction, if I took the thing which has been stolen.' The stones and the shells were used in a similar way. Before this ordeal, the truth was rarely concealed. They firmly believed that it would be death to touch the cup and tell a lie.

Priests of  
village  
gods.

"*The priests* in some cases were the chiefs of the place; but in general some one in a particular family claimed the privilege, and professed to declare the will of the god. His office was hereditary. He fixed the days for the annual feasts in honour of the deity, received the offerings, and thanked the people for them. He decided also whether or not the people might go to war.

Offerings  
to Samoan  
gods.

"*The offerings* were principally cooked food. The first cup was in honour of the god. It was either poured out on the ground or waved towards the heavens. The chiefs all drank a portion out of the same cup, according to rank; and after that the food brought as an offering was divided and eaten there before the god. This feast was annual, and frequently about the month of May. In some places it passed off quietly; in others it was associated with games, sham-fights, night-dances, etc., and lasted for days. In time of war special feasts were ordered by the priests. Of the offerings on war occasions women and children were

forbidden to partake, as it was not their province to go to battle. They supposed it would bring sickness and death on the party eating who did not go to the war, and hence were careful to bury or throw into the sea whatever food was over after the festival. In some cases the feasts in honour of the god were regulated by the appearance in the settlement of the bird which was thought to be the incarnation of the god. Whenever the bird was seen the priest would say that the god had come, and fix upon a day for his entertainment.

“The village gods, like those of the household, had all some particular incarnation: one was supposed to appear as a bat, another as a heron, another as an owl. If a man found a dead owl by the roadside, and if that happened to be the incarnation of his village god, he would sit down and weep over it, and beat his forehead with stones till the blood flowed. This was thought pleasing to the deity. Then the bird would be wrapped up and buried with care and ceremony, as if it were a human body. This, however, was not the death of the god. He was supposed to be yet alive, and incarnate in all the owls in existence. The flight of these birds was observed in time of war. If the bird flew before them, it was a signal to go on; but if it crossed the path, it was a bad omen, and a sign to retreat. Others saw their village god in the rainbow, others saw him in the shooting star; and in time of war the position of a rainbow and the direction of a shooting star were always ominous.”<sup>1</sup>

Animal incarnations of the Samoan village gods.

From this account it appears that what Dr. Turner calls the household god was determined for each person at birth, and that consequently a person's household god need not be that of his father or of his mother or of his brothers and sisters; every member of a family might have a different household god. However, a preference was apparently given first to the household god of the father and next to that of the mother. For when a woman was about to be delivered of a child, her father or her husband generally prayed to the household god of the child's father first; but if the birth was tedious or difficult, he would invoke the god of the mother's family; and when the child was born, the mother

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 17-21.

would call out, "Whom were you praying to?" and the god prayed to just before was carefully remembered and its incarnation duly acknowledged throughout the future life of the child.<sup>1</sup>

Examples of Samoan household gods. "Child of the Moon." The following are examples of the household gods of Samoa. The name of one household god was "Child of the Moon" (*Aloimasina*) and the god was seen in the moon. When the new moon appeared in the sky, all the members of the family called out, "Child of the moon, you have come." They assembled also, and presented offerings of food, and feasted together, and joined in the prayer :

*Oh, child of the moon!  
Keep far away  
Disease and death.*<sup>2</sup>

"The Long God." Another household deity was called "the Long God" (*Leatualoa*), and was seen in the centipede. A tree near the house was the abode of the divine insect; and when one of the family was sick he used to spread a mat under the tree and draw an omen of recovery or death according as a centipede crawled over or under it.<sup>3</sup>

"The Red Liver." Another family god bore the title of "the Red Liver" (*O le Auma*), and he was seen or was incarnate in the wild pigeon. If any visitor staying with the family roasted a pigeon, some member of the household had to pay the penalty by being wrapt up in leaves and laid in a cool oven, as if he were about to be baked. That was intended to appease the wrath of the god at the roasting of a pigeon. The use of the reddish-seared leaves of the bread-fruit was also thought to be insulting to this deity, and no member of the family might employ them for any purpose under pain of suffering from rheumatic swellings and an eruption like chicken-pox all over his body.<sup>4</sup>

"Ends of taro leaves." Another family god was called "Ends of the taro leaves" (*Iulautalo*). To him the ends of leaves and of other things were sacred and might not be handled or used in any way by members of the family. In daily life it was no small trouble to this household to cut off the ends of all the taro,

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 78 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 69 *sq.*

bread-fruit, and coco-nut leaves which they needed for cooking. Ends of taro, yams, bananas, fish, etc., were also carefully laid aside and considered as unfit for food as if they had been poison. In case of sickness, however, the god allowed or even required that the patient should be fanned with the ends of coco-nut leaflets.<sup>1</sup>

Another household god was called "the Chief of Fiji" (*O le alii o fiti*) and shewed himself in the shape of an eel; hence eels were never eaten by the household. They offered him the first-fruits of their taro plantations.<sup>2</sup> Another family had a god whom they called Vave, and he also was incarnate in the eel. When one of the family was ill, they prayed to Vave, and if next morning they found an eel among their household stuff, it was an omen of death.<sup>3</sup> Another household had its god in a tree with sweet-scented yellow flowers (*Conanga Odorata*), and the native name (*moso'oi*) of the tree was the name of the god.<sup>4</sup> Another family had two gods embodied in pig's heart and octopus, and Pig's Heart and Octopus (*fatupuaa ma le fe'e*) were accordingly the names bestowed on these divine beings. Men, women, and children of the family were most scrupulous never to eat either pig's heart or octopus, believing that to do so would be to swallow a germ of a living pig's heart or octopus, by which the insulted gods would bring about the death of the sacrilegious eater.<sup>5</sup>

Another family god bore the name (*pua*) of a large tree (*Hernandia Peltata*) and lived in the tree, of which accordingly no member of the family dared to pluck a leaf or break a branch. The same god was also incarnate in the octopus and likewise in the land crab, and if one of these crabs crawled into the house, it was a sign that the head of the household would die.<sup>6</sup> Another family god called Samani was seen in the turtle, the sea eel, the octopus, and the garden lizard. Any one who ate or injured any of these creatures had either to make-believe to be baked in an unheated oven or else to drink rancid oil as a penance and a purgative.<sup>7</sup> A household god in several families was called

"Chief of Fiji."

Other Samoan gods of families.

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 70 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 72.

<sup>7</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 72.

The god  
Tongo.

Soesai. In one he was seen in the domestic fowl; in another his incarnations were the eel, the octopus, and the turtle. Prayers for life and recovery were offered to him in great danger and also at child-birth.<sup>1</sup> Again, another god named Tongo had different animals for his incarnations in different families. In one family he was incarnate in the bat and had a partiality for turmeric. In another he was incarnate in the stinging ray fish. If the family heard that a neighbour had caught a fish of that sort, they would go and beg him to give it up and not to cook it. If he refused, they fought him. In a third family Tongo was incarnate in a mullet, and if a member of the family ate a mullet he fell ill and squinted.<sup>2</sup> The mullet and the stinging ray fish were also the incarnations of another household god called Moso. If any member of the family tasted of these sacred fish, he had to drain a cup of the dregs of rancid oil as a punishment and to stay the wrath of the god. But if visitors or friends caught one of the sacred fish, whether a stinging ray or a mullet, a child of the family would be laid down in a cold oven as a peace-offering to the deity for the indignity done to him by the strangers.<sup>3</sup> Similarly a family god called "Tide gently rising" (*Taisumalie*) was incarnate in the cuttle-fish in one family, in the mullet in a second, and in the turtle in a third. If one of these incarnations had been cooked in the family oven, whether by a member of the family or by a stranger, the oven could not be used again till some one had been laid in it as a mock burnt-offering. It was death to the family to use the desecrated oven without performing this expiation.<sup>4</sup> The god Moso seems to have been a veritable Proteus or Vishnu in respect of the number of his avatars or incarnations. Not content with appearing to one family, as we have seen, as a mullet and a stinging ray fish, he appeared to another as a pigeon, to another as a domestic fowl, to another as a cuttle-fish, to another as a creeper-bird called *fuia* (*Sturnoides atrifusca*), and to another as a man. The human incarnation of this deity helped himself to food from the plantations of his neighbours. If they chased him, he disappeared out of their

"Tide  
gently  
rising."

The god  
Moso and  
his many  
incarna-  
tions.

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 74 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 59.

sight, from which they inferred that he was a god, and prayed and sacrificed to him accordingly.<sup>1</sup> The household god, "Tide gently rising," likewise presented himself to one family in the likeness of a man, a member of the family, who used to be consulted by his kinsfolk as an oracle on all occasions of importance. If his answers were not to their liking, they might turn and beat him. In another place the same god "Tide gently rising" was incarnate in an old man, who acted as the doctor of the family. The neighbours also brought their sick to him to be healed. His principal remedy was to rub the affected part with oil, to shout "Tide gently rising" (*Taisumalie*) five times in a loud voice, and five times to call on the god to come and heal.<sup>2</sup>

Another family god, who bore the high-sounding title of "King of Chiefs" (*Tuialii*) had the sea eel, the octopus, and the mullet for his incarnations; and he was moreover seen in the ends of banana leaves. If any one used the end of a banana leaf as a cap, he was punished with baldness. All the children born in this family were called by the name of their god.<sup>3</sup> Another god called Taumanupepe, which means "fight creature butterfly," was incarnate in butterflies. If any member of the household caught or killed a butterfly, he was liable to be struck dead by the god.<sup>4</sup> Again, in one of the villages of Aana there was a household which had the fresh-water prawn or crayfish (*ulavai*) for its god. The reason was said to be that once upon a time a woman had been bathing and was brought to bed prematurely. When she told her friends, they searched for the child but could find only an unusually large number of prawns or crayfishes, into which they imagined that the infant must have been changed. From that time they began to regard the crayfish as the incarnation of a new household god, to offer it food, and to pray to it for the prosperity of the family.<sup>5</sup>

Again there was a household god named Sepo, who assumed different animal shapes in different families. An inland family in Upolu called him "Lord of the mountain" and believed him to be incarnate in the domestic fowl and

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 36 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 58 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 75 sq.

<sup>4</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 77.

the pigeon. Another family saw him in a very small fish, which is hard to catch; and a third family discerned the deity in the prickly sea-urchin. The penalty for eating this last incarnation was that a prickly sea-urchin grew inside the body of the eater and killed him.<sup>1</sup> A similar penalty was exacted by other household gods for similar offences.

The cuttle-  
fish god.

Thus there was a family which had the cuttle-fish (*fe'e*) for their household god. If any visitor caught a cuttle-fish and cooked it, or if any member of a family had been where a cuttle-fish was eaten, the family would meet in consultation and choose a man or woman to go and lie down in a cold oven and be covered with leaves, as if he or she were being baked, this being a peace-offering to avert the wrath of the divine cuttle-fish. And while the man or woman was lying in his leafy shroud in the oven, the rest of the family engaged in prayer, saying, "O bald-headed cuttle-fish, forgive what has been done—it was all the work of a stranger." If they did not thus humble themselves before the cuttle-fish, they thought that he would come and cause a cuttle-fish to grow in their insides and so be the death of them.<sup>2</sup>

The turtle  
god.

Again, in another family the household god was called "Sacred Fulness" (*Apelesa*) and was incarnate in the turtle. A member of the family dared not eat a turtle, but he might help a neighbour to cut up and cook one; only while he was doing so he kept a bandage tied over his mouth, lest an embryo turtle should slip down his throat, grow up, and cause his death.<sup>3</sup> Again, there was a family god called Salevao, who was incarnate in the eel and the turtle. If any member of the family was rash enough to consume an eel or a turtle, he was taken ill, and before he died the god was heard to say from his inside, "I am killing this man; he ate my incarnation."<sup>4</sup>

Samoan  
village  
gods.  
The cockle  
god.

So much for the family or household gods of Samoa. The following are examples of the general village gods. There was a village god called Nonia who was supposed to be incarnate in the cockle. If any person of the village picked up a cockle on the shore and carried it away, a cockle would appear on some part of his body; if he ate the shell-fish, it would grow on his nose. May was the

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 31 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 67 sq.

<sup>4</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 50 sq.

month when the cockle-god was specially worshipped with feasts and prayers ; for that is the time when the wet season changes into the dry, and coughs and other ailments are then prevalent. On the days of worship the people of the village went about with bundles of cockles and through them prayed to their cockle-god.<sup>1</sup> The people of a small island saw their god in the sea-eel (*Maraena*), on which they bestowed the title of "Beginner of the Heavens" (*Fuai langi*). If a sea-eel were cast up on the beach by a gale or a great wave, it boded ill and the whole people were in commotion.<sup>2</sup> Some villages worshipped twin gods called "the Lizard and the Stone" (*pili ma le maa*) in time of war, famine, and pestilence. The month of May was specially appointed as the season for prayer and sacrifice. The lizard was the guiding incarnation, and lizards were carefully watched in time of war. If a lizard darted across the path before the warriors, they faced about and returned home at once ; but if it ran on ahead of them they advanced cheerfully to meet the enemy. Another way of taking omens from a lizard was this. The middle post of the great house was wrapt in coco-nut leaves from the floor to the ridge-pole, and the chiefs assembled and watched it. If a lizard ran straight down the leafy pole, it was a good omen ; but if it took a zigzag course, it was a bad sign, and fighting was suspended.<sup>3</sup> A village god in Upolu bore the name of Swift (*tili tili*) and was seen in the lightning, and omens were drawn from lightning in time of war. If the flashes were frequent, it meant that the god had come to help and direct his people. If the lightning played constantly over a particular spot, it was a warning that the enemy was lurking there in ambush. Continual flashes in front shewed that the foe was being repulsed ; but if the lightning came from the front backwards, it betokened danger and was an order to retreat.<sup>4</sup> Another village god bore the name of Shade (*faamalu*) and was seen in a cloud or shade. If a cloud went before the army marching to war, they advanced boldly ; but if the clouds were behind them, they were afraid. In time of war the same deity was also represented

The sea-eel god.

"The Lizard and the Stone."

The lightning god.

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 40 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 59 sq.

by a fish, the movements of which were watched and served as omens. But in ordinary life the god was represented by a trumpet-shell. In the month appointed for the annual worship, all the people met in the place of public assembly with heaps of cooked food. First, they made offerings and prayed to the god to avert calamities and give prosperity; then they feasted with and before their god, and after that any strangers present might eat.<sup>1</sup>

Village  
gods in  
stones.

Some village gods were believed to reside in stones, and such deities were apparently associated especially with rain and the fertility of the ground. Thus, for example, two oblong smooth stones stood on a raised platform of loose stones inland of a village. They were thought to be the father and mother of Saato, a god who controlled the rain. Offerings of cooked taro and fish, accompanied by prayers, were laid on these stones to secure a spell of fine weather; and when food was scarce and the people went to search for wild yams, they would give a yam to the stones, because they thought that these gods caused the yams to grow and could lead them to the places where the edible roots grew most plentifully.<sup>2</sup> Again, in another village two smooth stones were guarded with great care in a temple. One of them was believed to create the yams, the bread-fruit, and the coco-nuts; the other sent fish to the net.<sup>3</sup> In another village a stone was housed as the representative of a rain-making god. When rain was wanted, the priest and his followers, arrayed in fine mats, carried the stone to a stream, dipped it in the water, and prayed for rain. But when the weather was rainy and they wished to make it fine, they laid the stone by the fire and kept it hot till the clouds rolled away and the rain was over.<sup>4</sup>

Village  
gods in-  
carnate  
in men.

In Savaii some village gods were believed to be incarnate in men. One of these human incarnations was a cannibal, and human flesh used to be laid before him whenever he called for it. His power extended to several villages and his descendants were traced down to the time when Dr. Turner wrote.<sup>5</sup> Another village god in Savaii was supposed

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 26 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 24 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 44 sq.

<sup>4</sup> G. Turner, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 48 sq.

to be incarnate in a man who walked about unseen by the people. But strangers could see him in the likeness of a handsome young man with a girdle of leaves. He bore the name of Tuifiti or "King of Fiji." His special abode was a grove of large trees (*Afzelia bijuga*), which nobody dared to fell. They say that a party from Upolu once tried to cut timber in the sacred grove, but blood flowed from the tree and all the sacrilegious strangers fell ill and died.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the village gods were identical, at least in name, with the family or household gods. Thus the cuttle-fish (*fe'e*) was a general village god in some places. In one village the month of May was sacred to him. No traveller might then pass through the village by the public road, and no canoe might appear in the lagoon. There was much feasting, and athletic sports, such as club-exercise, spear-throwing, and wrestling, were held. A new temple was also built at this time, and every man, woman, and child had to contribute something towards it, if it were only a stick or reed for the thatch. While some of the people built the temple, the rest fought each other in good earnest with a view to settle any old scores that might be outstanding. He who got most wounds was thought to be most favoured of the god. The fighting ended with the completion of the temple; and if at any other time neighbours quarrelled and came to blows, the god viewed them with displeasure, because they had not saved up their difference for the day of the year on which his temple was built.<sup>2</sup> In another district the worship of the cuttle-fish lasted three months. Any one who passed along the road or paddled his canoe in the lagoon during that sacred season would be beaten, if not killed, for insulting the god. For the first month torches and all other lights were forbidden, because the deity was about and did not wish to be seen. At this time, also, all unsightly projecting burdens, such as a log of wood on the shoulder, were prohibited, lest the divine cuttle-fish should take umbrage at these things as an impious mockery of his tentacles.<sup>3</sup> Again, "Tide gently rising" (*Taisumalie*) was the deity of a whole district in Upolu as well as of particular

Worship of  
the cuttle-  
fish god.

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 62 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 29 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 30.

Worship  
of the  
goddess  
"Tide  
gently  
rising."

families. She was said to have been a lady who went away among the gods and was worshipped first by her family and then by all the people of the land. The bat was one of her incarnations, and bats flew about her temple in unusual numbers in time of war. One of them flying ahead of the troops was a good omen. If a neighbour killed a bat, a war might follow to wipe out the insult in blood. Another representative of this deity was a shrub (*Ascarina lanceolata*). June was the usual month for her worship. All kinds of food from land and sea were provided for a feast, but only the priest's family might partake of it. Whatever they could not eat was buried at the beach. After that the people battered each other's scalps with clubs till the blood streamed down over their faces and bodies. Old and young, men, women, and children all took part in the scrimmage. The blood shed was regarded as an offering which pleased the deity, and induced her to grant their prayers for health, good crops, and victory.<sup>1</sup> Once more the god Moso, who took so many forms,<sup>2</sup> was a village god in one place and represented by a stone on which travellers laid scented wreaths as offerings. In another place he was represented by a large wooden bowl called "sudden death" (*lipi*), because curses shrieked by the priest over the bowl consigned thieves and other undetected miscreants to instant destruction.<sup>3</sup> Again, one of the kings of the district of Atua was supposed to be the god Moso by night and far away, but in the daytime he moved about in the likeness of a mortal man among men.<sup>4</sup>

Worship  
of the  
Moso.

Samoan  
war-gods  
and their  
incarna-  
tions.

War-gods  
incarnate  
in owls.

Besides their family or household gods and their village gods the Samoans had also war-gods, who in character resembled the other deities, being commonly thought to be incarnate in animals or embodied in inanimate objects. Thus there was a war-god called "Destruction" (*Fanonga*), who was supposed to be incarnate in the Samoan owl (*Strix delicatula*). In time of war, offerings were presented to a pet owl, which was kept for the purpose. If it hovered over the troops on the march, it was a good omen; but if it flew away towards the enemy, it was thought that the god had

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 56 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 30 sq., 36.

<sup>4</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 36 sq.

gone to join the foe. If a dead owl was found under a tree in the village, all the people assembled on the spot, burned their bodies with firebrands, and beat their foreheads with stones till the blood flowed by way of testifying their sorrow. Yet the god was not dead; he still lived and moved about in all the other owls of the country.<sup>1</sup> Another war-god named "Mangrove" (*Tongo*) was also incarnate in an owl and gave omens to the warriors by his flight. If a dead owl were found under a tree, the person who discovered it would at once cover it with native white cloth. Then all the people of the village would gather round the dead owl, and sitting down would beat and bruise their foreheads with stones as an offering of blood to the god, while they raised the death wail to testify to the deity their sorrow at the calamity which had befallen him. Yet their god was not dead: he continued to live in all the surviving owls.<sup>2</sup> Other war-gods were deemed to be incarnate in herons, king-fishers, rail-birds (*Rallus Pectoralis*), and the *Porphyris Samoensis*, and omens were drawn in time of war from the flight or appearance of these birds.<sup>3</sup> Another war-god called "Swift" (*Vave*) was incarnate in a pigeon, which was carefully kept and fed by the different members of a family in turn. But the special residence of the god was an old tree, which was a place of refuge for murderers and others whose life was forfeit in the eyes of the law. A criminal who reached the tree was safe. The avenger of blood might pursue him no further.<sup>4</sup> The large bat or flying-fox was the incarnation of a war-god "Sepo the Strong" in Savaii; if it flew before the warriors, all was well, but if it turned round and shut up the way, it was a warning to go back.<sup>5</sup> In a number of villages the war-god Salevao was incarnate in a dog, generally a white one. If the beast wagged his tail, barked, and dashed ahead in sight of the enemy, the omen was good; but if he slunk back or howled, it was bad.<sup>6</sup> In other villages the war-god was incarnate in a lizard; and before the warriors went out to

War-gods incarnate in pigeons, bats, dogs, and lizards.

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 25 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 60 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 35, 48, 52.

54 sq., 61, 64, 65.

<sup>4</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 49.

Rainbow  
and spear  
gods.

battle, omens were drawn from the movements of a lizard in a bundle of spears. If the reptile ran about the points of the spears and the outside of the bundle, the omen was favourable ; but it was unfavourable if the animal crept for concealment into the middle of the bundle.<sup>1</sup> Two different war-gods were believed to be in the rainbow, and in war the position or brightness of a rainbow was ominous of victory or defeat.<sup>2</sup> Once more, another war-god was represented by a long spear made of coco-nut wood to which the people made offerings and prayed. They carried the spear with them on the war-fleet as a sign that the god was with them. In time of peace the god acted as a good physician, healing sickness on receipt of his fee, which took the shape of prayer and sacrifice.<sup>3</sup>

The  
Samoan  
worship  
of animals,  
plants, and  
other  
natural  
objects  
appears to  
have been  
developed  
out of  
totemism  
but not to  
be totem-  
ism pure  
and simple.

From the foregoing summary it appears plainly that the Samoan worship of animals, plants, and other natural objects was not pure totemism. For in pure totemism there is nothing that can properly be described as worship of the totems. Sacrifices are not presented to them, nor prayers offered, nor temples built, nor priests appointed to minister to them. In a word, totems pure and simple are never gods, but merely species of natural objects united by certain intimate and mystic ties to groups of men. But in the Samoan system the worshipful beings are clearly gods. The people pray and sacrifice to them, hold festivals in their honour, build temples and maintain priests for their worship. Some of the deities are purely anthropomorphic, since they appear in human form and are incarnate in living men. But most of them retain a close affinity with natural objects, especially with various species of animals, in which they are believed to be incarnate. It is a reasonable hypothesis that this affinity with natural objects and particularly with species of animals is a survival of totemism ; in other words that the Samoan gods, or most of them, have been developed directly out of totems. The hypothesis is necessarily incapable of demonstration, but it seems to explain the curiously complex Samoan pantheon in a simple and natural way. The reverence shewn by families for species of animals which

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 46 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 35, 43.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 61 sq.

they are forbidden to injure or eat is parallel to the reverence which totemic people exhibit for their totems; the story that a family worships crayfishes because an ancestress gave birth to crayfishes, or at all events to a child which turned into crayfishes,<sup>1</sup> resembles the stories told by many totem clans of their descent from their totemic animals; and, further, the belief that to eat or otherwise injure a sacred animal may be punished by the growth of an animal of the same sort in the body of the culprit has its analogies among the totemic tribes of Australia.<sup>2</sup>

In regard to marriage we are told that exogamous classes do not exist in Samoa, and that the only restrictions on marriage are those which bar the union of relatives, the Samoan table of prohibited degrees being more extensive and stringent than ours. However, it was a common practice in the old days for a man in his wife's lifetime to take her sister or sisters as concubines.<sup>3</sup>

No exogamous classes in Samoa.

## § 2. *Traces of Totemism in Rotuma*

To the west of Samoa and north-west of Fiji lies the island of Rotuma, the natives of which are Polynesians. The island was formerly divided into five districts, and these districts "were subdivided into *hoag*, a name applied to all the houses of a family, which were placed together, forming, if the family was a large one, a small village; it is also applied to the family itself. Each of these *hoag* had a name, which was conferred on one member of the *hoag*, who was invariably *ipso facto* its head, or *pure*."<sup>4</sup> Each family or clan, as we may perhaps call these *hoag*, had its *atua* or god, who was usually incarnate in some species of animal,

Family gods with animal incarnations in Rotuma.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 428 *sq.*, 482.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. George Brown, D.D., *Melanesians and Polynesians, their Life Histories illustrated and compared* (in manuscript). Dr. Brown lived many years in Samoa and is intimately acquainted with the people and their customs. Compare W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> J. Stanley Gardiner, "The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898) pp. 428, 429. As to the physical characteristics of the natives Mr. Gardiner says: "Here and there individuals could be picked out typical of Samoa and Tonga; but I have seen none, save direct descendants of Fijians, that had curly hair or any appearance approximating to that of the Melanesian" (*op. cit.* p. 408).

such as the hammer-headed shark (*tanifa*), the sandpiper (*juli*), the lizard (*olusi*), the gecko (*mafrop*), and so on. If a man happened to kill one of the animals in which his god was incarnate he had to make a great feast, cut all his hair off, and bury it just in the same way that a man would be buried. But the members of a family or clan (*hoag*) were free to kill the sacred animals of other families; for it was only their own god (*atua*) who had power over them. The hammer-headed shark (*tanifa*) was the god, or the incarnation of the god, of the district or village of Maftau. He had a priest (*apioiitu*) who officiated on all great occasions, and a priestess whose business it was to heal sickness and remedy all minor ills. People were forbidden to sing and dance round the priest's house. When Maftau was in trouble or going to war, a great feast would be held and the best of everything would be thrown into the sea for the hammer-headed shark. These offerings comprised a root of kava, a pig, taro, yams, and always a coco-nut leaf. Much uncooked food was also given to the priest, who would presently come out of his house, smeared with paint, foaming at the mouth, and quivering all over. He would perhaps drain a bowl of kava, tear a pig in pieces and eat it raw, or take great mouthfuls of uncooked yams, the taste of which is exceedingly fiery. Then he would fall down in horrible convulsions and speak oracularly; for the hammer-headed shark was now supposed to be in him and to speak with his voice. For the time being he was all-powerful, and whatever he told the people they had to do; but when he came to himself he forgot what he had said in the state of possession and was an ordinary man again. The priestess healed sickness by falling into a frenzy and driving out the devil which was troubling the patient, for which she received a pig and a mat as payment. The god of Matusa, another village or district of Rotuma, was the stinging ray (*hoie*), which is common on the reef. An old man of the priestly family claimed that these fish used to come round him on the reef and follow him about.<sup>1</sup>

From this account, for which we are indebted to Mr. J.

<sup>1</sup> J. Stanley Gardiner, "The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898) pp. 467 sq.

Priest and priestess of the hammer-headed shark.

Priest of the stinging ray fish.

Stanley Gardiner, it would seem that the religious system of Rotuma closely resembled that of Samoa; in both we see family gods incarnate in species of animals which are sacred to all the members of the family; in both, too, it is believed that the gods may be at least temporarily incarnate in human beings and speak with their voice.

Resemblance of the religious system of Rotuma to that of Samoa.

In the island of Rotuma, as among the Dieri, second cousins were allowed to marry each other if they were the grandchildren of a brother and sister respectively, but not if they were the grandchildren of two brothers or of two sisters.<sup>1</sup>

Cousin marriages in Rotuma.

The natives of Rotuma have the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *oi-fa* "my father" to his father, to his father's brothers, to his mother's brothers, to the husbands of his father's sisters, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters; he applies the same term *oi-hon-i* "my mother" to his mother, to his mother's sisters, to his father's sisters, to the wives of his father's brothers, and to the wives of his mother's brothers. In his own generation he applies the same terms *sa-si-gi* "my brother" and *sag-hon-i* "my sister" to his brothers and sisters and to all his first cousins, namely, to the sons and daughters of his father's brothers, to the sons and daughters of his father's sisters, to the sons and daughters of his mother's brothers, and to the sons and daughters of his mother's sisters. He calls his wife *hoi-e-na* or *hen*, "my wife"; but he calls his wife's sister *hom-fu-e*, "my sister-in-law." A wife calls her husband *ve-ven-i* "my husband," but she calls her husband's brother *hom-fu-e*, "my brother-in-law." In the generation below his own a man applies the same terms *le-e fa* "my son" and *le-e hon-i* "my daughter" to his sons and daughters and to all his nephews and nieces, namely, to the sons and daughters of his brothers and to the sons and daughters of his sisters. Similarly a woman applies the same terms *le-e fa* "my son" and *le-e hon-i* "my daughter" to her sons and daughters and to all her nephews and nieces, namely, to the sons and daughters

Classificatory system of relationship in Rotuma.

<sup>1</sup> J. Stanley Gardiner, "The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898) p. 478.

As to the marriage of second cousins among the Dieri, see above, vol. i. p. 346.

of her sisters and to the sons and daughters of her brothers.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the Rotuman form of the classificatory system distinguishes the wife's sister from the wife and the husband's brother from the husband. On the other hand it confuses the mother's brother with the father, and the father's sister with the mother; it confuses all cousins as "brothers" and "sisters," and all nephews and nieces as "sons" and "daughters." Morgan thought that these confusions were primitive and originated in the group marriage of own brothers to their own

Thus the Rotuma form of the classificatory system distinguishes the wife's sister from the wife and the husband's brother from the husband. On the other hand it confuses the mother's brothers and the husbands of the father's sisters with the father: it confuses the father's sisters and the wives of the mother's brothers with the mother: it confuses all first cousins, whether the children of two brothers, or of two sisters, or of a brother and a sister respectively, under the appellation of "brothers" and "sisters"; and it confuses all nephews and nieces, whether the children of brothers or of sisters, under the appellation of "sons" and "daughters." We may safely assume that a form of the classificatory system which distinguishes a wife's sister from a wife, and a husband's brother from a husband, is later than one which, like the Australian, confuses a wife's sister with a wife and a husband's brother with a husband.<sup>2</sup> But what are we to say of the confusion of the mother's brothers and of the father's sisters' husbands with the father? of the confusion of the father's sisters and of the mother's brothers' wives with the mother? of the confusion of all first cousins under the appellations of "brothers" and "sisters"? of the confusion of all nephews and nieces under the appellation of "sons" and "daughters" of their uncles and aunts? Is the Polynesian form of the classificatory system, which confounds these relationships, earlier or later than the Australian form which distinguishes them? L. H. Morgan, the discoverer of the classificatory system of relationship, believed that the Polynesian, or, as he chose to call it, the Malayan, form of the classificatory system was the earlier of the two; indeed that it is the absolutely primitive form of the system. His reasons for thinking so were in brief these. The confusion of the mother's brother with the father and of the father's

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 419-423. The Rotuma terms of relationship are reported by Morgan on the authority of the Rev. John Osborn, Wesleyan missionary at Rotuma (*op. cit.* p. 403, note 1). A brief indication of the classificatory system of relationship in Rotuma

is given by Mr. J. Stanley Gardiner in his statement that "the term *oifa* applies to the father or uncle, and *oihoni* to the mother or aunt" ("The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898) p. 478).

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. pp. 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, etc.

sister with the mother appears to point to the marriage of brothers with their own sisters; and this form of marriage was assumed by him to be the first stage in the advance from a former condition of unlimited sexual promiscuity. On his theory the first limitation imposed on a state of absolute sexual communism was the custom which restricted men to cohabitation with their own sisters instead of allowing them to cohabit with all women indifferently. This marriage of a group of own brothers with their own sisters gave rise, in Morgan's opinion, to the oldest form of the human family, namely, to the consanguine family, as he called it, out of which he believed all other forms of the family to have been afterwards developed. The evidence for the former wide prevalence of this marriage of own brothers with own sisters in groups was mainly, almost exclusively, drawn by Morgan from the Polynesian or, as he called it, the Malayan form of the classificatory system with its characteristic confusion of the mother's brother with the father, of the father's sister with the mother, and of a brother's children with his sister's children.<sup>1</sup> But in recent years Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, arguing from similar confusions in other forms of the classificatory system, particularly the forms which prevail among the Torres Straits' Islanders, the Kurnai of South-East Australia, and the Two Mountain Iroquois of North America, has made it highly probable that the confusion of these relationships in the Polynesian form of the classificatory system is not early but late, and that it marks the decadence rather than the primitiveness of the system.<sup>2</sup> If he is right, as I believe him to be, Morgan's principal, almost his only, argument in favour of the former wide prevalence of a form of group marriage in which the husbands were own brothers and their wives were their own sisters, falls to the ground. It does not, of course, follow that the theory of the former prevalence of such group marriages is false because the argument on which it has been rested is weak or nugatory; but it does follow that if the theory is to be accepted as

sisters; but more probably they are late and mark the decadence of the classificatory system.

<sup>1</sup> See L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 385 sq., 401 sq., 408 sq., 412 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "On the

Origin of the Classificatory System of Relationships," *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 310-315.

proved or probable it must be supported by other evidence. To this subject we shall recur later on in this work.

### § 3. *Traces of Totemism in Hawaii and Tahiti*

In Hawaii  
gods were  
thought to  
be em-  
bodied in  
animals,  
trees,  
stones, etc.

A system of gods embodied in animals, trees, stones, and so forth appears to have obtained in Hawaii. At least this is suggested by the following passage from a history of Hawaii which was composed by natives in their own language in the year 1820, and was printed by the natives themselves at Lahainaluna, in the island of Maui, in the year 1838. In this interesting record of a state of things which has long passed away we read as follows: "Another subject of oppression was the taboo (*kapu*) of the idols. The trees were idols for the people and for the chiefs. If a man had for his idol the *ohia* tree, the *ohia* was taboo for him; if the bread-fruit tree was the idol of another, the bread-fruit tree was taboo for him. Similarly the taboo applied to all the trees of which men had made for themselves divine images, and it was the same also for the food. If *kalo* was a person's idol, *kalo* was taboo for that person. It was the same for all the eatables of which they had made gods. Birds served as idols for some people; if it was a fowl, the fowl was taboo for the worshipper. Similarly for all the birds that were deified. The idol of another was a quadruped, and if it was a pig, the pig was taboo for him. Similarly for all the animals which became gods. Another had for an idol a stone; it became taboo, and he might not sit upon the stone. The idol of another was a fish, and if it was a shark, the shark was taboo for him. It was the same for all the fish, and in the same manner they deified everything on earth and in the sky and all the bones of men."<sup>1</sup>

Similarly the French traveller, L. de Freycinet, who visited Hawaii in the early part of the nineteenth century, informs us that some of the inhabitants worshipped fowls,

<sup>1</sup> Jules Remy, *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii, Histoire de l'Archipel Havaiien (Iles Sandwich), Texte et Traduction* (Paris and Leipsic, 1862), pp. 163, 165. In

this work the Hawaiian text is printed with a French translation on the opposite page. I have translated the passage from the French version.

lizards, owls, rats, and so forth.<sup>1</sup> Apparently the worshippers believed that the souls of the dead transmigrated into the bodies of their sacred animals. At least this is affirmed by Freycinet with regard to sharks. He says that a man who worshipped sharks would throw his stillborn child, with an offering of taro, kava, and sugar-cane, into the sea, believing that the child's soul would enter the body of a shark and that afterwards sharks would spare the living members of the family. Moreover, there were temples dedicated to sharks where the priests at morning and evening offered prayers to the shark-idol. These men rubbed themselves with water and salt, which drying on their skin produced an appearance of scales. They also clothed themselves in red, uttered piercing cries, and leaping over the temple-enclosure pretended that they knew the exact moment when the children which had been thrown into the sea were changed into sharks. For this welcome revelation they received presents of pigs, kava, coco-nuts, and so forth from the grateful parents.<sup>2</sup> Fishermen in Hawaii sometimes wrapped their dead in the native red cloth and threw them into the sea to be devoured by sharks, believing that the souls of the departed would animate the sharks which devoured their bodies, and that accordingly these voracious monsters would afterwards spare their living human kinsfolk.<sup>3</sup>

Shark gods in Hawaii. Transmigration of the souls of the dead into sharks.

Similarly in Tahiti there were "*atua mao* or shark gods; not that the shark was itself the god, but the natives supposed the marine gods employed the sharks as the agents of their vengeance. The large blue shark was the only kind supposed to be engaged by the gods; and a variety of the most strange and fabulous accounts of the deeds they have performed are related by their priests. These voracious animals were said always to recognize a priest on board any canoe, to come at his call, retire at his bidding, and to spare him in the event of a wreck, though they might devour his companions, especially if they were not his *maru*, or worshippers. . . . The shark was not the only fish the

Shark gods in Tahiti.

<sup>1</sup> L. de Freycinet, *Voyage autour du monde exécuté pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819, et 1820*, tome ii. Première partie (Paris, 1829), p. 594.

<sup>2</sup> L. de Freycinet, *op. cit.* pp. 595 sq.

<sup>3</sup> W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, iv. (London, 1836) p. 361.

Sacred  
birds in  
Tahiti.

Tahitians considered sacred.”<sup>1</sup> “Among the animate objects of their worship, they included a number of birds as well as fishes, especially a species of heron, a kingfisher, and one or two kinds of woodpecker, accustomed to frequent the sacred trees growing in the precincts of the temple. These birds were considered sacred, and usually fed upon the sacrifices. The natives imagined the god was imbodyed in the bird, when it approached the temple to feast upon the offering; and hence they supposed their presents were grateful to their deities. The cries of those birds were also regarded as the responses of the gods to the prayers of the priests.”<sup>2</sup>

These Hawaiian and Tahitian customs and beliefs are not totemism, but it is possible that like the similar Samoan superstitions they may have been developed out of it.

Classifi-  
catory  
system of  
relationship  
in Hawaii.

The Hawaiians have the classificatory system of relationship. Thus a man applies the same term *ma-ku-a ka-na* “my father” to his father, to his father’s brothers, to his mother’s brothers, to the husbands of his father’s sisters, and to the husbands of his mother’s sisters. He applies the same term *ma-ku-a wa-hee-na* “my mother” to his mother, to his mother’s sisters, to his father’s sisters, to the wives of his father’s brothers, and to the wives of his mother’s brothers. In his own generation he applies the same terms *kai-ku-a-a-na* “my elder brother” and *kai-ku-wa-hee-na* “my elder sister” to his elder brothers and sisters and to all his elder first cousins, namely to the elder sons and daughters of his father’s brothers, to the elder sons and daughters of his father’s sisters, to the elder sons and daughters of his mother’s brothers, and to the elder sons and daughters of his mother’s sisters. He applies the same term *wa-hee-na* “my wife” to his wife, to his wife’s sisters, and to his brothers’ wives. Similarly a woman applies the same term *ka-na* “my husband” to her husband, to her husband’s brothers, and to her sisters’ husbands. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term *kai-kee ka-na* “my son” and *kai-kee wa-hee-na* “my daughter” to his sons and daughters and to all his nephews and nieces,

<sup>1</sup> W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*,<sup>2</sup> i. (London, 1832) p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> W. Ellis, *op. cit.* i. 336.

namely, to the sons and daughters of his brothers and to the sons and daughters of his sisters. Similarly a woman applies the same terms *kai-kee ka-na* "my son" and *kai-kee wa-hee-na* "my daughter" to her sons and daughters and to all her nephews and nieces, namely, to the sons and daughters of her brothers and to the sons and daughters of her sisters.<sup>1</sup>

Thus though the terms of relationship in the Hawaiian system differ throughout from those of the Rotuman system,<sup>2</sup> the principles of classification are the same in the two systems, except that whereas the Hawaiian confounds the wife's sister with the wife and the husband's brother with the husband, the Rotuman distinguishes the wife's sister from the wife and the husband's brother from the husband. In that respect, therefore, the Hawaiian system is doubtless the older of the two and agrees with the Australian. In all the other relationships which have been enumerated the Hawaiian form of the classificatory system agrees in principle with the Rotuman. Like the Rotuman, it confuses the mother's brothers and the husbands of the father's sisters with the father: it confuses the father's sisters and the wives of the mother's brothers with the mother: it confuses all first cousins, whether the children of two brothers, or of two sisters, or of a brother and a sister respectively, under the appellation of "brothers" and "sisters"; and it confuses all nephews and nieces, whether the children of brothers or of sisters, under the appellation of "sons" and "daughters." All such confusions we have seen reason to regard as innovations imported into the classificatory system and as marks of its decadence.<sup>3</sup>

In the Hawaiian system the confusion of the wife with the wife's sister and of the husband with the husband's brother is primitive. In other respects the Hawaiian system agrees with the Rotuman and is decadent.

#### § 4. *Traces of Totemism in Ponape and other parts of Polynesia*

Brief indications of totemism or of a religion developed out of it are reported from other parts of Polynesia. Thus in Nukulaelae, or Mitchell Group, "household gods were incarnate in certain birds and fishes, and, as in Samoa of old, no one dared to eat the incarnation of his god."<sup>4</sup>

Traces of totemism in other parts of Polynesia.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 419-422.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 170 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 169 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 280.

In Nukufetau and Namumanga also household gods were incarnate in fishes,<sup>1</sup> and in Nui they were seen in fish, birds, and so forth.<sup>2</sup> Of the Kingsmill Islanders we are told that "some worship the souls of their departed ancestors, or certain birds, fish, and animals. . . . The natives always refuse to eat the animals, fish, etc., worshipped by them, but will readily catch them, that others may partake of the food. . . . Fish and animals that are held sacred are only addressed with prayers by their worshippers."<sup>3</sup> As to the natives of Banabe or Ascension Island it is said that "certain animals, also, particularly fish, are esteemed sacred among them,—some, as eels, being so to the whole people, while others are merely prohibited to particular families. O'Connell supposes this to proceed from some rude system of metempsychosis, connected with their religious belief."<sup>4</sup> Again, in the island of Tikopia, which is inhabited by Polynesians though it lies between the Santa Cruz group and the New Hebrides, some if not all of the natives are said to have gods whom they take from among the animals. One, for example, has the eel for his god, another a fish, another the bat, and so on. Indeed we are told that the eel and the ray-fish take rank among the principal deities of Tikopia, and that it would be a crime to eat them.<sup>5</sup> Again, in Ponape, one of the Caroline Islands, "the different families suppose themselves to stand in a certain relation to animals and especially to fishes, and believe in their descent from them. They actually name these animals 'mothers'; the creatures are sacred to the family and may not be injured. Great dances, accompanied with the offering of prayers, are performed in their honour. Any person who killed such an animal would expose himself to contempt and punishment, certainly also to the vengeance

Traces of totemism in Ponape, one of the Caroline Islands.

<sup>1</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 285, 289.

<sup>2</sup> G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (New York, 1851), v. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Horatio Hale, *United States Exploring Expedition, Ethnology and Philology* (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 84. James O'Connell, a shipwrecked

mariner, spent five years on the island. He escaped in 1833 and published at Boston an account of his adventures "containing much valuable information" (*ib.* p. 80).

<sup>5</sup> J. Dumont D'Urville, *Voyage autour du monde et à la recherche de la Perouse*, v. 195, 305, 307. The Tikopians are Polynesians (*ib.* p. 304).

of the insulted deity. They believe that blindness is the consequence of such disregard of the totem. But conjuration and medicine may interfere to avert the evil. The eel (*kamijik*) is sacred to the Tipunpanemai and Lajilap, the shark to the Lipetan, the cuttle-fish to the Tipenuai, and so on."<sup>1</sup> According to others, however, the sacred animal of the Tipenuai is not the cuttle-fish but the sting-ray, for which they shew great veneration. When one of these fish is left high and dry on the beach, they put it back in deep water; and formerly when one of the clan died, they used to pour coco-nut milk on the water as if for the benefit of a sting-ray, which might perhaps be thought to lodge the soul of the deceased in its body.<sup>2</sup> In Ponape the people are divided into families or clans (*yau* or *tip*) with descent both of the family and of the property in the maternal line. A man's proper heirs are his sister's sons.<sup>3</sup> The names of some of these clans are derived from birds. Thus one clan is named after the blue heron, another after the devil-bird or native owl, and another after the boatswain-bird.<sup>4</sup>

### § 5. *Traces of Totemism in Tonga*

Further evidence of the diffusion of totemism, or of a system derived from it, in Polynesia was obtained by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers in the course of his expedition to the Pacific in 1908. In Tonga he learned that each family

Dr. Rivers's evidence of totemism in Polynesia.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hahl, "Mittheilungen über Sitten und rechtliche Verhältnisse auf Ponape," *Ethnologisches Notizblatt*, vol. ii. Heft 2 (Berlin, 1901), p. 10. Dr. Hahl is, or was, Vice-Governor. In the passage which I have translated the words "*Missachtung des Toten*" seem to be a mistake of the German printer for "*Missachtung des Totem*" and I have translated them accordingly. Compare F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands* (London, 1899), p. 75: "The worship of the *Ani* or deified ancestors, coupled with a sort of zoolatry or totemism, is the backbone of the Ponapean faith. Every village, every valley, hill or stream has its *genius loci*, every family its household god,

every clan its presiding spirit, every tribe its tutelary deity. . . . All these *Ani* are honoured under the guise of some special bird, fish, or tree in which they are supposed to reside, and with which they are identified."

<sup>2</sup> J. Kubary, *Die sozialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer* (Berlin, 1885), p. 122, note. Mr. F. W. Christian also says that "the totem," as he calls it, of the Tip-en-uai tribe is the sting-ray. See F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands* (London, 1899), pp. 324, 381.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hahl, *op. cit.* pp. 7 sq., 9 sq.; F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, p. 324.

Traces of  
totemism  
in Tonga.

had its god (*otua*), and that these family gods were thought to be embodied in animals, stones, or a man. Among animals regarded as incarnations of family gods were the octopus, the flying fox, and the pigeon. People never ate animals in which they supposed their gods to be incarnate. Dr. Rivers was informed that the natives believed themselves to be descended from their sacred animals; and he adds: "This scanty Tongan evidence distinctly strengthens the belief that we have to do with true totemism, for while there is a close resemblance with the beliefs and practice of Samoa there is in addition the belief in descent from the totem-animal."<sup>1</sup>

The classi-  
ficatory  
system of  
relation-  
ship in  
Tonga

While the Tongan families or clans are not known to have been exogamous within the time during which the islands have been under European observation, the prevalence of the classificatory system of relationship among them raises a presumption that exogamy was practised at some time, perhaps a remote time, by their ancestors. The following are examples of classificatory terms of relationship in the Tongan language. In the generation above his own a man applies the same term *eku tamai*, "my father," to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters; he applies the same term *eku fae*, "my mother," to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. But he applies different terms, namely, *hoku tuajina* and *hoku mehekitaga*, to his mother's brothers and to his father's sisters respectively. In his own generation he applies the same term *hoku taokete*, "my elder brother," to his elder brothers, to his male cousins, the sons of his father's elder brothers, and the sons of his mother's elder sisters. He applies the same term *hoku tehina*, "my younger brother," to his younger brothers and to his male cousins, the sons of his father's younger brothers or of his mother's younger sisters. But he applies other terms,

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 160. William Mariner, who lived for some years in Tonga from 1806 onwards, reports that "the primitive gods and deceased nobles sometimes appear (visibly) to mankind,

to warn or to afford comfort and advice: that the primitive gods also sometimes come into the living bodies of lizards, porpoises, and a species of water-snake, hence these animals are much respected" (W. Mariner, *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, Second Edition (London, 1818), ii. 99).

namely *hoku tama-amehekitaga* and *hoku tama'a tuajina*, to his other cousins, the children of his father's sister and of his mother's brother respectively. He applies the same term *hoku unoho*, "my wife," to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives. A woman applies the same term *hoku unoho* "my husband" to her husband, to her husband's brothers, and to her sisters' husbands. In the generation below his own a man applies the same terms *hoku foha* "my son" and *hoku ofefine* "my daughter" to his sons and daughters and to his nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of his brothers. But he applies a different term *hoku ilamutu* "my nephew" or "my niece," as the case may be, to the sons and daughters of his sisters.<sup>1</sup>

In thus distinguishing (1) the mother's brother from the father, (2) the father's sister from the mother, (3) the children of the father's brother and of the mother's sister on the one hand from the children of the father's sister and of the mother's brother on the other hand, and (4) the children of a man's sister from his brother's children and from his own, the Tongan form of the classificatory system differs both from the Hawaiian and from the Rotuman form and has thereby preserved, if Dr. Rivers is right and Morgan wrong, a number of older features which are now lost in the other two.<sup>2</sup>

Differences of the Tongan form of the classificatory system from the Rotuman and the Hawaiian forms.

### § 6. *Traces of Totemism in Tikopia*

Further, Dr. Rivers obtained fuller particulars as to the animal gods of Tikopia, about which, as we saw, the French explorer J. Dumont D'Urville had already briefly reported.<sup>3</sup> Tikopia is a tiny island about a hundred and twenty miles east of the Santa Cruz group. In spite of its neighbourhood to Melanesia, the inhabitants of the island are Polynesian by blood, language, and institutions. They apply the name of god (*atua*) to a number of animals which may not be

Animal gods (*atua*) in Tikopia.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 573 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 170 *sqq.*, and W. H. R. Rivers, "On the Origin of

the Classificatory System of Relationship," *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 176.

The four sections of Tikopia and their *atua*.

eaten, and they use the same term in speaking of an ancestor. Some of the divine animals are revered by the whole people, but others only by the members of one or other of the four sections into which the population is divided. The names of the four sections are the Kavika, the Taumako, the Tafua, and the Fangalele. The Taumako may not eat the sea-eel (*toke*) nor a bird called *rupe*. The Tafua may not eat the fresh-water eel (*tuna*), the flying fox (*peka*), and the turtle (*fonu*). The two latter animals are forbidden food to the whole community; but they are held to be especially sacred to the Tafua. The Fangalele may not eat a small black bird called *moko* nor a fish called *one*. The Kavika may not eat the octopus (*feke*); but it is also tabooed to the whole people. Similarly the sting-ray (*fai*) may not be eaten by any one. A man of a division may not kill the animal which he is forbidden to eat. If one of the Fangalele caught an *one* fish, he usually threw it back into the water; but he might give it to a man of another division. On the other hand Dr. Rivers was told that if a man of one division killed the sacred animal of another division he would fall sick and would then send for a man of the division to which the animal belonged, and the man would come and call upon the sacred creature (*atua*) to make the patient well.<sup>1</sup>

Belief in descent from the sacred animals.

Further, says Dr. Rivers, "it was quite clear that there was a belief in descent from the animal *atua*. This presents difficulties when a division has more than one *atua*, but according to my informant in some cases a division had more than one animal ancestor. He said that the Kavika were descended from the octopus, and the Taumako from the eel, the story being that in the old times a man of each division died and became an octopus in the one case and an eel in the other. The Tafua believe chiefly in their descent from the flying fox, but they also believe that a second man of this division became after death a fresh-water eel. Similarly, two men of the Fangalele became animals, one the *one* fish and the other the *moko* bird. Thus the belief is not so much in descent

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in the *Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of* (1909) pp. 160 sq.

from an animal as in descent from a man who became an animal.

"In addition to these animals there are also plant *atua*. One of these is a plant with large leaves like the taro, called *kape*, which is sacred to the Kavika and may not be eaten by the people of that division while free to the rest of the community. This plant seems to belong to the same category as the animal *atua*, and it will be noticed that it belongs to a division which but for this would have only one sacred object. Three of the divisions have also vegetable *atua* which seem to belong to a different category. These are the yam, the taro, and the coconut, belonging respectively to the Kavika, the Taumako, and the Tafua. These plants might, however, be eaten by all, but the Kavika do not like to see any one cut the taro with a knife, and they scrape off the skin with the shell of a mussel. In this case it was said that it was the top of the yam which was especially regarded as the *atua*. Similarly, the Taumako do not like to see the taro cut with a knife, and here again it was a special part, the eye of the taro, which was regarded as the *atua*. The Tafua also objected to a knife being used to open a coconut, and always used a stone. This restriction on the use of a knife is of course recent, and is an interesting example of the feeling that sacred objects should not be subjected to usages which have come from without into the ordinary life of a people.

Sacred plants in Tikopia.

"The special relation between each division of the people and their sacred plant is shown in the planting season, the first yams being planted by the chief of the Kavika, while the chief of the Taumako plants the first taro. The chiefs of the respective divisions are also the first to eat their sacred vegetables. In the case of the coconut the special privilege of the Tafua is that its chief has the power of imposing a *tapu*. The Fangalele have no plant *atua*, but their chief assists the chief of the Kavika in planting the first yams."<sup>1</sup>

Customs as to planting the sacred plants and eating the firstfruits.

Although exogamy is not found in Tikopia, the inhabi-

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in the Royal Anthropological Institute, Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of* xxxix. (1909) pp. 161 sq.

Dr. Rivers  
on totems  
in Tikopia.

tants being free to marry members of their own or of other divisions, Dr. Rivers believes that the sacred animals of the divisions and the sacred *kape* plant of the Kavika division are probably true totems; while with regard to the sacred plants—the yam, taro, and coco-nut—of the other three divisions, he inclines to think that their association with the divisions springs from some beliefs quite independent of totemism.<sup>1</sup>

The classi-  
ficatory  
system of  
relation-  
ship in  
Tikopia.

The natives of Tikopia have the classificatory system of relationship.<sup>2</sup> Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *pa* to his father and to his father's brothers; and he applies the same term *nau* to his mother and to his mother's sisters. In his own generation he applies the same term *taina* to his brothers and to all his male first cousins, whether the sons of his father's brothers, or of his father's sisters, or of his mother's brothers, or of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term *kave* to his sisters and to all his female first cousins, whether the daughters of his father's brothers, or of his father's sisters, or of his mother's brothers, or of his mother's sisters. A man calls his wife *nofine*, and she calls him *matua*. He calls his wife's sisters by the same name (*taina*) which he applies to his brothers; and she calls her husband's brothers by the same name (*taina*) which she applies to her brothers. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term *tama* to his sons and daughters and to all his nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of his brothers and sisters. Similarly a woman applies the same term *tama* to her sons and daughters and to all her nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of her brothers and sisters.

The  
Tikopian  
form of  
the classi-  
ficatory sys-  
tem agrees  
with the

Thus the Tikopian form of the classificatory system has departed from the original pattern in several respects. First, it distinguishes the wife's sister from the wife and the husband's brother from the husband. Second, it confuses first cousins, the children of two brothers or of two sisters

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> For the following particulars as to the classificatory terms of relationship in Tikopia I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers.

on the one hand, with first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively on the other hand, calling them all "brothers" and "sisters" indifferently. Third, it confuses a man's children with his sister's children, and a woman's children with her brother's children. In all these respects the Tikopian system agrees with the Rotuman; and we have seen reason to think that all these deviations from the original pattern are signs which mark an incipient breakdown of the classificatory system.<sup>1</sup>

Rotuman in certain deviations from the primitive pattern.

### § 7. Totemism in the Pelew Islands

Another part of Polynesia, in the widest sense of the term, where pure totemism or something practically indistinguishable from it has been recorded is the group of the Pelew Islands, which lies at the extreme western limit of the Polynesian area, about midway between the Caroline Islands on the east and the Philippine Islands on the west. The natives belong to that branch of the Polynesian stock which is called Micronesian. They are divided into a large number of exogamous families or clans (*blay*) with descent in the maternal line. In an ordinary village there will be members of a score of such clans living together.<sup>2</sup> Each clan has its sacred animal, bird, or fish, in which perhaps, though this is not certain, the souls of dead members of the clan may formerly have been supposed to lodge. Among these sacred creatures or clan totems, as we may call them, are sea-eels, crabs, fish, and parrots.<sup>3</sup> Further, each district or village has its god, and all these district or village gods have their sacred animals, which are generally fish. Among the sacred animals of the village

Exogamous clans with totems and maternal descent in the Pelew Islands.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 170 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. Kubary, *Die sozialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer* (Berlin, 1885), pp. 33-36; *id.* "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde* (Berlin, 1888), i. 16.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, i. 12-16, 20 sq., 38, 68. The native name for

these clan totems is *kalid*, *adalsahel*, or *kasingl*. Of these terms the first (*kalid*) seems to be the most general and to be equivalent to "god." According to Professor K. Semper these *kalids* or sacred animals are "absolutely identical with the *totems* of the Americans, the *kubongs* of the Australians, etc." The word *kalid*, he tells us, means "holy." See K. Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln* (Leipsic, 1873), pp. 87 note, 193 sq.

gods are the shark, the ray-fish, the *Platyurus fasciatus*, the *Dysporus*, the *Birgus latro*, a species of crab, the puffin, and a species of night-heron (*Nycticorax manilensis*). According to Mr. J. Kubary, our principal authority on the Pelew Islands, the sacred animals of the village gods have certainly been developed out of the sacred animals of the families or clans.<sup>1</sup> If he is right, the analogy with the Samoan system of family and village gods, each of them often incarnate in a species of animals, strongly suggests that in Samoa also the village gods with their animal incarnations have been developed out of the family gods with their animal incarnations, and that these animal incarnations themselves were originally totems. The inference, if it is sound, points to totemism as the origin of all those cases of sacred animals associated with families which have met us in other parts of Polynesia.<sup>2</sup>

Classifi-  
catory  
system in  
Polynesia.

Lastly, the classificatory system of relationship, which appears to be found all over Polynesia, raises a presumption that the Polynesians or their ancestors were formerly divided into exogamous classes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, i. 20, 38 sq.

<sup>2</sup> That totemism and exogamy were formerly prevalent all over Polynesia appears to have been the view also of the experienced observer J. Kubary, though he uses neither of these terms. See J. Kubary, *Die sozialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer*, pp. 35 sq.; *id.* "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, i. 12 sq.

<sup>3</sup> As to the classificatory system of

relationship in Polynesia, see above, pp. 169 sqq., 174 sq., 178 sq., 182 sq., and L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 448 sqq., 517 sqq., 568 sqq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 401 sqq. As to the classificatory system of relationship among the Maoris, see further Elsdon Best, "Maori Nomenclature," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 185-190, 198-201; *id.* "Maori Marriage Customs," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, xxxvi. (1903) pp. 24-28.

## CHAPTER IX

### TOTEMISM IN INDONESIA

#### § 1. *Totemism and Exogamy in Sumatra*

THE interior of the large islands of Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and other lesser islands of the Malay Archipelago is inhabited by a race of men to whom the name of Indonesian is now given. They resemble the Malays in appearance, speak dialects of the same family of speech, and, like the Malays, are for the most part tillers of the soil.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch writers, to whose laudable diligence we owe many valuable accounts of the native races of the Indian Archipelago, commonly call the aborigines of these islands by the name of Alfoors, to distinguish them from the Malays, and it might be convenient to adopt this designation in English, reserving the name Indonesian as a general term to include the two different yet kindred races. Among these aborigines perhaps the best known are the Battas or Bataks in the interior of Sumatra, who, while they practise agriculture and cattle-breeding, live in well-built houses, and even possess an ancient literature written in an alphabet of their own, are nevertheless addicted to cannibalism in a peculiarly ferocious form,<sup>2</sup> and have also preserved a system of totemism and exogamy. Their principal seat, from which the various tribes have spread,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 486-488.

<sup>2</sup> F. Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra* (Berlin, 1847), ii. 155 sqq.; J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras* (Würzburg, 1894), pp. 205 sqq. As to the

literature and alphabet of the Battas, see F. Junghuhn, *op. cit.* ii. 254 sqq.; W. Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (London, 1811), pp. 200 sq.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane- en Bilastroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Neder-*

is Lake Toba, a great sheet of dark blue water enclosed by high steep banks, which are broken into winding bays.<sup>1</sup> The Battas are divided into a number of exogamous clans called *margas* or *mergas* with descent in the male line; in other words, husband and wife must always be members of different clans and the children belong to the clan of their father, not to the clan of their mother. The clans are further divided into subclans, which often dwell far apart from each other.<sup>2</sup> There is no local division between the clans; members of different clans live mixed up together, though certain clans predominate in certain districts. There are said to be five principal clans which are represented in all the Batta tribes. Members of the same clan regard each other as kinsfolk; on a journey a man will receive hospitality in a strange village from a member of his clan.<sup>3</sup> The relationship between members of the same clan (*marga* or *merga*) is regarded as very close; according to the generation to which they respectively belong they are to each other brothers and sisters, fathers and children, aunts and nieces, and so on. Not only is marriage forbidden between members of the same clan, but sexual intercourse between such persons is viewed as incest in the highest degree and severely punished.<sup>4</sup> Further,

Exogamous  
clans  
(*margas*)  
of the  
Battas.

*landsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, iii. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 1 (Amsterdam, 1886), p. 9.

<sup>1</sup> J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras* (Würzburg, 1894), p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> L. de Backer, *L'Archipel Indien* (Paris, 1874), p. 470; G. W. W. C. Baron van Hoëvell, "Iets over 't oorlogvoeren der Batta's," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, N.S. vii. (1878) p. 434, note<sup>1</sup>; G. A. Wilken, *Over de Verwantschap en het huwelijks- en erfrecht bij de volken van het maleische ras* (Amsterdam, 1883), pp. 20 sq., 36 (reprinted from *De Indische Gids* for May 1883); J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane- en Bila- stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, iii. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 3 (Amsterdam, 1886), pp. 473, 491;

J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, p. 197; P. A. L. E. van Dijk, "Eenige Aanteekeningen omtrent de verschillende Stammen (Margas) en de Stamverdeling bij de Battaks," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxxviii. (1895) pp. 296 sq.

<sup>3</sup> W. Volz, "Die Battak-Länder in Zentral-Sumatra," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1907, p. 685.

<sup>4</sup> M. Joustra, "Het leven, de zeden en gewoonten der Bataks," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xlvii. (1902) pp. 388 sq.; J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane- en Bila- stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, iii. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 2 (Amsterdam, 1886), p. 242, and No. 3, p. 491.

each clan has its sacred animal or plant, which the members of the clan are forbidden to eat, and some of the clans are named after their sacred animals or totems. Thus the clan Nasoetion is forbidden to eat the flesh of a white buffalo (*horbo badar*); the clan Si Regar and its subdivisions may not eat the flesh of goats; the clan Harahap and its subordinate septs may not partake of white turtle doves (*balam*); the clan Babijat is prohibited from eating tigers, panthers, and such creatures; the clan Tompoel is debarred from eating dogs, the clan Si Pospos from eating cats, the clan Sagala from eating apes; and members of the Hasiboean clan may make no use of paddy-melons.<sup>1</sup> Further, the members of the Guru Singa clan are forbidden to partake of the flesh of the hornbill;<sup>2</sup> members of the Kataran clan may not eat locusts; and the flesh of deer and doves is tabooed to the Gersang Sahing clan.<sup>3</sup> Various reasons are assigned by the Battas for the observance of these totemic prohibitions. Sometimes they say that they are descended from their totemic animals and that their souls transmigrate into these creatures after death; sometimes they allege that one of the animals saved the life of their forefathers or conferred other obligations on them.<sup>4</sup> Thus the members of the Kataran clan say that once upon a time, when their ancestor Si Kataran had hidden himself in a field from his enemies, a locust alighted on his head and by its cheery chirping beguiled his pursuers into the belief that there was no man in the field; hence no member of the clan will now eat a locust.<sup>5</sup> Again, members of the Ginting clan refuse to partake of the flesh of a white buffalo because they

Totems  
of the  
*margas*.

Reasons  
assigned  
for the  
totemic  
taboos.

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane- en Bila- stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, iii. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 2 (Amsterdam, 1886), pp. 311 *sq.*; *id. ib.* Tweede Serie, iv. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 1 (Amsterdam, 1887), pp. 8 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Ein Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, p. 199; M. Joustra, "Naar het landschap Goenoeng," *Mededeelingen*

*van wege het Nederlandsche Zending- genootschap*, xlv. (1901) p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Ein Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, pp. 198, 199.

<sup>4</sup> J. B. Neumann, *ll. cc.*; J. E. [B. ?] Neumann, "Kemali, Pantang en Rëboe bij de Karo-Bataks," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xlvi. (1906) p. 512.

<sup>5</sup> J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Ein Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, p. 199.

say that some of their ancestors were suckled and reared by a white buffalo cow;<sup>1</sup> and members of a dog clan abstain from eating dogs because they believe that a dog saved the life of one of their forefathers.<sup>2</sup>

Classi-  
ficatory  
terms of re-  
lationship  
among the  
Battas.

There are indications that the Battas employ the classificatory system of relationship. Thus we are told that members of the same exogamous clan are, according to their respective age and sex, brothers and sisters, or fathers and children, or aunts and nephews, etc., to each other, even when the relationships thus expressed are not those of blood; and further, that the terms father and mother, etc., are used in a much looser sense by the Battas than by us in cases where the kinship is very remote.<sup>3</sup> Another hint of the classificatory system of relationship is that a man has a right to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, and the girl very seldom refuses him, even rejecting the offers of richer and handsomer suitors in order to marry her cousin. Such marriages between cousins are very customary, indeed they are regarded as desirable and normal. If a man does not wed the daughter of his mother's brother, his uncle may take offence, nay, some people even say that the gods (*dibata*) are angry. On the other hand, marriage with the daughter of a father's sister is not only forbidden but punishable.<sup>4</sup> The same distinction between marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother, which is allowed and even recommended, and marriage with the daughter of a father's sister, which is forbidden, will meet us again in Sumatra.<sup>5</sup>

Cousin  
marriages.

Rules of  
avoidance  
between  
brother

Like other peoples with the classificatory system of relationship the Battas observe certain rules of avoidance in regard to near relations by blood or marriage; and we

<sup>1</sup> J. Freiherr von Brenner, *Ein Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, p. 201; M. Joustra, "Naar het landschap Goenoeng," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zending-genootschap*, xlv. (1901) p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> J. Freiherr von Brenner, *op. cit.* p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> M. Joustra, "Het leven, de zeden en gewoonten der Bataks," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zending-genootschap*, xlvi. (1902) pp. 389, 391.

<sup>4</sup> J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane- en Bila- stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, iii. Afdeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 2 (Amsterdam, 1886), p. 243, No. 3, p. 492; M. Joustra, "Het leven, de zeden en gewoonten der Bataks," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zending-genootschap*, xlvi. (1902) p. 390.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 191.

are informed that such avoidance springs not from the strictness but from the looseness of their moral practice. A Batta, it is said, assumes that a solitary meeting of a man with a woman leads to an improper intimacy between them. But at the same time he believes that incest or the sexual intercourse of near relations excites the anger of the gods and entails calamities of all sorts. Hence near relations are obliged to avoid each other lest they should succumb to temptation. A Batta, for example, would think it shocking were a brother to escort his sister to an evening party. Even in the presence of others a Batta brother and sister feel embarrassed. If one of them comes into the house, the other will go away. Further, a father may never be alone in the house with his daughter, nor a mother with her son. A man may never speak to his mother-in-law nor a woman to her father-in-law. The Dutch missionary who reports these customs adds that he is sorry to say that from what he knows of the Battas he believes the maintenance of most of these rules to be very necessary. For the same reason, he tells us, as soon as Batta lads have reached the age of puberty they are no longer allowed to sleep in the family house but are sent away to pass the night in a separate building (*djambon*); and similarly as soon as a man loses his wife by death he is excluded from the house.<sup>1</sup>

and sister,  
father and  
daughter,  
mother and  
son, etc.

On the death of a man his wives pass with his property to his heir, who is his younger brother or eldest son. If the brother desires to marry them, the women have no right to refuse. In regard to sons, the custom has changed. Marriage with a stepmother is now forbidden. Formerly, the eldest son might marry his stepmother as soon as his father died. His own mother, when the eldest son was heir, might either remain a widow or go to her late husband's

Custom  
of the  
Levirate.

<sup>1</sup> M. Joustra, "Het leven, de zeden en gewoonten der Bataks," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xlv. (1902) pp. 391 sq. As to the avoidance between a man and his daughter-in-law and between a woman and her son-in-law, see further J. H. Meerwaldt, "Gebruiken der Bataks in het maatschappelijk leven," *Mededeelingen van wege het*

*Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xlix. (1905) pp. 123 sq., 125. From the latter writer we learn that a man and his daughter-in-law are expected to communicate with each other only through a third person, and that he may not utter her name. In like manner a woman may not mention the name of her son-in-law.

younger brother as she chose. If her deceased husband had no younger brother or he refused to have her, she might marry another man with the consent of her son. This custom is still observed.<sup>1</sup> In one Batta tribe all the children whom a woman has by her second marriage are reckoned the children of the first husband.<sup>2</sup>

Burial  
according  
to totem.

Members of the various totem clans are buried in different positions. Thus members of the Harahap clan, which has wild turtle-doves for its totem, are buried with the head to the west; members of the Si Regar clan, which have goats for their totem, are interred with the head to the east; and members of the Dadi clan are laid in the grave with their heads to the north.<sup>3</sup> We have seen that a similar custom was observed by the Wotjobaluk tribe of Australia.<sup>4</sup>

Totemism  
and exo-  
gamy in  
Man-  
dailing.

Exogamy and apparently totemism are also found in Mandailing, a district on the west coast of Sumatra. Here the population is divided into exogamous clans (*margas*), each of which traces its descent from a male ancestor. Marriage within the clan (*marga*) is forbidden and viewed as incest. In some cases the prohibition of marriage extends over a group of clans, all of which regard themselves as related in the male line. The names of nine such exogamous clans are recorded. Children belong to the clan of their father. It is not easy to ascertain the origin of these divisions. The people themselves, when asked, can generally give no answer. However, the members of one clan, called Parindoeri, assert that they are descended from a tiger, and at the present day when a tiger is shot the women of the clan are bound to offer betel to the dead beast. When members of this clan come upon the tracks of a tiger, they must, as a mark of homage, enclose them with three little sticks. Further, it is believed that the tiger will not attack or lacerate his kinsmen, the members

Reverence  
shewn by  
members  
of the tiger  
clan for  
tigers.

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane-en Bilastroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, III. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 3 (Amsterdam, 1886), pp. 487 sq.

<sup>2</sup> F. Warneck, "Das Eherecht bei den Toba-Batak," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, liii. (1901) p. 542.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. Neumann, *op. cit.* p. 503.

<sup>4</sup> Above, vol. i. pp. 454 sqq.

of this clan. Marriage between two persons of the same clan has occasionally happened. Such an event is regarded as a disgrace to the community in which it takes place, and the guilty couple are banished from it. The husband is obliged to sacrifice a buffalo, a cow, or a goat for the common weal. When a husband dies, his widow goes to his younger brother or other male kinsman by blood, who almost always marries her. But an older brother may not marry her; such a marriage would be regarded as incest. The children of brothers are reckoned brothers and sisters. Marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother is regarded as very desirable, but marriage with the daughter of a father's sister is forbidden.<sup>1</sup> This extended application of the terms brother and sister, and this preference for marriage with a first cousin, the daughter of a mother's brother, are so many indications of the classificatory system of relationship. The rule that a man's widow is inherited by his younger brother, but never by his elder brother, is a very characteristic feature of the north-central tribes of Australia,<sup>2</sup> and, as we shall see presently, it is very commonly observed in India.

The  
Levirate :  
the widow  
married by  
a younger  
brother  
of the  
deceased.  
Cousin  
marriages.

Further, traces of a totemic system may perhaps be detected among the Gajos, a people who inhabit a district of Northern Sumatra inland from Achin. They are divided into families or clans, the members of which are forbidden to eat certain animals or other food. Such taboos are always explained by an oath or curse of an ancestor who swore the oath or uttered the curse in consequence of some event recorded by tradition. Thus the fish *lokot* is not eaten by an older branch of the clan of Petiambang. The flesh of the white buffalo (*koro djögöt*) is tabooed to a particular part of the same clan, whose foreign origin is still faintly remembered. The wood-pigeon is forbidden to another clan in Gajo Loeös. In Pepareq there are people who may not

Traces of  
totemism  
among the  
Gajos.

<sup>1</sup> H. Ris, "De onderafdeeling Klein Mandailing Oeloe en Pahantan en hare bevolking met uitzondering van de Oeloes," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xlii. (1896) pp. 472 sq., 490, 492, 493, 494, 508 sq.; Th. A. L.

Heyting, "Beschrijving der Onderafdeeling Groot-Mandeling en Batangnatal," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, xiv. (1897) pp. 245 sq., 257.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 510.

Subdivision  
of a clan  
and  
deliberate  
abolition of  
the rule of  
exogamy.

eat the shoots of bamboos. The inhabitants of Doeren may not use *dongra* leaves as plates for rice, etc.<sup>1</sup> The Gajo clans appear to be exogamous with descent in the male line.<sup>2</sup> When a clan grows too numerous to live together, part of it will choose a leader of their own and break off from the rest. After the separation the members of the two groups or clans thus formed no longer call each other brothers, but their common descent is regarded as a bar to marriage between them unless they mutually agree to remove the bar and solemnly to announce that henceforth the two groups or clans may take wives from each other. This deliberate abolition of exogamy receives different names in different places.<sup>3</sup> When we find exogamous clans with prohibited foods we may reasonably suspect the existence, present or past, of totemism. The Gajos, indeed, now profess Islam, but their Mohammedan creed is mixed with old pagan superstitions.<sup>4</sup>

Exogamy  
with  
paternal  
descent in  
Southern  
Sumatra.

While these are all the certain or probable cases of totemism which I have noted in Sumatra, the institution of exogamy both with paternal and with maternal descent is found in other parts of that great island. Thus the Pasemahers of Southern Sumatra are divided into five clans called *sumbui*; marriage is not permitted between members of the same clan (*sumbui*), and children belong to the clan of their father. If a man marries a woman of his own clan, the people believe that the gods will punish with destruction the guilty pair and their offspring.<sup>5</sup> Each Pasemaher clan inhabits a separate district, so that local exogamy here coexists and coincides with clan exogamy.<sup>6</sup> Again,

<sup>1</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajö-land en zijne Bewoners* (Batavia, 1903), p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* pp. 268, 271 sq.

<sup>3</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* pp. 79 sq.

<sup>4</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* p. 327.

<sup>5</sup> G. A. Wilken, *Over het Huwelijks- en Erfrecht bij de Volken van Zuid-Sumatra* (The Hague, 1891), pp. 6-8 (reprinted from *Bijdragen tot de Taal-*

*Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 5th Series, vol. vi.) Each *sumbui* is subdivided into a number of *suku*, and each *suku* has a number of villages (*dusun*). Compare G. G. Batten, *Glimpses of the Eastern Archipelago* (Singapore, 1894), p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> G. A. Wilken, *Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijks- en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras* (Amsterdam, 1883), p. 13 (reprinted from *De Indische Gids*, May 1883).

the inhabitants of Lebong, a district of Southern Sumatra, are similarly divided into exogamous clans (*suku*), with paternal descent; in other words, no man may marry a woman of his own clan (*suku*), and children belong to the clan of their father. The father is the head of the family, and his sons are his heirs.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand exogamy combined with maternal descent is found among the Menangkabaw Malays, who inhabit chiefly the province of Upper Padang in the interior of Sumatra. These people are divided into a number of clans (*suku*): no man may marry a woman of his own clan (*suku*), and the children belong to the clan of their mother. Members of the different clans live side by side in the same district. It seems that the Malay race was originally divided into four clans (*suku*), which have multiplied by subdivision. No settlement is thought complete which does not contain members of all the four original clans, the names of which are Koto, Piliang, Bodi, and Tjeniago. Nevertheless, though members of the different clans live in the same village, each clan has its separate quarter or ward of the village, where it dwells apart from the others. There is a legend that four king's sons married respectively a woman, a tiger, a dog, and a cat, and so became the ancestors of four different clans, but these clans appear to be local. A trace of totemism may perhaps be detected in the legend of their descent.<sup>2</sup> It is reckoned incest if a man marries a woman of his own clan (*suku*). However, young people of the same clan, but not related to each other by blood, sometimes marry for love, and payment of a fine suffices to condone the offence.<sup>3</sup> Amongst these Malays of the inland district of Padang a woman at marriage remains in her mother's family and her mother's house, where she is visited by her husband by day or by night. The two do not live together, for the husband also remains after marriage in his mother's

Exogamy with maternal descent in Sumatra. The Menangkabaw Malays of the Upper Padang province are divided into exogamous clans (*suku*), which are inherited from the mother.

<sup>1</sup> A. L. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra* (Leyden, 1882), pp. 214 sq., 252; G. A. Wilken, *Over het Huwelijks-en Erfrecht bij de Volken van Zuid-Sumatra* (The Hague, 1891), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra*, pp. 182 sq., 214; G. A. Wilken, *Over de*

*Verwantschap en het Huwelijks-en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras* (Amsterdam, 1883), pp. 10 sq., 18, 20, 24-26.

<sup>3</sup> J. C. van Eerde, "Een nūwelijk bij de Minangkabausche Maliers," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taul-Land-en Volkenkunde*, xlv. (1901) p. 393.

Husband and wife do not dwell together; each continues after marriage to live in his or her mother's house.

house. As a woman's family increases, the house is enlarged to accommodate it. Thus any one of the long houses in which the Menangkabaw Malays live will be found to contain only persons descended from the same mother, namely children with their mothers, their mothers' sisters and mothers' brothers, their grandmothers, their grandmothers' sisters and brothers, and so on. The husbands of the women, the fathers and grandfathers of the children, do not dwell in the house; they continue to live with their brothers and sisters in their mother's home. Hence naturally enough the head of the household and of the family, who has the title of *mamaq*, is not the woman's husband, but her eldest brother. He stands to his sister's children in the same social position in which amongst us a father stands to his own children, enjoying the privileges and incurring the obligations of paternity. When a man dies, his property passes, not to his children, but first to his brothers and sisters, and next to his sisters' children. When a woman dies, her property passes to her children or, if she has no children, to her brothers and sisters.<sup>1</sup> Further, the Malay inhabitants of Mapat-Toenggoel and Rantau-Binoewang, two districts in the north-east of Sumatra, are similarly divided into exogamous clans (*suku*) with descent in the maternal line: no man may marry a woman of his own clan (*suku*), and the children belong to the clan of their mother. In Rintau-Binoewang a man at marriage goes to live with his wife's parents.<sup>2</sup>

Exogamous clans with maternal descent among the Orang-Mamaq of Indragiri.

Again, exogamy combined with maternal descent is practised by the natives of the Indragiri district on the eastern side of Sumatra. Here the Orang-Mamaq are divided into a number of exogamous clans called *suku*, each of which is understood to comprise all descendants exclusively in the female line from the same ancestress of the stock. The members of a clan (*suku*) live together and are very closely united to one another. Each clan is answerable for

<sup>1</sup> A. W. P. Verkerk Pistorius, *Studien over de inlandsche Huishouding in de Padangsche Bovenlande* (Zalt-Bommel, 1871), pp. 42-45; A. L. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra*, pp. 245-247; G. A. Wilken, *Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijks-*

*en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras* (Amsterdam, 1883), pp. 24-27.

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Wilken, *De Verbreiding van het Matriarchaat op Sumatra* (The Hague, 1891), pp. 14 sq.

the deeds of all its members. Marriage within the clan is forbidden. Man and woman after marriage continue to belong each to his or her own clan; neither passes into the clan of the other. They seldom live together; when they do, it is the husband who comes to live with his wife. Husband and wife do not form a household; that is constituted only by the woman and her children. At the head of such a household stands the eldest brother of the mother; he is called the *mamaq*. At the head of the clan is a headman (*panghoeloe*) chosen by the maternal uncles, and the headman is confirmed in his dignity by the prince. The father has no right over his children; they belong wholly to their mother's clan. Titles, dignities, and property pass only in the female line. Since, in the opinion of the Orang-Mamaq, no relationship exists between children and their father, they naturally inherit none of his property at his death. He may, however, make them presents in his lifetime. A man's clan is responsible for his debts after his death; his children may not be taken in pledge for them.<sup>1</sup>

In Tiga Loeroeng, another part of Indragiri, the people are also divided into exogamous clans called *suku*, each with its headman (*panghoeloe*) chosen by the mothers' eldest brothers (*mamaqs*) and confirmed by the prince. The conception of the clan is here the same as among the Orang-Mamaq. But in Tiga Loeroeng the custom of husband and wife living together is almost universal. The husband either dwells in his wife's house or builds a house on land belonging to her clan. Yet though he lives in the house with his children, the father has little power over them; the *mamaq* or mother's eldest brother retains the greatest share of authority over them, his nephews and nieces. In this district there are more exceptions to the rule that dignities pass in the female line. As to inheritance, the property owned by each of the spouses before marriage remains his or hers or that of their clan after the death of the other; but the property acquired by them during marriage—the *harta-soearang*, as it is called—is divided on the death of one of

Exogamous  
clans with  
maternal  
descent  
in Tiga  
Loeroeng.

<sup>1</sup> A. F. P. Graafland, "De verbreiding van het Matriarchat in het Landschap Indragiri," *Bijdragen tot*

*de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxix. (1890) pp. 42-44.

them, own children and sisters' children having equal rights to the inheritance. If a man dies leaving debts, his children are responsible for one half of them, while the other half must be paid by the members of his clan. If a wife dies leaving debts, her children are usually responsible for the whole amount and may be taken in pledge for them.<sup>1</sup> These customs mark a step towards the establishment of father-kin beside or instead of mother-kin; and an indication and probably to some extent a cause of the change is the cohabitation of husband and wife in the same house.

Clans in a transitional state between mother-kin and father-kin.

In the same region, up stream from Batoe Sawal, we find still clearer traces of a transition from mother-kin to father-kin. Here the clan (*suku*) still exists and forms a strong bond of union between its members, but its limits are not so sharply defined, for the rule of exogamy has broken down. Each clan has still its headman, chosen as before and confirmed by the prince; but sometimes the men of military age have a voice in his election as well as the mothers' eldest brothers (*mamaqs*). Marriages within the clan are common, even between blood relations who are forbidden by Mohammedan law to marry each other. When husband and wife belong to different clans, it seldom happens that both continue after marriage members of his and her clan respectively. Generally one of the two joins the clan of the other. It depends entirely on the comparative numbers, power, and dignity of the two clans whether the husband joins his wife's clan or she joins his. If the husband's clan is the more powerful, the wife will leave her village, and the family house will be built in the village of the husband's clan. In that case the children belong to their father's clan, and their mother's eldest brother has little or no power over them. Still, even when the husband's clan is the stronger, it sometimes happens that after a divorce the mother and her children return to her own clan. In matters of inheritance the relationship of the children to both parents is recognised. At the death of either parent the property is often divided equally between

<sup>1</sup> A. F. P. Graafland, "De verbreiding van het Matriachat in het Landschap Indragiri," *Bijdragen tot*

*de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxix. (1890) p. 44 sq.

the survivor and the children. Sister's children have no share in the inheritance, if the deceased left children of his own. Debts of either spouse or of both pass at death to the children, who may be taken in pledge for them.<sup>1</sup>

The inhabitants of Nias, an island to the west of Sumatra, are divided into a number of exogamous clans with descent in the paternal line. Clans of the same name are found distributed all over the island. No man may marry a woman of his own clan, and a younger sister is not allowed to marry before her elder sister. Men buy their wives and regard them as their property. On the death of a husband his widow passes to his son and heir, unless she is his own mother. Property descends to the children. The eldest son receives a double portion. A wife does not inherit from her husband, nor a husband from his wife.<sup>2</sup>

Exogamous clans with paternal descent in the island of Nias.

### § 2. Totemism in the Moluccas

In some islands of the Moluccas, the archipelago which extends between Celebes on the west and New Guinea on the east, indications of totemism occur in the belief of the natives that they are descended from certain animals or plants, which accordingly they abstain from eating and injuring. Thus in Amboyna and the neighbouring islands the people of some villages allege that they are descended from trees, such as the *Cappellenia moluccana*, which had been fertilised by the *Pandion Haliaetus*. Others claim to be sprung from pigs, octopuses, crocodiles, sharks, and eels. People will not burn the wood of the trees from which they trace their descent, nor eat the flesh of the animals which they regard as their ancestors. Sicknesses of all sorts are believed to result from disregarding these taboos.<sup>3</sup> Similarly

Totemism in Amboyna and Ceram.

<sup>1</sup> A. F. P. Graafland, "De verbreiding van het Matriarchat in het Landschap Indragiri," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxix. (1890) pp. 45-47.

<sup>2</sup> J. T. Nieuwenhuisen en H. C. B. von Rosenberg, "Verslag omtrent het Eiland Nias und deszelfs Bewoners," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxx. (Batavia, 1863) pp. 39,

84 sq., 107; H. von Rosenberg, *Der malayische Archipel* (Leipsic, 1878), pp. 154 sq., 160; G. A. Wilken, *Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijks- en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras* (Amsterdam, 1883), pp. 31, 45 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluit- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (The Hague, 1886), pp. 32, 61; G. W. W. C. Baron van Hoëvell, *Ambon en meer bepaaldelijk de Oeliasers* (Dordrecht, 1875), p. 152.

Exogamous  
clans (*ifan*)  
in Ceram.

in Ceram, people who believe that they are descended from crocodiles, serpents, iguanas, and sharks will not eat the flesh of these animals.<sup>1</sup> Further, we find exogamy as well as traces of totemism in Ceram; for the people of Waai-Rama district are divided into at least five exogamous clans called *ifan*. No man may marry a woman of his own clan (*ifan*): a woman at marriage passes into her husband's clan; and the children belong to the clan of their father. On the death of her husband a woman may marry again, but only with a man of her late husband's clan. Usually she marries the nearest blood relation of the deceased.<sup>2</sup>

Totemism  
and exo-  
gamy in  
Buru.

The abori-  
gines of  
Buru are  
divided into  
exogamous  
clans  
(*fennas*)  
with  
paternal  
descent.

To the west of Ceram and Amboyna lies the large coral-girt island of Buru, a land of lofty mountains and deep valleys covered with forests of magnificent timber and watered by many rivers.<sup>3</sup> The aboriginal inhabitants of Buru, who belong to the light brown Indonesian race,<sup>4</sup> are divided into exogamous clans called *fennas*. No man may marry a woman of his own clan; the wife joins her husband's clan, and the children belong to the clan of their father. Each clan inhabits a separate district, which is the property of the clan and is also called a *fenna*, or more strictly *rahisin fenna*; at the head of each is a chief, whose office is generally hereditary. The names of the clans are said to be mostly derived from trees.<sup>5</sup> Since each exogamous clan (*fenna*) dwells apart in its own territory, it follows that here, as among the Pasemahers of Sumatra, local exogamy coexists and coincides with clan exogamy. Various legends are told to account for the origin of the clans. Thus the members of the Toefwai clan say that one day a *ketapan* tree

Legends  
of the  
origin of  
the clans.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (The Hague, 1886), p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> T. J. Willer, *Het Eiland Boeroe* (Amsterdam, 1858), pp. 7, 20.

<sup>3</sup> J. H. W. van der Miesen, "Een en ander over Boeroe," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendeling-genootschap*, xli. (1902) pp. 427-429; J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> T. J. Willer, *Het Eiland Boeroe* (Amsterdam, 1858), pp. 100 sq.;

G. A. Wilken, "Bijdrage tot de Kennis del Alfoeren van het eiland Boeroe," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxxviii. (Batavia, 1875) pp. 3, 12, 16; *id.*, *Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijks- en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras* (Amsterdam, 1883), pp. 14 sq.; A. Bastian, *Indonesien*, i. (Berlin, 1884) pp. 136, 137; J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 20, 22; J. H. W. van der Miesen, *op. cit.* pp. 431, 439.

split from top to bottom and their forefather came forth from it. The Wai Loewa on the coast allege that they are descended from a crocodile in the River Oki, and the crocodiles, which swarm there, are accordingly held by them in high veneration. They believe that a crocodile will never harm them, because he is their blood relation. The Reboet clan owes its existence to the compassion of a shark. For their ancestor was shipwrecked and would certainly have perished, if a shark had not taken pity on him and brought him safe to land. Since that time there has been a good understanding between the sharks and the Reboet clan, who firmly believe that if one of their number were to be cast away at sea, the sharks would at once rush to his rescue and bring him to shore.<sup>1</sup> A man's wife is purchased for him by his clan; hence when he dies any member of his clan has legally a right to marry the widow without paying for her. But the prior right always rests with the nearest male relations of the deceased. Usually the eldest brother of the dead man takes her to wife; but if he refuses, the right passes to his next brother, and so on. But a younger brother of the deceased is forbidden (*poto*) to marry his elder brother's widow. If the deceased left no brothers or only younger brothers, other members of the clan may claim the widow, for she is regarded as the property of the clan, having been paid for by them. When a young man has gained the affection of a girl, it is customary for him, with the knowledge of her parents, to run away with her to the forest, where the couple remain in hiding, while the parents of the girl negotiate with the young man's clan about the price that is to be paid for the bride. When that is settled the young couple return and are married in the usual way.<sup>2</sup>

In the Babar Archipelago the inhabitants of some villages assert that they are descended from wild pigs or crocodiles and they revere the animals accordingly. People who are descended from wild pigs may not eat pork; and

The  
Levirate.

Elopement.

Belief in  
the descent  
of families  
from wild  
pigs.

<sup>1</sup> J. H. W. van der Miesen, "Een en ander over Boeroe," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zending-genootschap*, xlv. (1902) pp. 431 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Wilken, "Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Alfoeren van het eiland

Boeroe," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxxviii. (Batavia, 1875) pp. 17, 18, 19 sq. As to the Levirate in Buru, compare J. H. W. van der Miesen, *op. cit.* p. 454.

crocodiles, sharks, eels, dogs, etc., which members of the families are accordingly forbidden to eat.

Traces of totemism in the Aru Archipelago.

Two brotherhoods or confederacies in the Aru Archipelago.

people who are sprung from crocodiles must cast half a pig, betel, and so forth as offerings into a river, and moreover they must hang golden earrings on a tree at the spot where they made their offering.<sup>1</sup> In the islands of Leti, Moa, and Lakor there are families that worship crocodiles and sharks; and some of these families may not eat shark's flesh, because they believe that one of their ancestors, drifting out to sea, was helped by a shark.<sup>2</sup> In the island of Keisar or Makisar some people think that they are descended from pigs, crocodiles, or the *Physeter macrocephalus*, and accordingly will not eat the flesh of these creatures. Persons who belong to the crocodile family make offerings to crocodiles by throwing betel and parts of a boiled fowl into the sea, while they invoke the reptiles. The sacrificer and his relations then partake of the rest of the fowl.<sup>3</sup> Again, in the island of Wetar or Wetter people are found in most villages who claim to be descended from serpents, crocodiles, turtles, wild pigs, dogs, and eels, and who are therefore forbidden to eat the flesh of these animals.<sup>4</sup> Further, in the Aru Archipelago, which lies to the south of the western end of New Guinea, some families revere crocodiles and sharks as their ancestors; they will not eat these creatures and they keep images of them in their houses.<sup>5</sup> Every family and every house in the Aru Islands has its badge or crest which is sacred (*pomali*) and may not be used by any one else. The badge is always carved on a beam of the house. Amongst these crests are serpents, crocodiles, dogs, the sea-slug called trepang (*bêche de mer*), elephants' tusks, chopping-knives, and human figures, both male and female. The misuse of a family crest often results in feuds which last for years between two villages.<sup>6</sup> The Aru Islanders are divided into two brotherhoods or confederacies called respectively Uli-lima and Uli-siwa, which are found also all over the Moluccas. The brotherhoods are hostile to each other, but

<sup>1</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroes-harige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 334, 341, 348.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* pp. 376, 377.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* pp. 412, 414.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 432.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 253.

<sup>6</sup> C. Ribbe, "Die Aru-Inseln," *Festschrift zur Jubelfeier des 25 jährigen Bestehens des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1888), pp. 165 sq.

their origin is uncertain. In the Aru Islands the Uli-lima brotherhood prevails on the coast and the Uli-siwa in the interior.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing to shew that these brotherhoods are exogamous classes or phratries. It is to be noted that the natives of the Aru Islands are not Indonesians but Papuans, of the usual type, with black or sooty brown skins, woolly or frizzly hair, thick-ridged prominent noses, and rather slender limbs. They may have migrated thither from New Guinea,<sup>2</sup> or may even have dwelt there from the time when the islands formed part of the mainland of New Guinea. For the Aru Islands are divided from New Guinea only by a shallow sea, and in their luxuriant tropical forests, stately palms, beautiful tree-ferns, and gorgeously-coloured birds and insects, they present many points of resemblance to the plants and animals of that great island-continent.<sup>3</sup>

Lastly, it may be noted that exogamy in a somewhat peculiar form exists among the natives of the northern part of Halmahera, a large island to the west of New Guinea. These people are divided into a number of exogamous clans, each called a *tofa*: the rules are that no man may marry a woman of his own *tofa*, and that the children belong to the *tofa* of their father. Sexual intercourse between members of the same *tofa* is deemed very culpable, but is not a crime. The lovers are parted, and each marries a member of another *tofa*. However, these *tof*as do not answer exactly to the exogamous clans which under the various names of *marga*, *suku*, and *fenna* are met with in Sumatra and Buru; for whereas "in these countries every clan has its own name which may be followed in the ascending or descending line so long as members of the clan exist, and which marks an eternal line of division so far as marriage is concerned between persons who are descended, in however remote a degree, from the same ancestor, in Halmahera, on the other hand,

Exogamous  
clans (*tofa*)  
with  
paternal  
descent in  
Halma-  
hera.

<sup>1</sup> C. Ribbe, "Die Aru-Inseln," *Festschrift zur Jubelfeier des 25 jährigen Bestehens des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1888), p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> C. Ribbe, *op. cit.* p. 160; A. R. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*<sup>6</sup> (London, 1877), pp. 430, 433 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*,<sup>6</sup> pp. 428 sqq., 431 sqq., 435 sq., 443 sqq., 457 sq., 463 sq., 484. sqq.; C. Ribbe, *op. cit.* pp. 160 sq. Among the birds are various species of the exquisitely coloured Birds of Paradise.

the clan has no name of its own and is not reckoned after the fourth generation. Thus a great-great-grandson can marry the great-great-granddaughter of the same great-great-grandfather."<sup>1</sup> In Halmahera, also, taboos (*bobosso*) are observed which savour of totemism. Thus, one man may not eat venison, another may not eat pork, another may not eat fowls, another may not eat coco-nuts; and so on in great variety.<sup>2</sup>

### § 3. Analogies to Totemism in Borneo

Analogies  
to totem-  
ism in  
Borneo.

Many  
Sea Dyak  
families  
abstain  
from  
injuring  
certain  
animals.

Among the many Indonesian tribes which inhabit the great island of Borneo no system of totemism in the strict sense has as yet been discovered; but on the other hand some of their customs and beliefs present analogies to those of totemic peoples, and might with some show of reason be interpreted either as traces of decadent or as rudiments of incipient totemism. Thus we are told that among the Sea Dyaks of Sarawak many families abstain from injuring certain animals or birds either in consequence of dreams or because the animals are traditionally said to have helped the ancestors of the families. Some Dyaks, for example, are forbidden to kill civet cats, others to kill orang-utans, and others to kill alligators; and they give such reasons as the following for respecting the creatures: "One of my ancestors, a clever man, cured a sick alligator, and then they made an agreement that neither should injure the other." Another said that when his great-grandfather first settled at the hill of Banting, on the Lingga, orang-utans abounded there and helped the settlers to repulse the enemies who attacked them; for these apes crowded to the edge of the fruit groves and glared fiercely at the foe. As a reason for not destroying cobras, the Dyaks say: "It has always been forbidden; those who dream of them are lucky, and often do the great spirits put on the forms of snakes."<sup>3</sup> "The superstitious dread of

<sup>1</sup> T. J. Willer, *Het Eiland Boeroe* (Amsterdam, 1858), pp. 44 *sq.*, 53.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. H. Campen, "De godsdienstbegrippen der Halmaherasche Alfoeren," *Tijdschrift voor Indische*

*Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxvii. (1882) p. 449.

<sup>3</sup> Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, Second Edition (London, 1863), i. 84.

eating certain animals is a point of resemblance between them and the inhabitants of the west coast of Africa; the reason being, they suppose these animals bear a proximity to some of their forefathers, who were begotten by them, or begot them."<sup>1</sup> Again, most of the Dyaks are forbidden to eat the flesh of horned animals, as cattle and goats, and many tribes extend the prohibition to the wild deer. "They say, that some of their ancestors, in the transmigration of souls were formerly metamorphosed into these animals; and they slyly, or innocently add, that the reason why the Mohamedan Malays will not touch pork is, that they are afraid to eat their forefathers, who were changed into the unclean animal. It has often struck me that the origin of many of their superstitions arose from the greediness of the elders; as in some of the tribes they, together with the women and children, but not the sturdy young men, may eat eggs. In other instances the very old men and the women may eat of the flesh of the deer, while the young men and warriors of the tribe are debarred from venison for fear it should render them as timid as the graceful hind. The taboo which prevents certain families from consuming the flesh of snakes and other kinds of reptiles, most probably arose from some incident in the life of one of their ancestors, in which the rejected beast played a prominent part."<sup>2</sup> "The Silakau and Lara Dayaks who have emigrated from Sambas into Lundu, do not eat the flesh of the deer, from an opinion that they descended from Dayak ancestors, but Mr. Chalmers, in his experience of the Sarawak Land Dayak, never heard of any prejudice existing against killing or eating any animals except the

Prohibition to eat the flesh of horned animals, such as cattle, goats, and deer.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak* (London, 1866), i. 62. Compare *id.* i. 47, ii. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, Second Edition (London, 1863), i. 186 sq. Compare P. J. Veth, *Borneo's Western-Afdeeling* (Zalt-Bommel, 1854-1856), ii. 314: "Many Dyak tribes abstain more or less strictly from the flesh of horned cattle, buffaloes, deer, goats, and fowls, from the milk and butter of cows, and from certain sorts of

bullocks, which are eaten by other tribes. The abstinence from the flesh of horned cattle seems to be the most widely spread, but Mr. van Lijnden was assured at Silat that the Dyaks of that region felt no scruple about eating the flesh of horned cattle, provided they could procure it. The eating of venison, in the opinion of many, is punished by all sorts of misfortunes and even by madness."

faint-heartedness supposed to be produced by venison.”<sup>1</sup> “The ox, the buffalo, the deer, the goat, fowls and some kinds of vegetables, are forbidden food to some or other of these tribes. Of these animals, those which are held most sacred are the bull and cow, and nothing would induce a Dyak of any of the tribes of Sarawak, to eat anything into the composition or cooking of which either the flesh of the animal, or any part of its productions has entered; so that, if offered any of the food which has been prepared for an European, they immediately ask if it has been cooked with butter or ghee; in which case they will not partake of it. . . . The prohibition against eating the flesh of deer is much less strictly practised, and in many tribes totally disregarded. . . . In the large tribe of Singhie, it is observed in its fullest extent, and is even carried so far, that they will not allow strangers to bring a deer into their houses, or to be cooked by their fires. The men of the tribe will not touch the animal, and none but the women or boys, who have not been on a war expedition, which admits them to the privileges of manhood, are allowed to assist the European sportsman in bringing home his bag. It is amongst this, the Sow, and other tribes on the same branch of the river, that goats, fowls, and the fine kind of fern (*paku*), which forms an excellent vegetable, are also forbidden food to the men, though the women and boys are allowed to partake of them, as they are also of the deer’s flesh amongst the Singhie Dyaks. The tribe of Sow, whose villages are not far from the houses of Singhie, does not so rigorously observe the practice. Old men, women, and boys may eat of its flesh; the middle-aged and unmarried young men only being prohibited from partaking of it.”<sup>2</sup>

On the foregoing evidence it may be observed that the prohibitions to eat the flesh of horned cattle and deer seem to be too general to be totemic; since a characteristic feature of true totemism is that its taboos are observed not by whole tribes or communities but only by particular stocks or families which compose the tribe or community. In particular the prohibition to eat deer’s flesh cannot be

<sup>1</sup> Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*,<sup>2</sup> i. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh Low, *Sarawak* (London, 1848), pp. 265 sq.

The taboo on horned cattle and deer is too general to be totemic.

totemic in tribes where venison is forbidden only to the fighting men but allowed to old men, women, and children. Wherever that distinction is observed, we may safely assume that the true reason for the abstinence from venison is the one assigned by some of our authorities, namely, a fear lest by partaking of deer's flesh the eater should be infected by the timidity of the deer.

On the other hand when certain foods are tabooed not to whole tribes or communities but only to particular families, the resemblance of such taboos to totemism is much closer. For example, the family of a Kayan chief on the Tinjar River in Sarawak is known to have held the gibbon apes sacred for at least three generations; the animals were never killed by any member of the household, and the wall of the chief's private room was decorated with conventional representations of the apes. The chief himself regarded these creatures as his best friends, and that day was sure to be lucky when they crossed his path in the jungle, or when their musical, almost bird-like, call was heard near the house. In speaking of the animals he cast down his eyes and spoke in an almost inaudible voice, as if the very breathing of so sacred a name were profanation.<sup>1</sup> Such hereditary veneration for a species of animals certainly savours of totemism. Again, we are told of the Dyaks that "there is a fish which is taken in their rivers called a *puttin*, which they would on no account touch, under the idea that if they did they would be eating their relations. The tradition respecting it is, that a solitary old man went out fishing and caught a *puttin*, which he dragged out of the water and laid down in his boat. On turning round, he found it had changed into a very pretty little girl. Conceiving the idea she would make, what he had long wished for, a charming wife for his son, he took her home and educated her until she was fit to be married. She consented to be the son's wife, cautioning her husband to use her well. Some time after their marriage, however, being out of temper he struck her, when she screamed, and rushed away

Certain foods tabooed to certain families.

Tradition to explain the taboo on a certain fish.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Furness, *The Home-life of Borneo Head-hunters* (Philadelphia, 1902), pp. 55-59.

into the water ; but not without leaving behind her a beautiful daughter, who became afterwards the mother of the race.”<sup>1</sup>

Tales of  
the type of  
Beauty and  
the Beast.

The tradition thus told to account for the hereditary veneration of a species of fish clearly belongs to that type of tales of which the best-known examples are the story of Cupid and Psyche and the story of Beauty and the Beast. As such tales are told on the Gold Coast of West Africa to explain the origin of true totemic taboos,<sup>2</sup> the occurrence of a similar legend among the Dyaks may be reckoned as a hint or indication of totemism, past, present, or future, in Borneo. A similar story is told to explain why the Sea Dyaks revere the birds of omen. A chief named Siu, it is said, married a beautiful young woman, who was really a bird, though he knew it not. She made him promise never to kill or hurt a bird or even to hold one in his hands ; for if he did so, she would be his wife no longer. So they married and lived happily together for years, till one unhappy day the husband, forgetting his promise, took a bird in his hand and stroked it. Then his wife went away sadly to return no more. The sorrowful husband and the son she had borne him sought the lost wife and mother till they found her in her old home, the house of the Ruler of the Spirit World. Fain would he have persuaded her to return with him, but she would not. So father and son had to go back alone. But before they departed the Ruler of the Spirit World taught them how to revere the sacred birds and to draw omens from them.<sup>3</sup>

The question whether the superstitions connected with animals in Sarawak are or are not evidence of totemism has been carefully discussed by Messrs. C. Hose and W. McDougall.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the evidence which they adduce the following facts may be particularly noted. In a Kenyah house a fantastic figure of a gibbon ape is carved on the ends of all the main cross-beams, and the chief of the people says that this has been their custom for many generations.

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Labuan, “Wild Tribes of Borneo,” *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S. ii. (1863) pp. 26 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See below, Chap. XIV. § 3, *Totemism on the Gold Coast*.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. E. H. Gomes, “Two Sea Dyak Legends,” *Journal of the Straits*

*Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 41 (January 1904, Singapore), pp. 12-28.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Hose and W. McDougall, “The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) pp. 173-213.

Messrs.  
Hose and  
McDougall  
on evidence  
for totem-  
ism in  
Sarawak.

None of these people will kill a gibbon and they claim that the ape helps them as a friend ; but other Kenyahs kill and probably eat the animal.<sup>1</sup> Men of the Kayan tribe sometimes dream that they have become blood-brothers with crocodiles and exchanged names with them. Such men believe that they are safe from crocodiles and will not kill the reptiles. Moreover, the descendants of these men regard themselves as intimately related to crocodiles. For example, a man named Usong whose father and uncle had both become blood-brothers to crocodiles considered himself to be the son and nephew of the reptiles. His uncle was known by the generic name for a crocodile (*baiya*) ; Usong himself, when he went out hunting, would ask his crocodile-uncle and his crocodile-father to send him a wild pig.<sup>2</sup> Again, Usong's cousin Wan had a great-great-grandfather who became blood-brother to a crocodile ; and Wan several times met this crocodile in dreams. Once he dreamed that he fell into a river swarming with crocodiles, and that he climbed on to the head of one of them, which told him not to fear and carried him to the bank. Wan's father received charms from a crocodile and would not on any account kill one of the monsters, and Wan regarded himself as intimately related to crocodiles in general.<sup>3</sup> Again, the Kayans have "a somewhat uncertain belief" that the coco-nut monkey (*Macacus nemestrinus*) is a blood-relative of theirs ; hence they will kill the animal only when it plunders their rice-crop, but they will never eat it, as other people do.<sup>4</sup> Further, a chief of a Malanau household in the Kalamantan tribe, together with all his people, "will not kill or eat the deer *Cervulus muntjac*, alleging that an ancestor had become a deer of this kind, and that, since they cannot distinguish this incarnation of his ancestor from other deer, they must abstain from killing all deer of this species."<sup>5</sup> The reason thus assigned

Kayan men supposed to be blood-relations to crocodiles.

Kayans related to apes.

Kalamantans related to deer.

<sup>1</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* pp. 190 sq., 210.

<sup>3</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 193.

for respecting the species resembles the reason which according to Sir George Grey the West Australian aborigines allege for respecting their *kobong* or totem.<sup>1</sup> Again, the people of Miri, who are also Malanaus and Kalamantans, claim to be related to the large deer (*Cervus equinus*) and some of them to the *muntjac* deer also; and the Bakongs, another group of Malanaus, hold a similar belief with regard to the bear-cat (*Artictis*) and the various species of *Paradoxurus*. The reason which the Bakongs give for regarding these animals as their relations is that when they go to the graveyards they often see one of the beasts coming out of a tomb. These tombs are rough wooden coffins raised only a few feet above the ground, so that carnivorous beasts can easily devour the corpses and make the coffins their lair. The Bakongs apparently believe that the souls of their dead transmigrate into the beasts which issue from the tombs.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the Kalamantans seem to be more intimately related to crocodiles than other tribes of Sarawak. For example, one Kalamantan group, the Long Patas, claim the crocodile as a relative, because a certain man named Silau turned in his lifetime into a crocodile. Just as the transformation was taking place, he told his kinsmen that he was becoming a crocodile, and made them swear never to kill crocodiles in future. Hence when the Long Patas people come upon a crocodile lying on the bank of the river, they say, "Be easy, grandfather, don't mind us, you are one of us." Many people in the old days met Silau in his crocodile shape and spoke to him; his teeth and tongue were always like those of a man. He told his human friends that when they were travelling on the river they should always tie leaves of the *Dracaena* under the bows of their boats, in order that the crocodiles might know them and abstain from attacking them. So the people still tie the leaves under the bows when they are embarking to go on a journey by water. Some of the Kalamantans even refuse to eat anything cooked in a vessel in which crocodile's flesh had previously been cooked; they say that were a man

Kalamantans  
related to  
crocodiles.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 551.

<sup>2</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall,  
"The Relations between Men and

Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 193.

unwittingly to eat of such food, his body would be covered with sores.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, many of the Ibans or Sea Dyaks claim to be related to crocodiles and will not eat their flesh or kill them except in revenge for the destruction of a kinsman by a crocodile.<sup>2</sup>

But the Ibans or Sea Dyaks have another institution which in some respects closely resembles totemism. This is what they call their *nyarong* or guardian-spirit. It is a subject on which they are very reticent. Indeed Dr. Hose lived on friendly terms with Ibans of various districts for fourteen years without ascertaining the meaning of the word *nyarong* or suspecting the great importance of the part which the thing plays in the lives of many of them. The *nyarong* or guardian-spirit resembles the *manitoo* of the North American Indian, being the special protector of some individual Iban to whom he reveals himself in a dream. Usually, but not always, he is thought to be the spirit of an ancestor or other dead relative. In the dream the *nyarong* first shews himself in human form and tells the man that he will be his guardian; at the same time he may or may not inform the dreamer what shape he will assume in future. Next day the Iban wanders through the jungle looking for signs by which he may recognise his spirit-helper. If an animal behaves in an unusual manner, if a startled deer gazes at him for a moment before bounding away, if a gibbon ape gambols persistently about in the trees near him, if he lights upon a bright quartz-crystal or a strangely twisted root or creeper, that animal or that thing is for him full of a mysterious significance, and is deemed the abode of his *nyarong* or guardian-spirit. Sometimes a man may dream that on going into the jungle he will meet his *nyarong* in the shape of a wild boar. He will then of course go to seek it, and if by chance other men of the house should kill a wild boar that day, he will go to them and beg for its head or buy it, if need be, at a great price. Having procured the head, he carries it home, offers it cooked rice and kills a

Guardian-spirits (*nyarong*) among the Ibans or Sea Dyaks.

Like the *manitoo* of the North American Indians, the *nyarong* is obtained in a dream.

<sup>1</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, pp. 193 sq.  
 "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901)

<sup>2</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 199.

fowl before it, smearing the blood on the head and on himself and humbly begging for pardon. Or he may leave the carcass in the jungle and sacrifice a fowl before it there. Next night he hopes to dream of his guardian-spirit again, and he may then be told to take the tusks of the dead boar for luck. Unless he dreams something of that sort he feels that he has been mistaken and that the boar was not really his guardian-spirit.

Not every one has a guardian-spirit.

When the guardian-spirit takes the form of an animal, an Iban will not kill an animal of that species.

The gibbon ape as a guardian-spirit.

It is not every one that has a guardian-spirit (*nyarong*), though all ardently desire it. Perhaps only one man in fifty or a hundred may be so fortunate. Many a young man goes out to sleep on the grave of some distinguished person or in a wild and lonely spot and lives for days on a very spare diet, hoping that a guardian-spirit will come to him in his dreams. Most commonly the guardian-spirit takes the form of some animal, and then all individuals of that species become objects of especial regard to the lucky Iban, who will neither kill nor eat them himself and will as far as possible restrain others from doing so. Sometimes the cult of a guardian-spirit (*nyarong*) spreads through a whole family or household. Children and grandchildren usually respect the species of animals to which their father's and grandfather's guardian-spirit belonged, and they may occasionally sacrifice fowls or pigs to it.<sup>1</sup>

To illustrate this general account of the Iban *nyarong* by particular instances, an Iban named Angus will not kill gibbon apes, because the guardian-spirit of his grandfather was a gibbon. Once a man came to his grandfather in a dream, said to him, "Don't you kill the gibbon," and then turned into a grey gibbon ape. This ape helped him to grow rich, and to take human heads, and in many other ways. When he died, he said to his sons, "Don't you kill the gibbon," and his sons and grandsons have obeyed the precept ever since.<sup>2</sup> Again, Messrs. Hose and McDougall were told by Payang, an old Katibas Iban, that when he was young a man came to him in a dream and said, "Some-

<sup>1</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, pp. 199 *sq.*  
 "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901)

<sup>2</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 201.

times I become a python and sometimes a cobra, and I will always help you." Ever since then the cobra has helped him very much, but he cannot say for certain whether it has helped his children. However, he has forbidden them to kill it. The subject is one which he does not like to speak about.<sup>1</sup> Again, an Iban named Imban, who settled on the Baram River, was once sick and saw in a dream the large river-turtle (*Trionyx subplanus*) and made a promise that if he got well again he would never kill the animal. When he tried to impose a fine on his people for killing river-turtles, they appealed to Dr. Hose as resident magistrate, who decided that if Imban insisted on sparing the lives of river-turtles he must remove from the Baram River to a small tributary stream. This he did, a few of his people followed him, and on them he now enforces a strict observance of the cult of river-turtles.<sup>2</sup> Once more, a community of Ibans built a new house on the Dabai River some years ago, and one day, while they were building, a porcupine ran out of a hole in the ground hard by. That same night one of the men dreamed that the porcupine bade them join their new house to his, the porcupine's house. Ever since then they have held annual feasts in honour of the porcupines which live under the house, and nobody in the house dares to injure one of them, though they will still kill and eat other porcupines in the jungle. When any one is sick in the house, they offer food to the porcupines and regard their good offices as much more important than the ministrations of the medicine-man. Some relations of these Ibans afterwards settled in the village, and for a time the sacred mystery of the porcupines was hidden from them. At the end of three months the precious secret was disclosed to the new-comers, the porcupines were feasted with every sort of cooked rice, fowls were slain and their blood daubed on the face of every person in the house, and the old men prayed to the porcupines to grant them long life and health.<sup>3</sup>

The python or cobra as a guardian-spirit.

River-turtles as guardian-spirits.

Porcupines as guardian-spirits.

<sup>1</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 202.

These superstitions in Borneo have no bearing on marriage.

In discussing the question whether these and kindred facts may be thought to constitute totemism or not, Messrs. Hose and McDougall observe that they have not been able to discover any vestiges of a social organisation based upon totemism. "There is no trace," they tell us, "of any general division of the people of any tribe into groups which claim specially intimate relations with different animals, except in the case of the Kalamantans; and in their case such special relations seem to be the result merely of the different conditions under which the various scattered groups now live. There are no restrictions in the choice of a wife that might indicate a rule of endogamy or exogamy. There are no ceremonies to initiate youths into tribal mysteries; certain ceremonies in which the youths take a leading part are directed exclusively to training them for war and the taking of heads in battle. We know of no instance of any group of people being named after an animal or plant which is claimed as a relative and in the case of the more homogeneous tribes, such as the Kenyahs and Kayans, all prohibitions with regard to animals and all benefits conferred by them are shared equally by all the members of any one community, and, with but very few exceptions, are the same for all the communities of the tribe."<sup>1</sup>

On the whole the Borneo customs are germs of totemism rather than the institution itself.

On the whole Messrs. Hose and McDougall conclude that the various superstitions entertained by the tribes of Sarawak with regard to animals are not to be regarded as survivals of totemism.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand they suggest that some of these superstitions contain the germs out of which a true totemic system might be developed. Such seeds of totemism may perhaps be detected in the Iban customs and beliefs with regard to the *nyarong* or guardian-spirit. Like the *manitoo* or personal totem of the North American Indians and of some Australians<sup>3</sup> these guardian-spirits, which are usually species of animals, are commonly obtained in dreams; and when the reverence for the species

<sup>1</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) pp. 204 sq.

<sup>2</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op.*

*cit.* p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 49 sq., 497 sq. The *manitoos* or guardian-spirits of the American Indians will be described later on.

of animals is transmitted, as it sometimes is, by inheritance to all a man's descendants or even, if he be a chief, to all the members of the community, the relation between such persons and the revered animals is hardly distinguishable from clan totemism. These facts and considerations accordingly support to a certain extent the view of some American ethnologists, who hold that the totems of clans have regularly been developed out of the totems of individuals.<sup>1</sup> That view will be considered more fully later on. Meantime with regard to Borneo in general and to the province of Sarawak in particular we may acquiesce in the opinion of Messrs. Hose and McDougall, that the superstitions of the natives with regard to animals do not constitute totemism proper, though they illustrate some of the ways in which a totemic system might originate. "The further development of such incipient totems among these tribes," says Messrs. Hose and McDougall, "is probably prevented at the present time, not only by their agricultural habits, but also by their passionate addiction to war and fighting and head-hunting; for these pursuits necessitate the strict subordination of each community to its chief and compel all families to unite in the cult of the hawk to the detriment of all other animal-cults, because the hawk is, by its habits, so much better suited than any other animal to be a guide to them on warlike expeditions."<sup>2</sup>

#### § 4. *Alleged Sexual Communism in Indonesia*

Before we quit Indonesia to pursue the evidence for totemism and exogamy elsewhere, it may be well to call attention to some reported cases of sexual communism in this region. One such report reaches us from the Poggi or Pageh Islands, two islands of the Mentawai group, which lies off the western coast of Sumatra. The natives of these islands are said to differ in their character and customs from all the other peoples of the Indian

Reported cases of sexual communism in Indonesia.

The Poggi or Pageh Islanders.

<sup>1</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) pp. 211 *sq.* The relation of clan totems to individual or personal totems

will be discussed later on in this work.

<sup>2</sup> C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* pp. 211 *sq.* As to the cult of the hawk, which is the chief omen-bird of the Kenyahs, see *ibid.* pp. 175 *sqq.*

Communal  
houses.

Archipelago and to stand at a very low level of culture. Their complexion is reddish-brown; their features have a Jewish cast and are full of expression. Men and women are tattooed nearly over their whole bodies; the men wear nothing but a loin-cloth. The tattooing is begun in childhood and lasts at intervals for years. The people live in large common houses from a hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet long, by thirty to thirty-six feet wide, solidly built of planks and heavy beams. The houses are dark and dirty; a smoky fire is kept smouldering in each of them day and night. In a large village there will be three or four such communal dwellings. The men occupy themselves with hunting and fishing. In the chase they use bows and arrows and sometimes a spear; in fishing they employ nets and a sort of harpoon, with which they are very expert. They also collect gum-elastic, coco-nuts, and other things which are in demand among the traders. The women till the ground, that is, they plant sugar-cane, tobacco, and bananas, generally beside a river and near the village. They prepare the food, look after the pigs, and help the men in making canoes and other work. Rice, salt, writing, and money are unknown to these islanders; the little trade they do with the few vessels which cross over from Sumatra is conducted by means of barter. Government does not exist. Every man protects himself. Yet the people live on peaceable and friendly terms with each other; quarrels are rare and murder almost unknown. They are said to have no religious worship, though they believe in certain evil spirits which haunt the woods, the caves, the air, the water, and the earth, manifesting their power in thunder and lightning, wind, rain, floods, earthquakes, and so on. However, the natives have "a very remarkable and strange custom to which they are strongly attached and which they observe faithfully under all circumstances. It consists in this, that on certain occasions they are bound to remain in their village and may not quit it for any cause whatever; further they will allow no stranger to enter the village, much less their dwellings; they may neither give nor receive anything; they must abstain from certain foods,

Supersti-  
tions of the  
Poggi  
Islanders.

and may not trade."<sup>1</sup> These periods of seclusion closely resemble the communal taboos or interdicts (*gennas*) which are often laid on villages among the hill tribes of Assam.<sup>2</sup>

Such is in outline the description given of the Poggi Islanders in the year 1852 by two Dutch officers, a naval lieutenant and a civilian, who were charged by their government to examine and report upon the islands. Their account of the marriage customs of the natives runs thus: "The contracting of marriages, in the sense of the Malays, Javanese, and other indigenous peoples, is amongst the Poggians a thing unknown. They live in that respect entirely as they please among each other. The whole of the women are, as it were, the property of the men, and the men on the other hand are the property of the women. When a girl has conceived, the child is her whole and undivided property. The father, who indeed is generally unknown, has never any right over it. However, it happens that when men are tattooed all over and are therefore between forty and fifty years old, they take to themselves a separate wife: that occurs as follows. When the parties have agreed to enter into marriage, they give notice of it to all the inhabitants of the village; then they step into a canoe decked with leaves and flowers and put off to the fishing. Returning after three, four, or sometimes eight days they are deemed to be married, and the men have then respect for the woman even as the women have for the man. The children whom the woman in most cases brings with her into the marriage then become the property of the man, and so if these children (the girls) get children in turn. It generally happens that girls who have one or more children are thus taken in marriage. Sometimes also it occurs that younger men, when they imagine themselves the father of such and such a child, take the mother to be their separate and only wife; but in such cases the man is careful to be completely tattooed as soon as

Reported sexual communism among the Poggi Islanders.

Late marriages.

<sup>1</sup> P. A. M. Hinlopen en P. Severijn, "Verslag van een onderzoek der Poggi-eilanden in 1852," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, ii. (1854) pp. 319-337.

<sup>2</sup> T. C. Hodson, "The Native

Tribes of Manipur," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) pp. 306 sq.; *id.* "The Genna amongst the Tribes of Assam," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 92 sqq.

possible, for so long as that is not done he may not marry, or rather his wife would not be respected. The women, who are marriageable very early, are in their youth, from the age of twelve to twenty, very pretty, some of them even charming; but they age soon and are generally, while still in the heyday of life, quite withered. There is little or rather no jealousy among them; yet with respect to persons from other villages or strangers they are more on their guard with their women. But as that is a general characteristic of the people, it seldom happens that persons, whether men or women, of one village, come into close contact with persons of another village."<sup>1</sup>

The preceding account of the relations of the sexes in the Poggi or Pageh Islands, even if we assume it to be correct, hardly justifies the statement that among these people marriage is unknown.<sup>2</sup> It rather shews that individual marriage, though known, is exceptional and is usually deferred till comparatively late in life. "Another people," says the late Professor G. A. Wilken, "among whom marriage is quite unknown are the Loeboes. They practise absolutely free love and unite indifferently with any one according to the whim of the moment. Communal marriage also exists among the Orang Sakai of Malacca. A girl remains with every man of the tribe in turn till she has gone the round of all the men and has come back to the first one. The process then begins afresh. In Borneo, too, there are some tribes, such as the Olo Ot (those of Koetei), which contract no marriage. Lastly, we find the same thing reported of Peling or Poeloe Tinggi, one of the islands of the Banggai Archipelago."<sup>3</sup>

Other  
alleged  
cases of  
sexual  
communism  
in  
Indonesia.

<sup>1</sup> P. A. M. Hinlopen en P. Severijn, "Verslag van een onderzoek der Poggi-eilanden in 1852," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, ii. (1854) pp. 327 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), p. 263. On the other hand Colonel Henry Yule said more justly: "The community of women is positively asserted to exist among the Pogy or Pagi Islanders off the west coast

of Sumatra" (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, i. 85, note<sup>2</sup>); and he referred for his authority to the paper in the *Tijdschrift* which I have quoted.

<sup>3</sup> G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), p. 263. This was a posthumous work and contains few references to the original authorities, with which, however, no one was better acquainted than Prof. Wilken.

I do not know what authority Professor Wilken had for saying this, but he was a learned and careful writer, deeply versed in all that concerns the peoples of the Indian Archipelago, and no doubt he did not make these statements rashly. Still they would require to be carefully tested before we could feel sure of their accuracy. In such matters error is easy and the truth very difficult to ascertain.

Such reports should be further investigated.

## CHAPTER X

### TOTEMISM IN INDIA

#### § 1. *Totemism in Central India*

In India totemism and exogamy are found especially among the wild hill tribes of the Dravidian stock.

IN those regions of India where high mountains and tablelands present natural barriers to the irruption of conquering races, there linger many indigenous tribes, who, in contrast to the more cultured peoples of the lowlands, have remained in a state of primitive savagery or barbarism down to modern times. Not a few of these aboriginal hill-tribes, especially of the Dravidian stock, retain a social system based on totemism and exogamy; for they are divided into numerous exogamous clans or septs, each of which bears the name of an animal, tree, plant, or other material object, whether natural or artificial, which the members of the clan are forbidden to eat, cultivate, cut, burn, carry, or use in any other way.<sup>1</sup> Amongst such tribes are the Bhils or Bheels, a people of the Dravidian stock in Central Indian, who inhabit the rough forests and jungles of the rocky Vindhya and Satpura mountains. Into these fastnesses it is believed that they, like many other aborigines of India, were driven by the tide of Hindoo invasion. They are a race of dark complexion and diminutive stature, but active and inured to fatigue.<sup>2</sup> The Bhils of the Satpura mountains have been

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. Part I. (Calcutta, 1903) p. 530; Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India* (Calcutta, 1908), p. 93. The first to call attention to the wide prevalence of totemism combined with exogamy in India was Mr. (now Sir Herbert) Risley. See his article, "Primitive Marriage in Bengal," *The Asiatic Quarterly*

*Review*, July 1886, pp. 71-96.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*,<sup>9</sup> iii. 630; Captain C. Eckford Luard, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xix. Central India, Part I. (Lucknow, 1902) pp. 2, 4. Compare Colonel Kincaid, "On the Bheel Tribes of the Vindhyan Range," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) pp. 397-406.

little affected by civilisation and lead an existence which has been described as most primitive. A mere report that a white man is coming often suffices to put these savages to flight. They have no fixed villages. The collection of huts which takes the place of a village is abandoned at the least alarm, and even in such a hamlet every man builds his hovel as far away as he can from his neighbours, whose treachery and lust he dreads.<sup>1</sup>

The Bhils of these mountains are divided into many exogamous and totemic clans or septs. Thus the Bhils of Barwani, who inhabit the Satpura hills, are divided into forty-one such clans; while the Bhils of the Vindhya mountains are divided into more than fifty. When two clans have the same totem, they may not intermarry. Children belong to their father's clan.<sup>2</sup> Among the clan totems of the Bhils of Barwani are moths, tigers, snakes, cats, the fish called *khattia*, peacocks, pigeons, sparrows, and many species of trees and plants, including the bamboo, sal (*Shorea robusta*), pipal, *bor*, *sag* (*Tectonograndis*), *jamun* (*Eugenia jambolana*), *bahera* (*Beleria Myrobolan*), *nirgun* (*Vitex negundo* or *trifolia*), *astera* or *apta* (*Bauhinia tomentosa*), *semel* (*Bombax heptaphyllum*), the *kalami* plant (*Convolvovous repens*), etc. The majority of the totems are trees or plants. All the Bhils revere and refrain from injuring or using their totems, and they make a formal obeisance to them in passing, while the women veil their faces. When women desire to have children they present an offering called *mannat* to their totem. One of the clans is named Gaolia-Chothania after its totem *gaola*, which is a creeper. Members of the clan worship the plant; they never touch it with their feet if they can help it, and if they touch it accidentally they salaam to it by way of apology. The Maoli clan worships a goddess at a shrine which women may not approach. The shape of the shrine is like that of the grain-basket called *kilya*; hence members of the clan may neither make nor use such baskets, and none of them may tattoo a pattern

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Bhils.

Reverence shewn by the Bhils for their totems.

<sup>1</sup> Captain C. E. Luard, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xix. Central India, Part I. (Lucknow, 1902) p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Captain C. E. Luard, *op. cit.* pp. 197-201, 228; Sir Herbert Risley,

*The People of India*, p. 99; Colonel Kincaird, "On the Bheel Tribes of the Vindhyan Range," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) p. 397.

resembling the basket on his body. The Mori clan has the peacock for its totem. When they wish to worship the bird, they go into the jungle and look for its tracks. On finding the footprints they salaam to them, clean the ground round about, and spreading a piece of red cloth lay an offering of grain on it. They also describe a *swastika* in the earth beside the offering. If a member of the clan knowingly sets foot on the track of a peacock, he is sure to suffer from some disease afterwards. If a woman of the clan sees a peacock, she must veil her face or look away. The Sanyar clan is called after its totem the cat (*sanyar*), which the members of the clan reverence. They may never touch a cat except to preserve it from harm, and they will not even touch anything into which a cat has thrust its mouth. It is deemed very unlucky if a cat enters the house, and to prevent this they commonly keep a dog tied up near the door. The Ava clan takes its name from its totem the moth (*ava*), and members of the clan will not hurt moths. The Khatta clan derives its name from its totem the *khattia* fish, which they preserve; the Piplia clan worships the pipal tree, and the Semlia clan worships the *semel* tree (*Bombax heptaphyllum*), and members of the clan will not touch a pot in which the flowers of this tree have been cooked.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamous  
and totemic  
clans  
among the  
Khangars.

Another totemic people of Central India are the Khangars of Bundelkhand, who, though they profess the Hindoo religion and claim to be Rajputs by descent, are probably Dravidians.<sup>2</sup> They are divided into many exogamous clans or septs (*gotras*), among which the following may be noted. The Bel clan reveres the *bel* tree, which they never cut nor injure. The Bela clan reveres the *bela* plant, which in like manner they neither cut nor injure. The Samad clan holds the *samad* tree sacred. The Suraj clan professes to be descended from the sun (*suraj*) and to worship that luminary. The Guae clan is called after its totem the iguana (*guae*), which they never injure. The Nag

<sup>1</sup> Captain C. E. Luard, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xix. Central India, Part I. (Lucknow, 1902) pp. 198-201; also *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. *Ethnographic Appendices* (Calcutta, 1903), pp. 162 sq. Compare Sir

Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and of Oudh* (Calcutta, 1896), iii. 228-231.

clan reveres and claims kindred with the serpent (*naga*), and they never destroy any snake. The Ghur or Ghor clan reveres the horse (*ghur, ghora*); members of the clan never mount a horse nor will they allow one to be used in marriage processions. The Hathi clan reveres and claims kindred with the elephant (*hathi*); and at marriage, contrary to the practice of the Horse clan, they mount the bridegroom on an elephant. The totem of the Gau clan is the cow, and the totem of the Magar clan is the alligator, which is worshipped by them at weddings and on other occasions. The Nahar clan is of the kindred of their totem the lion (*nahar*); and the Bar clan is of the kindred of the banyan tree (*bar*), which they worship. The Kusam clan reveres the safflower (*kusam*) and they never wear clothes dyed in its juice. The Nim clan reveres the *nim* tree and they never cut it nor use its fruit. The Chanwar clan has rice (*chanwar*) for their totem and they never eat it. The Haldi clan reveres the turmeric plant and never makes use of its dye. Another clan has a species of iguana (*chandan-guae*) for their totem, and they never injure it. The rule of exogamy is that a man may marry neither in the clan (*gotra*) of his father nor in that of his mother until three generations have passed.<sup>1</sup>

The Arakhs of Bundelkhand, another Dravidian people related to the Khangars, are also divided into exogamous and totemic clans or septs. Thus the Lahher clan abstains from touching their totem the *lahera* tree; and the Chandan clan worships the *chandan* tree (*Santalum album*) and never harms it. The Chanwar clan takes its name from its totem, rice (*chanwar*), which they never touch nor eat. The Ghora clan reveres the horse (*ghora*) and the Hathi clan reveres the elephant (*hathi*). The Gau clan has the cow for its totem, and the Ent clan has a brick (*ent*) for its totem; hence members of this last clan never use bricks, but build their houses of plain wattle and mud.<sup>2</sup>

Exogamous  
and totemic  
clans  
among the  
Arakhs.

<sup>1</sup> Captain C. E. Luard, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xix. Part I. p. 227, and vol. i. *Ethnographic Appendices*, p. 166; W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and of Oudh*, iii. 229 *sq.* That *suraj* means "sun" is mentioned by W. Crooke,

*Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iii. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Captain C. E. Luard, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xix. Part I. p. 228, and vol. i. *Ethnographic Appendices*, p. 166.

Exogamous  
and totemic  
clans  
among the  
Korkus.

The Korkus are a Kolarian tribe, speaking their aboriginal language and inhabiting the Satpura, Mahadeo, and Maikul hills in the Central Provinces. They are found in various stages of barbarism or civilisation, but for the most part they cling to the hills and jungles and visit the nearest towns in the plains only to market. They are a quiet, peaceable people, who cultivate the soil a little when they can find a level patch of ground, but subsist chiefly by cutting and selling bamboos, firewood, and other produce of the jungle. They are divided into exogamous and totemic clans or septs (*gots*) with descent in the male line, children belonging to the clan of their father. The clans take their names from their totems, among which are the following: *busum* (thatch grass), *jambu* (the jamun tree, with an edible fruit), *bethe* (another wild fruit-tree), *siloo* (another wild fruit-tree), *sewathi* (a small thorny creeper), *chilathi* (a large thorny creeper), *lota* (stalks of the Makai Jawari, etc.), *athoa* (a wooden ladle, made from *bethe* wood), *kollia* (ashes), *kasda* (a ravine), *takhar* (cucumber), *sakhum* (teak), and *makhya tola* (Indian corn). Persons of the same totemic clan may not marry each other. A younger brother is supposed to marry his deceased elder brother's wife.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamous  
and totemic  
clans  
among the  
Gonds.

The Gonds are a non-Aryan tribe, who on grounds of language are classed as Dravidian. They belong properly to the Central Provinces, though some of them are found in Chota Nagpur and other parts of Bengal.<sup>2</sup> In the Central Provinces the Gonds inhabit the hilly country which surrounds the wide plains of Chhattisgar. Sharp and striking is the contrast between these bare, open, well-cultivated and thickly-populated lowlands on the one hand, and the virgin forests and dense jungle of the highlands on the other hand, where tigers and wild buffaloes abound, where the antelope and spotted deer roam the wilds, and aboriginal tribes are thinly scattered among the woodland glades. Some of the Gonds, however, have adopted Hindoo manners and settled in the plains, renouncing social intercourse with

<sup>1</sup> W. H. P. Driver, "The Korkus," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxi. Part I. (Calcutta, 1893) pp. 128-130; R. V. Russell, in *Census of India*, 1901, vol. xiii. Central Provinces, Part

I. (Nagpur, 1902) p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1892), i. 292.

their brethren in the jungle.<sup>1</sup> Like many other tribes of the Central Provinces, the Gonds are divided into exogamous clans, which take their names from a plant, animal, or other natural or artificial object. Among the things which give names to Gond clans are *markam* (mango), *marai* (a tree), *kunjam* (a tree), *marškola* (an axe), *taram* (a tree), *suiwadewa* (a porcupine), *urrum* (a large lizard), *tumrisar* (a *tendu* tree), *kunrayete* (a goat), and *tumram* (a pumpkin). Members of the *taram* clan will not eat the leaves of the keolari tree.<sup>2</sup>

A somewhat different account of the Gond clans (*gotras* or *gots*) in the Central Provinces was given at an earlier time by Mr. P. N. Bose, who writes as follows: "There appear to be special minor deities for each *got*. The Gonds are divided into five *gots*. One of these *gots* comprises worshippers of three deities, another of four deities, a third of five deities, and so on. The three deities of the first of these *gots* are, I was told, the bull, the tiger, and the crocodile! These animals are considered sacred by, and would not contribute towards the food of, those who belong to this particular *got*; but the members of the other *gots* would not scruple to eat the flesh of any of these animals! I cannot, however, vouch for the correctness of this information; I often inquired about the *got*-gods, but never got any satisfactory answer. The four deities of the four-god *got* are, I was informed at one place, the Budha Deo himself and his three brothers, Aginkumar, Rausarna, and Audia-Singha; at another place I was told the four gods were the tortoise, the crocodile, a kind of fish called *bodh*, and a ferocious bird the name of which was given as *sarewa*."<sup>3</sup> And after giving the names of many clans, arranged under five groups according to the number of deities worshipped by each, Mr. Bose adds: "It would be interesting to know the signification of these terms. The meanings of a few I could gather are

Mr. Bose's account of the Gond clans.

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Bose, "Chhattisgar, Notes on its Tribes, Sects, and Castes," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lix. Part I. (Calcutta, 1891) pp. 269 sq., 273.

<sup>2</sup> R. V. Russell, in *Census of India*, 1901, vol. xiii. Central Provinces,

Part I. (Nagpur, 1902), p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> P. N. Bose, "Chhattisgar, Notes on its Tribes, Sects, and Castes," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lix. Part I. (Calcutta, 1891) pp. 281 sq.

given. It will be seen that they refer to some tree or animal. The names of some of the special gods of the five groups just mentioned have been given before. They refer mostly to animals, such as the crocodile, the bull, the tiger, etc. The *gots* into which the worshippers of the three deities (which are the bull, the tiger, and the alligator) are divided are what are called *Bhaibunds*, and they cannot intermarry; they must form alliances with other *gots*. Similarly the worshippers of the four deities are *Bhaibunds*, and so on.”<sup>1</sup>

Marriage  
of cousins  
among the  
Gonds.

In the Bilaspore district of the Central Provinces the Gonds and also the Ghasias permit the marriage of cousins on the mother's side, that is, of a man with the daughter of his mother's brother, because she is of a different exogamous clan (*gotra*) from his; but he may not marry his first cousin, the daughter of his father's brother, because she is of his own exogamous clan (*gotra*) and is therefore forbidden to him by the law of exogamy. But the Gonds and the Ghasias are the only castes in Bilaspore which permit the marriage of cousins on the mother's side. Amongst all the other castes of the district “the marriage of cousins is held in abhorrence because they are regarded as brothers and sisters. In fact there is no one word for cousin in the language of the people. The words ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ include a cousin also. If a man wishes to be exact, he will say of his cousin: ‘He is my older father's son,’ meaning his father's elder brother's son. Or again, he may say, ‘He is my aunt-mother's son,’ meaning his mother's sister's son, and so on. He would be shocked at the mere mention of marriage with cousins.”<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, marriage with a first cousin, the daughter of a mother's brother, is a general custom in many parts of India, for example in Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, and in the Telugu-speaking country, where it has a special name (*mēnarikam*). It is observed

Cousin-  
marriage  
in India  
generally.

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Bose, “Chhattisgar, Notes on its Tribes, Sects, and Castes,” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lix. Part I. (Calcutta, 1891) p. 285. Mr. Bose seems to apply the term *got* both to the exogamous clans themselves and to the five groups under which they are classed according to the number of

deities which they worship.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk-tales* (London, 1908), pp. 6 sq. Compare *id.* “Some Notes concerning the People of Munghēli Tahsil, Bilaspur District,” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxi. Part III. (Calcutta, 1903) p. 45.

with particular strictness by the Komatis, a Telugu people. Cases also occur in which marriage with a first cousin, the daughter of a father's sister, is especially enjoined, but they are less common. More usually marriage is allowed with either the daughter of the mother's brother or with the daughter of the father's sister; and where both are permitted, the former (namely marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother) is sometimes preferred.<sup>1</sup>

A few examples of the marriage of first cousins in Southern India may be cited as examples. Thus "marriage among the Kallans<sup>2</sup> is said to depend entirely upon consanguinity. The most proper alliance is one between a man and the daughter of his father's sister; and, if an individual has such a cousin, he must marry her, whatever disparity there may be between their respective ages. A boy, for example, of fifteen must marry such a cousin, even if she be thirty or forty years old, if her father insists upon his so doing. Failing a cousin of this sort, he must marry his aunt or his niece, or some near relative. If his father's brother has a daughter, and insists upon his marrying her, he cannot refuse: and this whatever may be the woman's age. Among the Vallambans (Tamil cultivators), the maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter is said to be claimed as a matter of right by a boy, so that a lad of ten may be wedded to a mature woman of twenty or twenty-five years, if she happens to be unmarried and without issue. Any elderly male member of the boy's family—his elder brother, uncle, or even his father—will have intercourse with her, and beget children, which the boy, when he comes of age, will accept as his own, and legitimatise. One of the customs of the Komatis (Telugu traders) is that which renders it the duty of a man to marry his uncle's daughter, however sickly or deformed she may be. This custom is known as *mēnarikam*, and is followed by a number of

Cousin-marriages among the Kallans.

Cousin-marriages among the Vallambans.

Cousin-marriages among the Komatis.

<sup>1</sup> See the evidence collected by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, in his paper, "The Marriage of Cousins in India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1907, pp. 625-628. In this paper (pp. 611-640) Dr. Rivers has discussed the significance as well as the diffusion of

the custom in India.

<sup>2</sup> The Kallans are a Tamil caste of thieves in Madura and Tinnevely. See E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1906), pp. 18, 24.

Dravidian castes, but it is perhaps more strictly observed by the Komatis than by others. Some Komatis have, in recent times, given up this custom, and, as the common folk among them put it, have suffered by the loss of their sons-in-law and other mishaps. *Kanyakapurānam*, the sacred book of the Komatis, is a lasting monument of the rigidity with which *mēnarikam* was maintained in ancient days. The custom has apparently been copied by the Desasta Brahmans of Southern India, in whom it would, but for modern enlightenment, have almost been crystallised into law. The Ayyar Brahmans have adopted it in order to keep the family property intact within it.

Cousin-  
marriages  
among the  
Nattamans.

“A Nattaman (Tamil cultivator) man has a right to marry the daughter of his father’s sister, and, if she is given to another man, the father’s sister has to return to her father or brother the dowry, which she received at the time of her marriage, and this is given to the man who had the claim upon the girl.

Cousin-  
marriages  
among the  
Goundans.

“Among the Goundans (cultivators) of Coimbatore, a boy of seven or eight is occasionally married to a maternal uncle’s or paternal aunt’s daughter of sixteen or eighteen. In this case it is said that the boy’s father is the *de facto* husband. But this barbarous and objectionable custom is more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and is hardly practised, though it is alleged that it can be enforced by appeal to the community, and that, upon any objection, the boy’s mother is entitled (to threaten) to drown herself in a well, or (as is not unfrequently the case), she will incite her friends to tie a *tāli* on the girl by fraud or force.<sup>1</sup> The maternal uncle’s daughter is absolutely the correct relationship for a wife. It is the bride’s maternal uncle who carries her to the *nāttu-kal* (place where grain seedlings are raised) at the village boundary, and this is equivalent to a publication of the banns. . . . The Idaiyan (Tamil shepherd) bridegroom makes a present of four annas and betel to each of the bride’s maternal uncle’s sons, who have a natural right to marry her. The acceptance of the presents indicates their consent to the marriage. One of the bride’s maternal

Cousin-  
marriages  
among the  
Idaiyan  
and  
Verukalas.

<sup>1</sup> To tie a *tāli* on the girl is to perform a mock marriage ceremony on her. See E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, pp. 121 sqq.

uncles carries her in his arms to the marriage booth, while another uncle carries a lighted torch on a mortar. . . . Among the Yerukalas (a nomad tribe in the Telugu country) polygamy is practised, and the number of wives is only limited by the means of the husband. Marriage of relations within the degree of first cousins is not allowed. The rule is relaxed with respect to a man marrying the daughter of his father's sister, which is not only allowed, but a custom prevails that the two first daughters of a family may be claimed by the maternal uncle as wives for his sons."<sup>1</sup>

To these examples of cousin-marriage in India may be added the custom of the Todas in the Neilgherry Mountains. Among the Todas a man ought to marry his first cousin, the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. Hence a Toda man applies the same term *mun* to his mother's brother and to his wife's father, because these two personages are, or ought to be, one and the same man. Similarly, he applies the same term *mumi* to his father's sister and to his wife's mother, because these two personages are, or ought to be, one and the same woman.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly in two of the three great Dravidian languages of Southern India, the Tamil and the Canarese, the term for mother's brother and wife's father is one and the same: in Tamil it is *mama*, in Canarese it is *mava*. In the third great Dravidian language of Southern India, namely the Telugu, the name for the wife's father is *mama* (as in Tamil) and the name for the mother's brother is *menamama*. This identity or close correspondence between the terms for mother's brother and wife's father in the three great Dravidian languages of Southern India tends, with other evidence adduced by Dr. Rivers, to establish the conclusion which he draws from it, namely, that the custom of marrying a first cousin, the daughter either of the mother's brother or of the father's sister, is an ancient Dravidian institution, which probably in former times was observed by all the members of that great family, although at the present day

Cousin-marriages among the Todas.

Identity of terms for mother's brother and wife's father.

The marriage of first cousins is apparently an ancient Dravidian institution.

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, pp. 53-56.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 487 sq., 502; *id.*

"The Marriage of Cousins in India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1907, pp. 619 sq.

some of them have relinquished it. In point of fact it is among peoples of the Dravidian stock, whether they speak the Tamil or the Telugu language, that the right or the obligation to marry such first cousins still survives.<sup>1</sup>

The custom of cousin-marriage is probably a relic of the bisection of the community into two exogamous moieties or classes.

If we ask why a man should not only be allowed but in some cases expected and required to marry his first cousin, the daughter either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, the only probable answer seems to be the one indicated by Dr. Rivers,<sup>2</sup> namely, that the custom is derived from the bisection of the community into two exogamous moieties or classes, such as we still find, or found till very lately, in the Urabunna and many other Australian tribes; for where such a bisection exists the children of a brother and the children of his sister necessarily belong to different exogamous moieties or classes and are therefore proper mates for each other. We have seen that amongst the Urabunna in Central Australia the custom of such cousin-marriages co-exists with the bisection of the community, and is obviously derived from it.<sup>3</sup> We may, therefore, with much probability infer that the Dravidians, who retain to a considerable extent the custom of such cousin-marriages, have inherited it from a time when their ancestors were divided, like many Australian tribes at the present time, into two exogamous moieties or classes. This inference is greatly strengthened by the observation that the Dravidians, like the Australians, seem to have universally possessed, as indeed they still to a great extent possess, the two institutions of totemism and the classificatory system of relationship,<sup>4</sup> both of which are bound up either (as is the case with the classificatory system of relationship) essentially or (as is the case with totemism) accidentally with the bisection of the community into two exogamous moieties or classes.

Hence the Dravidians seem to have had formerly a two-class exogamous system like that of many Australian tribes.

But this account of cousin-marriage in India has been a digression, though not an impertinent one. We now return to our immediate subject, which is the evidence for the

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "The Marriage of Cousins in India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1907, pp. 618-621, 623. As to the languages of the Dravidian family, see *The Imperial Gazetteer of India: The*

*Indian Empire*, vol. i. (Oxford, 1909) pp. 378 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 622 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 177-181.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 329 *sqq.*

existence of totemism and exogamy among the natives of the Central Provinces of India.

Another totemic people of Central India are the Savars, an aboriginal tribe of cultivators and menials, who have been variously classed as Dravidians and as Kolarians. Some of them are found in Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Western Bengal and Madras as well as in the Central Provinces.<sup>1</sup> They are divided into many exogamous clans with paternal descent. The wife belongs to her husband's clan after marriage, and the children belong to the clan of their father. Among the clans with their totemic taboos are the following. The Saram clan may not eat *sambar*; the Murmu clan may not eat the nilgau (a species of antelope); the Barhia clan may not eat wild pig; the Guincha clan may not eat tree-mice; the Ir-tirki clan may not eat guinea-pig; the Nag clan may not kill a cobra; the Sua clan may not kill nor eat a parrot; and the Toro clan may not kill nor eat a lizard.<sup>2</sup>

The division of a people into exogamous and totemic clans is found among many other tribes in the Central Provinces. Such clans, we are informed, "are confined for the most part to the Dravidian tribes, and where they are found in other castes, probably indicate either that the caste itself is of non-Aryan origin or that a section of a tribe has become enrolled in it as a sub-caste."<sup>3</sup> The following table exhibits the names of some of these totemic tribes with some of their clan totems:—<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 241 sq.; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 149 sq. The Kolarian family of speech should rather be called the Munda, after one of its principal forms. Different opinions have been held as to whether it belongs to the same family as the Dravidian or not; but recent enquiries tend to show that the Munda or Kolarian and the Dravidian languages have not a common origin. See Mr. G. A. Grierson, in *Census of*

*India*, 1901, vol. i. India, Part I. (Calcutta, 1903) p. 278, note<sup>1</sup>; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India: The Indian Empire*, vol. i. (Oxford, 1909) pp. 378 sq., 382 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. P. Driver, "Notes on some Kolarian Tribes, No. II." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lx. Part I. (Calcutta, 1892) p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> R. V. Russell, in *Census of India*, 1901, vol. xiii. Central Provinces, Part I. (Nagpur, 1902) p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> R. V. Russell, *l.c.*

Tribe.	Clan Totems.
Ahirs	. { <i>hasti</i> (elephant), <i>bhainsa</i> (buffalo), <i>sendur</i> (vermilion), <i>singha</i> (lion).
Barais	. { <i>richharia</i> (bear), <i>kulaha</i> (jackal), <i>bandar</i> (monkey), <i>kumhardora</i> (a Kumhar's thread).
Bharias	. <i>nag</i> (a snake).
Chadars	. { <i>dhana</i> (coriander), <i>magra</i> (crocodile), <i>sua</i> (parrot), <i>belha</i> (bel tree).
Chamars	. . { <i>purain</i> (lotus leaves), <i>machhli</i> (fish), <i>koliha</i> (jackal).
Dangris	. . <i>nagkuria</i> (snake), <i>morkuria</i> , (peacock). <sup>1</sup>
Darjis	. . <i>bel</i> (a tree), <i>piparia</i> (a pipal tree).
Dhangar-Oraons	. { <i>chirai</i> (a bird), <i>unjan</i> (a tree), <i>minj</i> (a fish), <i>bagh</i> (tiger), <i>nun</i> (salt), <i>dhan</i> (rice), <i>nag</i> (snake), <i>limuan</i> (tortoise).
Dhimars	. { <i>chandan</i> (sandal-wood), <i>bhatua</i> (a vegetable), <i>machhia</i> (a fish).
Ghasias	. <i>bichhi</i> (scorpion), <i>kalasarp</i> (cobra).
Halbas	. { <i>bheria</i> (wolf), <i>aonla</i> (a tree), <i>karait</i> (the snake of that name), <i>mhsia</i> (buffalo), <i>nagbans</i> (snake), <i>bel</i> (a tree), <i>baghbans</i> (tiger), <i>bandarbans</i> (monkey).

Many of the totemic clans in the Central Provinces are reported not to observe the rule which forbids members of a clan to kill or use their totem; even the meaning of the clan names is often forgotten.<sup>2</sup>

## § 2. Totemism in the Madras Presidency

Totemic  
clans  
among the  
Boyas.

In the Madras Presidency the Boyas, a great Telugu-speaking tribe of the Deccan districts, comprise two

<sup>1</sup> In these two names the second portion (*kuria*) is perhaps the native word for "clan."

<sup>2</sup> R. V. Russell, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xiii. Central Provinces, Part I. (Nagpur, 1902) p. 189.

endogamous sections, namely the Forest men (*Myasa* or *Vyadha*) and the Village men (*Uru*), of whom the former subsist on game and other produce of the woods, while the latter have settled down in villages and live by fishing and day labour. The tribe is subdivided into one hundred and one totemic clans or septs, many of which bear the names of plants and animals. Such clans are the Ants (*Chimalu*), the Bulls (*Eddulu*), the Buffaloes (*Yenumalu*), the Centipedes (*Jerrabotula*), the Sweet-scented Oleanders (*Genneru*), the Grasses (*Kusa*), the Dogs (*Kukkala*), the Paroquets (*Chilakala*), the Peacocks (*Nemili*), the Cows (*Avula*), the Lizards (*Udumala*), the Locusts (*Midathala*), the Gazelles (*Jinkala*), the Goats (*Mekala*), the Jackals (*Nakka*), the Sparrows (*Pichiga*), the Pigeons (*Guvvala*), Turmeric (*Pasupu*), and Sugar-cane (*Cheruku*). Other clans are named after other objects such as Butter-milk (*Majjiga*), Hand (*Hastham*), Ear (*Chevvula*), Beard (*Geddama*), Whiskers (*Misala*), Charcoal (*Boggula*), Bread (*Rottala*), Hut (*Gudisa*), Garden (*Tota*), Light (*Joti*), Fire (*Aggi*), Mat (*Chapa*), Drum (*Thappata*), etc. Members of the clans are said to shew the usual reverence for the totemic animals or plants after which they are named by not touching or using them in any way.<sup>1</sup>

The Kalingi, a caste of temple priests and cultivators in Ganjam and Vizagapatam, are divided into several exogamous clans (*gotras*), each comprising a number of families (*vamsas*), of which some are totemic, such as the Arudra or Lady Bird clan or family, and the Ravi-chettu or *Ficus religiosa* clan or family. Each section is said to worship its totem.<sup>2</sup>

The Kurni, a caste of weavers and cultivators in the Madras Presidency, comprise two main divisions, of which one is said to be subdivided into sixty-six totemic clans or septs (*gotras*). Amongst them are *arishina* (saffron), *hon* (gold), *jerige* (cummin), *kadalai* (Bengal-gram, *Cicer arietinum*), *menasu* (pepper), *nulla* (thorn), *sampige* (a flowering tree, *Michelia champaca*), and *yemme* (buffalo).<sup>3</sup>

The Vakkaliga of Madras are a caste of Canarese

<sup>1</sup> W. Francis, in *Census of India, and Tribes of Southern India*, i. 198 sq. 1901, vol. xv. Madras, Part I. (Madras, 1902) p. 146; Edgar Thurston, *Castes*

<sup>2</sup> W. Francis, *op. cit.* pp. 157 sq.

<sup>3</sup> W. Francis, *op. cit.* p. 165.

Totemic  
clans  
among the  
Vakkaliga.

cultivators, who originally belonged to Mysore and are now found mainly in Madura and Coimbatore. They are divided into exogamous and totemic clans (*kulas*), which include Chinnada (gold), Belli (silver), Khajjaya (a cake), Yemme (a buffalo), Alagi (a pot), and Jola (cholum). They employ Brahman priests and are beginning to burn their dead, but they eat animal food.<sup>1</sup>

The  
Kasubas of  
the Neil-  
gherries.

The Kasubas are a forest tribe of the beautiful Neilgherry Mountains in the Madras Presidency, but a branch of the tribe is also found in certain contiguous districts of the feudatory State of Mysore, particularly in Gundlupet, Chamarajanagur, and Yelandur. They work on the coffee plantations, which occupy clearings in the forest. Their language is a dialect of Tamil akin to the Irula language, with a strong Canarese element, and some of them claim connection with the Irulas. Kasubas and Irulas occasionally intermarry. But unlike the Irulas, the Todas, and other hill tribes of the Neilgherry Mountains, the Kasubas are divided into many totemic clans or septs, of which the following have been recorded :—

Totemic  
clans of the  
Kasubas.

1. The *Nagara-kula* or Cobra clan. The members of this clan do not kill the cobra de capello. Whenever they see the snake, they make obeisance to it and burn incense before it.

2. The *Belli-kula* or Silver clan. The women of this clan do not wear silver (*belli*) ornaments (known as *murups*) on the toes of either foot.

3. The *Bhumi-kula* or Earth clan. The members of this clan burn incense in honour of Earth on festival days, such as *Sivasathri*, a popular Hindoo festival.

Other Kasuba clans are the *Sambar-kula*, the *Or-kula*, the *Karataguru-kula*, and the *Uppiliguru-kula*; but the totems of these have not been ascertained. We may probably assume, though we are not expressly told, that all these clans are exogamous. A Kasuba man usually marries his first cousin, the daughter of his father's sister; indeed he is bound to marry her, unless she is older than himself. In that case he may marry either his first cousin, the

Cousin-  
marriages.

<sup>1</sup> W. Francis, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xv. Madras, Part I. (Madras, 1902) p. 182.

daughter of his mother's brother, or his niece, the daughter of his sister. The remarriage of widows is discountenanced, but not forbidden.<sup>1</sup>

The Baliyas are the chief Telugu trading caste and are scattered throughout all the districts of the Madras Presidency.<sup>2</sup> Like other Telugu castes of Southern India, the Baliyas are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intiperu*), which bear, amongst others, the following names Tiger (*puli*), Lizard (*balli*), Cow (*avula*), Peacock (*nemili*), Buffalo (*yenumala*), Split Pulse (*pappu*), Cummin seeds (*jilakara*), coco-nut (*narikella*), Pepper (*miriyala*), Sandal Paste (*gandham*), Pearls (*mutyala*), Coral (*pagadala*), Silk house (*pattindla*), Musket (*tupakala*), Bell (*gantla*), and Rings (*ungarala*).<sup>3</sup>

The Baliyas, their exogamous clans.

The Bants are the chief land-owning and cultivating class in South Canara, and they are, with one exception, the most numerous caste of the district. Most of them profess the Hindoo religion, but about ten thousand of them are Jains.<sup>4</sup> They are divided into a number of exogamous clans or septs (*bali*), which are traced in the female line; that is, children belong to their mother's, not to their father's clan. Marriage between persons of the same clan (*bali*) "is considered incestuous, as falling within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity." Nor is the taboo limited to persons of the same clan; it extends to certain allied (*koodu*) clans as well. Moreover, a man is forbidden to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his father's brother, though she belongs to a different clan. The Bant clans take their names from animals, plants, and other objects, such for example as the tiger, scorpion, bandicoot rat, fowl, jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), green peas, *Nux Vomica*, *Eleusine Coracana*, jaggery, ashes, and weaver.<sup>5</sup>

The Bants, their exogamous clans.

The Besthas are a Telugu caste, who gain their livelihood as hunters, fishers, farmers, bearers, and cooks.<sup>6</sup> Like

<sup>1</sup> C. Hayavadana Rao, "The Kasubas, a Forest Tribe of the Nilgiris," *Anthropos*, iv. (1909) pp. 178-181.

<sup>2</sup> *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xv. Madras, Part I., by W. Francis (Madras, 1902), p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of*

*Southern India*, i. 134, 140 sq.

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 149, 151.

<sup>5</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 163 sq.

<sup>6</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 218. As to the Besthas in Mysore, see further below, pp. 272 sq.

The Besthas, their exogamous clans. other Telugu castes, they are divided into exogamous septs (*intiperulu*) and *gotras*, and the members of some of the *gotras* observe certain taboos which appear to be totemic. Thus, members of the Jessamine (*malle*) *gotra* may not touch jessamine; and members of the Ippala *gotra* may not touch or use the *ippa* tree (*Bassia latifolia*).<sup>1</sup>

The Bhondari, their exogamous clans. The Bhondari are the barbers of the Oriya country, living in Ganjam.<sup>2</sup> They are divided into exogamous clans, of which some are named after the peacock (*mohiro*), the cobra, *Achyranthes aspera*, and light (*dhippo*). Members of the clan who take their name from the *Achyranthes aspera* may not touch the plant nor use its root as a tooth-brush. Members of the Light clan may not extinguish lights with their breath or in any other way, and they will not light lamps unless they are wearing silk or cloths that have been washed and dried after bathing.<sup>3</sup> A Bhondari ought not to marry his first cousin, the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister.<sup>4</sup>

The Bottadas, their exogamous clans. The Bottadas are a class of Uriya cultivators and labourers, speaking a dialect of Uriya. The caste is divided into three endogamous sections, of which one, the Bodo or genuine Bottadas, is subdivided into a number of exogamous clans or septs (*bamsa*), some of which are named the Tiger (*bhag*), the Cobra (*nag*), the Tortoise (*kochchimo*), the Lizard (*goyi*), the Monkey (*makado*), the Dog (*kukkuro*), and the Goat (*cheli*). A man may claim in marriage his first cousin, the daughter of his father's sister. A younger brother often marries the widow of his deceased elder brother.<sup>5</sup>

The Chenchus, their exogamous clans. The Chenchus are a Telugu-speaking jungle tribe, who inhabit the hills of the Kurnool and Nellore districts. Like other Telugu classes, the Chenchus are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intiperu*), which bear amongst others such names as Horse (*gurram*), Goats (*mekala*), Plantain-tree (*arati*), Garden (*tota*), Houses (*indla*), Pit (*gundam*), and Sovereign (*savaram*, the gold coin).<sup>6</sup>

The Devangas are a caste of weavers who are found all

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, i. 221.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 230.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 231.

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 232.

<sup>5</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* i. 264 sq., 266.

<sup>6</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 26, 39.

over the Madras Presidency. Some of them speak Telugu and others Canarese.<sup>1</sup> The Telugu-speaking section of the caste is the more conservative of the two; they have not adopted the Brahmanical ceremonials to such an extent as their Canarese-speaking brethren. These Telugu-speaking Devangas are divided into a large number of exogamous clans or septs, of which the following are given as examples :—<sup>2</sup>

<i>Akasam</i> , sky.	<i>Vasthrala</i> , cloths.
<i>Anumala</i> , seeds of <i>Dolichos lablab</i> .	<i>Konda</i> , mountain.
<i>Boggula</i> , charcoal.	<i>Kaththi</i> , knife.
<i>Bandla</i> , rock or cart.	<i>Bandari</i> (treasurer).
<i>Chintakai</i> , tamarind fruit.	<i>Busan</i> , grain.
<i>Challa</i> , buttermilk.	<i>Dhondapu</i> , <i>Cephalandra indica</i> .
<i>Chapparam</i> , pandal or booth.	<i>Elugoti</i> , assembly.
<i>Dhoddi</i> , cattle-pen, or courtyard.	<i>Gattu</i> , bank or mound.
<i>Dhuggani</i> , money.	<i>Paidam</i> , money.
<i>Yerra</i> , red.	<i>Gonapala</i> , old plough.
<i>Katta</i> , a dam.	<i>Gosu</i> , pride.
<i>Kompala</i> , houses.	<i>Jigala</i> , pith.
<i>Konangi</i> , buffoon.	<i>Matam</i> , monastery.
<i>Katikala</i> , collyrium.	<i>Madira</i> , liquor or heap of earth.
<i>Kaththiri</i> , scissors,	<i>Medam</i> , fight.
<i>Moksham</i> , heaven.	<i>Masila</i> , dirt.
<i>Pasupala</i> , turmeric.	<i>Olikala</i> , funeral pyre and ashes.
<i>Pidakala</i> , dried cow-dung cakes.	<i>Prithvi</i> , earth.
<i>Pothula</i> , male.	<i>Peraka</i> , tile.
<i>Pachipowaku</i> , green tobacco.	<i>Punjala</i> , cock or male.
<i>Padavala</i> , boat.	<i>Pinjala</i> , cotton-cleaning.
<i>Pouzala</i> , a bird.	<i>Pichchiga</i> , sparrow.
<i>Pammi</i> , clay lamp.	<i>Sika</i> ( <i>Kudumi</i> : tuft of hair).
<i>Thalakoka</i> , female cloth.	<i>Sandala</i> , lanes.
<i>Thutla</i> , hole.	<i>Santha</i> , a fair.
<i>Utla</i> , ropes for hanging pots.	<i>Sajje</i> , <i>Setaria italica</i> .

The Devangas, their exogamous clans.

In this curiously miscellaneous list of names there are few plants and still fewer animals. The majority of Devangas are worshippers of Siva and wear the *lingam*. "In some parts of Ganjam the country folk keep a large number of Brahmani bulls. When one of these animals dies, very elaborate funeral ceremonies take place, and the dead beast is carried in procession by Devangas, and buried by them. As the Devangas are Lingayats, they have a special reverence

Sacred bulls.

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 154.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 160 sq.

for Basavanna, the sacred bull, and the burying of the Brahmani bull is regarded by them as a sacred and meritorious act.”<sup>1</sup> Thus like many other people in India the Devangas retain the old social organisation in exogamous clans after they have accepted the Hindoo religion.

The  
Dhombs,  
their clans.

The Dhombs are a Dravidian caste of weavers and menials, who are found in the hill tracts of Vizagapatam. They appear to be an offshoot of the Doms of Bengal.<sup>2</sup> Some of their clans or septs bear the names of Tiger (*bhag*), Bear (*balu*), Cobra (*nag*), Hanuman (the monkey god), Tortoise (*kochchipo*), Frog (*bengri*), Dog (*kukra*), Sun (*surya*), Fish (*matsya*), and Lizard (*jaikonda*). It is said that among the Dhombs “monkeys, frogs, and cobras are taboo, and also the *sunari* tree (*Ochna squarrosa*). The big lizard, cobras, frogs and the crabs which are found in the paddy fields and are usually eaten by jungle people, may not be eaten.”<sup>3</sup> A Dhomb may claim his first cousin, the daughter of his father’s sister, in marriage. A younger brother usually marries the widow of his deceased elder brother.<sup>4</sup>

Cousin-  
marriages.  
The  
Levirate.

The  
Ganigas,  
their clans  
and taboos.

The Ganigas or Gandlas are a Telugu caste whose chief occupation is oil-pressing. They are divided into clans or septs (*gotras*), some of which observe certain taboos. Thus, members of two clans may not cut the tree *Erythroxylon monogynum*; members of two others may not cut *Feronia elephantum*; and members of another may not cut *Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*. Members of certain other clans do not cultivate turmeric, sugar-cane, or a kind of millet (*Panicum miliare*). If a young man of this caste dies a bachelor, the corpse is married to an arka plant (*Calotropis gigantea*) and is adorned with a wreath of its flowers.<sup>5</sup>

The Gollas,  
their  
exogamous  
clans.

The Gollas are the great pastoral caste of the Telugu people. Their hereditary occupation is tending sheep and cattle and selling milk, but many of them have now acquired lands and are engaged in farming, and some are in Government service.<sup>6</sup> Like many other Telugu castes, the Gollas are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intiperu*)

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 161 sq.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 173 sq.  
As to the Doms of Bengal, see below, pp. 313 sq.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 176 sq.

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 177, 178.

<sup>5</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 266, 267.

<sup>6</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 284.

and *gotras*. Among the former (the *intiperu*) are the following :—<sup>1</sup>

<p><i>Agni</i>, fire.  <i>Avula</i>, cows.  <i>Chinthala</i>, tamarind.  <i>Chevvula</i>, ears.  <i>Gundala</i>, stones.  <i>Gurram</i>, horse.  <i>Gorrela</i>, sheep.  <i>Gorantla</i>, henna (<i>Lawsonia alba</i>).  <i>Kokala</i>, woman's cloth.</p>	<p><i>Katari</i>, dagger.  <i>Mugi</i>, dumb.  <i>Nakkala</i>, jackal.  <i>Saddikudu</i>, cold rice or food.  <i>Sevala</i>, service.  <i>Ullipoyala</i>, onions.  <i>Vankayala</i>, brinjal (<i>Solanum melongena</i>).</p>
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Members of the Raghindala (*Ficus religiosa*) *gotra* in the Golla caste are not allowed to use the leaves of the sacred fig or peepul tree as plates for their food. Members of the Palavili *gotra* never construct *palavili* or small booths inside the house for the purpose of worship. Members of the Akshathayya *gotra* are said to avoid rice coloured with turmeric or other powder (*akshantalu*). Members of the Kommi, Jammi, and Mushti *gotras* avoid using the *kommi* tree, the *Prosopis spicigera*, and the *Strychnos Nux-vomica* respectively.<sup>2</sup> The Gollas have adopted the Hindoo religion, some of them worshipping Vishnu and others Siva.<sup>3</sup>

The Gudalas are a Telugu caste of basket-makers in Vizagapatam and Ganjam. Like so many other Telugu castes, the Gudalas are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intiperulu*), amongst which are, for example, the Jackal (*nakka*) clan, the Cotton (*paththi*) clan, and the *Setaria italica* (*korra*) clan. Another clan takes its name from *ganti*, "a hole pierced in the lobe of the ear." In this caste the custom called *mēnarikam* is observed of marrying a first cousin, the daughter of the mother's brother.<sup>4</sup>

The Haddis are a low class of Oriyas, corresponding to the Telugu Malas and Madigas and to the Tamil Paraiyans.<sup>5</sup> They are divided into many exogamous clans or septs (*bamsam*). One of these takes its name from the elephant (*hathi*), and when members of this clan see the foot-prints of an elephant they take up some of the dust from the spot and mark their foreheads with it. They also draw the

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 290.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 291.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 292.

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 300, 301.

<sup>5</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 313.

Cousin-  
marriages.

figure of an elephant when they perform the memorial services for the dead (*śradh*) and other ceremonies.<sup>1</sup> Contrary to the usual Oriya custom, the Haddis permit the practice of *mēnarikam* or marriage with a first cousin, the daughter of a mother's brother.<sup>2</sup> The Haddis who inhabit the southern part of Ganjam are known as Ghasis, and among their exogamous clans or septs (*bamsam*) are the Cobra (*naga*) clan, the Horse (*asvo*) clan, the Tamarind (*chintala*) clan, and the Parched Rice (*liari*) clan.<sup>3</sup>

The  
Halepaik,  
their  
exogamous  
clans.

The Halepaik are Canarese toddy-drawers, who are found in the northern part of the South Canara district. They are Hindoos by religion, professing the worship of Vishnu, and are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*bali*), which descend in the female line. Among the names of the clans are Chendi (*Cerbera Odollum*), Honne (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), Tolar (wolf), and Devana (god).<sup>4</sup> It is recorded

Worship  
of the  
totems.

of the Halepaiks of the Canara district in the Bombay Presidency that "each exogamous section, known as a *bali* (literally a creeper), is named after some animal or tree, which is held sacred by the members of the same. This animal, tree, or flower, etc., seems to have been once considered the common ancestor of the members of the *bali*, and to the present day it is both worshipped by them, and held sacred in the sense that they will not injure it. Thus the members of the *nagbali*, named apparently after the *nagchampa* flower, will not wear this flower in their hair, as this would involve injury to the plant. The *Kadavebali* will not kill the sambhar (deer: *kadave*), from which they take their name." The Halepaiks of South Canara seem to attach no such importance to their clan names.<sup>5</sup>

The  
Janappans,  
their  
exogamous  
clans.

The Janappans or Saluppans were originally a section of the Baliyas, but they have developed into a distinct caste. Saluppan is the Tamil form of the name Janappan, which is supposed to be derived from *janapa*, "hemp," because members of the caste manufactured, and indeed still manufacture, gummy-bags of hemp fibre. Most of the caste is

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 314.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 315.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 319.

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 320 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 321, quoting "Monograph, *Eth. Survey of Bombay*, 12, 1904." As to the Halepaiks of the Bombay Presidency, see also below, p. 276.

now engaged in trade or agriculture. They profess the Hindoo religion, some of them being followers of Vishnu and others of Siva. The caste usually speaks Telugu.<sup>1</sup> The Janappans of the Telugu country are divided into twenty-four clans or septs (*gotras*), some of which observe totemic taboos. Thus members of the Frog (*kappala*) clan will not injure frogs, because they say that once on a time when some of the family were fishing, they made a haul of big frogs instead of fish. Members of the Thonda clan abstain from using the fruit or leaves of the *thonda* plant (*Cephalandra indica*), though it is one of the commonest of native vegetables; and similarly members of the Mukkanda clan may not use the fruit of the *Momordica Charantia*. Again, members of the Kola clan are forbidden to eat the *kolasi* fish; and members of the Vamme clan refrain from eating the fish *bombadai*, because some of their ancestors found a number of these fish in the marriage pot in which they intended to fetch water.<sup>2</sup>

Totemic taboos.

The Jogis are a caste of Telugu mendicants, and like other Telugu castes they are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intiperu*), of which the following are cited as examples:—<sup>3</sup>

The Jogis, their exogamous clans.

<i>Vagiti</i> , court-yard.	<i>Bindhollu</i> , brass water-pot.
<i>Uluvala</i> , horse-gram.	<i>Cheruku</i> , sugar-cane.
<i>Jalli</i> , tassels of palmyra leaves put round the necks of bulls.	<i>Chappadi</i> , insipid.
<i>Vavati</i> (relationship).	<i>Boda Dasiri</i> , bald-headed mendicant.
<i>Gundra</i> , round.	<i>Gudi</i> , temple.

In the Jogi marriage ceremony the maternal uncles of the young couple tie threads made of human hair to the wrists of the bride and bridegroom and carry the two on their shoulders into the marriage booth (*pandal*).<sup>4</sup>

Maternal uncles at marriage ceremony.

"The Kapus or Reddis are the largest caste in the Madras Presidency, numbering more than two millions, and are the great caste of cultivators, farmers, and squireens in the Telugu country. In the *Gazetteer* of Anantapur they are described as being the great land-holding body in the

The Kapus or Reddis.

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 447, 449 sq.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 494, 496.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 448 sq.

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* ii. 497.

Telugu districts, who are held in much respect as substantial, steady-going yeomen, and next to the Brahmans are the leaders of Hindu Society. In the *Salem Manual* it is stated that 'the Reddis are provident. They spend their money on the land, but are not parsimonious. They are always well dressed, if they can afford it. The gold ornaments worn by the women or the men are of the finest kind of gold. Their houses are always neat and well built, and the Reddis give the idea of good substantial ryots. They live chiefly on *rāgi* (grain: *Eleusine Coracana*), and are a fine powerful race.'<sup>1</sup>

Exogamy and totemism among the Kapus or Reddis.

However, these fine, powerful, well-dressed men, these gentlemen farmers, these substantial steady-going yeomen, these leaders of society with their neat well-built houses and jewels of fine gold, nevertheless retain the primitive institutions of exogamy and to some extent of totemism. So false is the popular notion that these ancient customs are practised only by vagrant savages with no house over their heads and little or no clothing on their backs.

Exogamous clans of the Kapus or Reddis.

Among the exogamous clans or septs into which the Kapus or Reddis are divided may be mentioned the following :—<sup>2</sup>

*Avula*, cow.  
*Alla*, grain.  
*Bandi*, cart.  
*Barrelu*, buffaloes.  
*Dandu*, army.  
*Gorre*, sheep.  
*Gudise*, hut.  
*Guntaka*, harrow.  
*Kōdla*, fowl.

*Mékala*, goats.  
*Kānugala*, *Pongamia glabra*.  
*Mungāru*, woman's skirt.  
*Nāgali*, plough.  
*Tangēdu*, *Cassia auriculata*.  
*Udumala*, *Varanus bengalensis*.  
*Varige*, *Setaria italica*.  
*Yeddulu*, bulls.  
*Yēmuga*, elephant.

Totemic taboos observed by the Reddis.

Further at Conjeeveram, we are told, "some Panta Reddis have true totemistic septs, of which the following are examples :—

"*Magili* (*Pandanus fascicularis*). Women do not, like women of other castes, use the flower-bracts for the purpose of adorning themselves. A man has been known to refuse to purchase some bamboo mats, because they were tied with the fibre of this tree.

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii. 222 sq.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 230 sq.

"*Ippi (Bassia longifolia)*. The tree, and its products, must not be touched.

"*Mancham (cot)*. They avoid sleeping on cots.

"*Arigala (Paspalum scrobiculatum)*. The grain is not used as food.

"*Chintaginjalu (tamarind seeds)*. The seeds may not be touched, or used.

"*Puccha (citrullus vulgaris ; water melon)*. The fruit may not be eaten."<sup>1</sup>

The Komatis are the great trading caste of the Madras Presidency, and are found in almost all districts of it. They are also to be met with in Mysore, the Bombay Presidency, Berar, the Central Provinces, and as far north-west as Baroda.<sup>2</sup> Everywhere they speak Telugu and are devoted to their mother-tongue, despising the sister language Tamil. Indeed we are told that Telugu is the most mellifluous of all the Dravidian languages and sounds harmonious even in the lips of the vulgar and illiterate. It has been called the Italian of the East.<sup>3</sup>

The Komatis are a highly organised caste, being divided, and subdivided into many clans or septs which are strictly exogamous and totemic ; in other words, no man may marry a woman of the same clan as himself, and all the members of a clan revere their totem in the usual way, making no secret of their reverence. When the totem is a plant, they say that any person who breaks the totemic taboo will be punished by being born as an insect for seven generations. But it is possible to obtain exemption from the rule. A person who wishes to eat the forbidden fruit may do so by annually performing the funeral ceremonies of the totemic ancestor at Gaya, the great Hindoo place of pilgrimage, where obsequies for ancestors are celebrated.<sup>4</sup>

To enumerate all the totemic clans of the Komatis would, we are told, be tedious. The following is a select list of them with their totems :—<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii. 231.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 306.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 307 sq., citing the opinion of Mr. Henry Morris.

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of*

*Southern India*, iii. 312, 314.

<sup>5</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* 312 sq. ; compare W. Francis, in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xv. *Madras*, Part i. (Madras, 1902) p. 162. As to the Komatis and their exogamous clans in Mysore, see below, pp. 273 sq.

## I. CLANS WITH PLANT TOTEMS

Clans.	Plant Totems.
Munikula . . . . .	<i>agasi</i> ( <i>Sesbania grandiflora</i> ).
Amalaki or Usiri . . . . .	<i>amalaki</i> or <i>usiri</i> ( <i>Phyllanthus Emblica</i> ).
Anupa or Anupala . . . . .	<i>anupala</i> ( <i>Dolichos Lablab</i> ).
Tulasi or Tulashishta . . . . .	<i>tulasi</i> ( <i>Ocimum sanctum</i> ).
Chinta, Chintya, or Vara- chinta } . . . . .	<i>chinta</i> ( <i>Tamarindus indica</i> ).
Vakkala . . . . .	<i>vakkalu</i> ( <i>Areca Catechu</i> ).
Puchcha . . . . .	<i>puchcha</i> ( <i>Citrullus Colocynthis</i> ).
Padma-sista . . . . .	<i>padma</i> (red lotus).
Kamala . . . . .	<i>kamalam</i> (white lotus).
Aranta . . . . .	<i>arati</i> ( <i>Musa sapientum</i> : plantain).
Thotakula . . . . .	<i>thotakura</i> ( <i>Amarantus</i> , sp.).
Uthakula . . . . .	<i>uththarēni</i> ( <i>Achyranthes aspera</i> ).
Mandu . . . . .	<i>māmadikāya</i> ( <i>Mangifera indica</i> ).
Dikshama . . . . .	<i>drākshapāndu</i> (grapes).
Venkola . . . . .	<i>vankāya</i> ( <i>Solanum Melongena</i> : brinjal).
Sauna . . . . .	<i>sāmanthi</i> ( <i>Chrysanthemum indicum</i> ).

## II. CLANS WITH ANIMAL TOTEMS

Clans.	Animal Totems.
Gosila, Sathya Gosila, and Uthama Gosila . . . . .	cow
Asthi . . . . .	elephant
Enupa . . . . .	buffalo
Ghonta . . . . .	horse
Ananta . . . . .	cobra
Bhramada or Brahmara . . . . .	bee

## III. CLANS WITH HEAVENLY BODIES AS TOTEMS

Clans.	Heavenly Bodies.
Arka or Surya . . . . .	sun
Chandra, Chandra Sishta, Suchandra, or Vannavamsam } . . . . .	moon

We have seen that a Komati can claim his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, in marriage by virtue of the custom called *mēnarikam*.<sup>1</sup> Cousin marriages.

The Koravas or Yerukalas, as they are also called, are a tribe of vagabonds, thieves, quack doctors, and fortune-tellers, who are scattered throughout the length and breadth of India. When railways spread over the country, these gentry travelled on them with enthusiasm, partly for the purpose of robbing passengers in their sleep, partly in order to escape expeditiously from places which they had made too hot to hold them. They speak a gibberish compounded out of Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese.<sup>2</sup> The Koravas are divided into exogamous clans or septs, of which the following, given by Uppu Yerukalas, may be taken as examples :—<sup>3</sup> The Koravas or Yerukalas, and their exogamous clans.

<p><i>Dāsari</i>, Vaishnavite mendicant.  <i>Sukka</i>, star.  <i>Kampha</i>, bush of thorns.  <i>Avula</i>, cows.  <i>Thoka</i>, tail.  <i>Kānaga</i> (<i>Pongamia glabra</i>).  <i>Bandi</i>, cart.  <i>Gajjala</i>, small bell.</p>	<p><i>Mogili</i> (<i>Pandanus fascicularis</i>).  <i>Uyyāla</i>, swing.  <i>Rāgala</i>, <i>rāgi</i> grain.  <i>Pāla</i>, flowers.  <i>Katāri</i>, dagger.  <i>Ambojala</i>, lotus.  <i>Samudrāla</i>, sea.  <i>Venkatagiri</i>, a town.</p>
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Amongst the Koravas or Yerukalas, we are informed, "totemism of some kind evidently exists, but it is rather odd that it has not always any apparent connection with the sept or house name. Thus, the totem of persons of the Konēti sept is horse-gram (*kollu* in Tamil), which they hold in veneration, and will not touch, eat, or use in any way. The totem of the Samudrāla sept is the conch shell, which likewise will not be used by those of the sept in any manner. It may be noted that persons of the Ramēswari sept will not eat tortoises, while those of the Konēti sept are in some manner obliged to do so on certain occasions"<sup>4</sup> Totemism among the Koravas or Yerukalas.

Among the Koravas or Yerukalas a custom prevails "by which the first two daughters of a family may be

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii. 314. See above, pp. 225 sq.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 438 sqq. As to these blacklegs, see also J. Shortt, M.D., "On the Wild Tribes of

Southern India," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vii. (1869) pp. 186-188.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 452.

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 453, quoting Mr. Fawcett.

Cousin marriages; right of a man to marry the daughter of his father's sister.

claimed by the maternal uncle as wives for his sons. The value of a wife is fixed at twenty pagodas. The maternal uncle's right to the first two daughters is valued at eight out of twenty pagodas, and is carried out thus:—If he urges his preferential claim, and marries his own sons to his nieces, he pays for each only twelve pagodas; and, similarly, if he, from not having sons, or any other cause, forego his claim, he receives eight pagodas of the twenty paid to the girl's parents by anybody else who may marry them."<sup>1</sup> Among the Yerukalas of the Vizagapatam district a man may marry either the daughter of his father's sister or the daughter of his mother's brother.<sup>2</sup>

The Kurubas.

The Kurumbas, a wild jungle tribe of the lower Neilgherry Hills.

The Kurubas are a caste of petty landowners, shepherds, weavers, cultivators, and stone-masons. Their complexion varies from very dark to light brown. It is a disputed question whether the civilised Kurubas of the plains and open country are related or not to the wild uncouth Kurumbas, a primitive folk, squat and broad-nosed, who dwell in the feverish recesses of the jungle and on the lower slopes of the Neilgherry Hills.<sup>3</sup> These Kurumbas are much dreaded as sorcerers by their neighbours, and their name is popularly derived from the Tamil word *kurumba*, "wickedness." However, the Badagas of the Neilgherry Hills employ them in the capacity of priests who officiate at the various seasons of the agricultural year. Every Badaga village has its own Kurumba priest. At the ploughing season he comes up from his sweltering valley to the breezy hills and ploughs the first furrow; at the sowing season he sows the first handful of grain; and at harvest he reaps the first sheaf with the sickle. For these services he receives his dues or a proportion of the ripe grain at the harvest home. And if the standing crop should be attacked by insects, which threaten to blight it, up comes the swarthy Kurumba priest again, and lowing like a calf is supposed thereby to kill the vermin.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Edgar Thurston was told

<sup>1</sup> J. Shortt, M.D., "On the Wild Tribes of Southern India," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vii. (1869) pp. 187 sq.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii. 484.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iv. 134 sqq., 155 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Captain Henry Harkness, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills* (London, 1832), pp. 56 sq., 83

that among the Kurumbas of the Neilgherries it is the custom for several brothers to take one wife in common, and that they do not object to their women being open to others also. There is said to be no marriage rite. A man and woman will mate together and live as husband and wife.<sup>1</sup>

Whether related to the Kurumbas or not, the Kurubas are divided into clans (*gumpus*), and these again are subdivided into exogamous subclans or septs (*gotras*), which are said to be mostly of totemic origin and to retain their totemic character to this day. "The Arisana *gōtram* is particularly worthy of notice. The name means saffron (turmeric), and this was originally taboo; but, as this caused inconvenience, the *korra* grain has been substituted, although the old name of the sept was retained."<sup>2</sup> The names of sixty-six of these exogamous and totemic subclans or septs have been recorded. Among them are Elephant, Snake, Scorpion, Buffalo, Tortoise, Black Ant, Dog, Goat, Ebony, *Prosopis Spicigera*, *Basella rubra*, *Feronia elephantum*, *Hibiscus esculentus*, Cummin, Bengal Gram, Jessamine, Chrysanthemum, Millet (*Panicum miliare*), Pepper, Milk, Clarified Butter, Fire, Sun, Moon, Ocean, Silver, Gold, Bell-metal, Pearl, Conch-shell, Earth-salt, Flint, Ant-hill, Bangle, Ring, Gold Ring, Metal Toe-ring, Lace, Blanket, Cup, Drum, Pick-axe, Loom, Bamboo Tube, Cart, Booth, Hut, Devil, Headman, and Mohammadan.<sup>3</sup> Among the Kurubas of North Arcot the consent of the maternal uncle is necessary to a marriage, and at the wedding he leads the bride to the nuptial booth. A Kuruba may marry two sisters, either on the death of one of them, or if the first wife is barren or suffers from an incurable disease.<sup>4</sup>

Exogamous subclans of the Kurubas.

Marriage with two sisters.

The Madigas are the great leather-working caste of the Telugu country, corresponding to the Chakkiliyans of the Tamil area. They live in hamlets at a distance from the villages of other people, by whom they are greatly despised.

The Madigas, a Telugu caste of tanners.

*sq.*, 87, 109 note, 130 *sq.*; F. Metz, *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, Second Edition (Mangalore, 1864), pp. 115 *sqq.*; J. W. Brecks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiras* (London, 1873), pp. 53 *sq.*

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iv. 169.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iv. 141, quoting Mr. H. A. Stuart.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iv. 141 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iv. 147, quoting Mr. Stuart.

When an ox or a buffalo dies, the Madigas gather round it like vultures, strip off the skin and tan it, and batten on the loathsome carrion. Their habits are squalid in the extreme and the stench of their hamlets is revolting. They practise various forms of fervent but misguided piety, lying on beds of thorns, distending the mouth with a mass of mud as large as a cricket-ball, bugging up their eyes with the same stuff, and so forth, thereby rendering themselves perhaps well-pleasing to their gods but highly disgusting to all sensible and cleanly men. An unmarried, but not necessarily chaste, woman of the caste personifies the favourite goddess Matangi, whose name she bears and of whom she is supposed to be an incarnation. Drunk with toddy and enthusiasm, decked with leaves of the margosa tree (*Melia Azadirachta*), her face reddened with turmeric, this female incarnation of the deity dances frantically, abuses her adorers in foul language, and bespatters them with her spittle, which is believed to purge them from all uncleanness of body and soul. Even high-class Reddis, purse-proud Komatis, and pious Brahmans receive the filthy eructations of this tipsy maniac with joy and gratitude as outpourings of the divine spirit.<sup>1</sup> When an epidemic is raging, the Madigas behead a buffalo before the image of their village goddess Uramma, and a man carries the blood-reeking head in procession on his own head round the village, his neck swathed in a new cloth which has been soaked in the buffalo's blood. This is supposed to draw a cordon round the dwellings and to prevent the irruption of evil spirits. The villagers subscribe to defray the expense of the procession. If any man refuses to pay, the bloody head is not carried round his house, and the freethinker or niggard is left to the tender mercies of the devils. The office of bearer of the head is an ill-omened and dangerous one; for huge demons perch on the tops of tall trees ready to swoop down on him and carry him and his bleeding burden away. To guard against this catastrophe ropes are tied to his body and arms, and men hang on like grim death to the ends of them. Moreover, they slice lemons and throw the slices in the air, that the devils may

Female  
incarnation  
of the  
goddess  
Matangi.

Madiga  
ceremony  
to avert a  
plague.

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iv. 292 sq., 295-305, 308-310.

pounce on them instead of on the man. Yet with all these precautions, it is not easy to persuade a Madiga to walk about a plague-stricken village with a bloody buffalo's head on his own head and a bloody muffler round his neck.<sup>1</sup>

These things are not totemism ; but it is perhaps worth while to mention them by way of reminding the reader of a truth which he should constantly bear in mind. Even among tribes who practise it most scrupulously totemism does not exhaust or satisfy man's religious instincts. On the contrary it commonly plays only a subordinate part in the religion or superstition of a people. The fear of the dead, the awe of the great powers of nature, the reverence for the gods, may all contribute in various and often far greater proportions to the complex system of religious creed and ritual. It is the more needful to lay stress on this because in considering totemism by itself, as we do in this work, we are apt to see it out of perspective, in other words, to exaggerate its importance in comparison with that of many other factors which, because they are not mentioned, are apt to be forgotten.

The Madigas are divided into a number of endogamous sections, and these sections are in turn subdivided into many exogamous clans or septs, which take their names from the buffalo, cow, donkey, frog, scorpion, locust, tamarind, jessamine, *Eleusine Coracana*, silver, cowry shells, winnowing-basket, thread, knife, broom, and other objects.<sup>2</sup>

The Malas are another low caste of Southern India. They are described as the Pariahs of the Telugu country ; they may not enter the temples nor use the ordinary village wells. No love is lost between them and the Madigas. The two sets of ragamuffins squabble with each other about social precedence. The Madigas blackguard the Malas in foul language, and the Malas despise the Madigas for devouring carrion, and will not drink water out of the same well. The chief occupation of the Malas are weaving and working as farm labourers ; a few till their own lands.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iv. 313 sq., quoting Bishop Whitehead.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* iv. 294 sq., 329 sq., 350.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of*

Totemism does not exhaust the religion of the peoples who practise it ; indeed it is usually of subordinate importance.

Exogamous clans of the Madigas.

The Malas, a low Telugu caste.

Exogamous  
clans of  
the Malas.

They are divided into many exogamous clans or septs named after many things, such as the cow, horse, snake, cat, snails, crow, gnat, ginger, tamarind, jessamine, *Ficus bengalensis*, *Acacia arabica*, *Glycosmis pentaphylla*, tobacco, milk, ant-hill, stone, horn, wind, ocean, ear, cart, sack, loom, hammer, spear, drum, dolls, washerman, good conduct, and sneezing.<sup>1</sup>

The  
Maravars  
or Mara-  
vans, a  
Dravidian  
tribe of  
lawless and  
predatory  
habits.

The Maravars or Maravans are a Dravidian tribe in the extreme south of India. They are found chiefly in Madura and Tinnevely, where they occupy the districts bordering on the coast from Cape Comorin northward. In the old days they were a fierce and turbulent race, famous for their military prowess. Their subjugation gave the British much trouble at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Once marauders, they are now to some extent peaceful tillers of the ground, but in the Tinnevely district they furnish nearly all the village police and likewise the thieves and robbers, often indeed combining the professions of thieving and catching thieves. But their natural bent is rather for committing than for detecting and punishing crime. In his double capacity of constable and robber, the Maravan is a power in the land. He levies blackmail according to a regular system, and in cattle-lifting he has no equal throughout the Presidency of Madras.<sup>2</sup> The Kodayamkottai Maravars or Maravans of Tinnevely are perhaps the purest bred of this race of freebooters and the least affected by modern civilisation. They are very dark, strong, well-built men, and being fearless, active, and energetic they are the terror of their peaceful neighbours. Though every man's hand is against them, they hold their own; even the British Government has failed to repress them.<sup>3</sup>

Exogamous  
clans  
of the  
Konda-  
yamkottai  
Maravans.

The Kodayamkottai Maravans are divided into six exogamous clans or branches, as they call them. Each clan or branch (*kothu*) is named after a plant, and is subdivided into three subclans (*khilais*). Descent is in the

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iv. 347 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Edgar Thurston, *op. cit.* v. 22 sq., 27 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> F. Fawcett, "The Kodayamkottai Maravars, a Dravidian Tribe of Tinnevely, Southern India," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 58.

female line ; in other words, children belong to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. While no man may marry a woman of his own clan, he is not free to marry a woman of any of the other clans without restriction. For example, a man of the Betel Vine clan may marry a woman of the Coco-nut clan, but not a woman of the Areca Nut clan nor of the Date clan. But the restrictions on marriage, beyond the rule of clan exogamy, are not fully known. The following is a list of the clans with their subclans :—<sup>1</sup>

Clans ( <i>Kothu</i> ).	English Equivalent.	Subclans ( <i>Khilai</i> ).
<i>Milaku</i>	pepper vine	{ <i>Viramudithanginan</i> <i>Sedhar</i> <i>Semanda</i>
<i>Vettile</i>	betel vine	{ <i>Agastyar</i> <i>Maruvidu</i> <i>Alakhiya Pandiyan</i>
<i>Thennang</i>	coco-nut	{ <i>Vaniyan</i> <i>Vettuvan</i> <i>Nataivendar</i>
<i>Komukham</i>	areca nut	{ <i>Kelnambhi</i> <i>Anbutran</i> <i>Gautaman</i>
<i>Ichang</i>	dates	{ <i>Sadachi</i> <i>Sangaran</i> <i>Pichipillai</i>
<i>Panang</i>	palmyra	{ <i>Akhili</i> <i>Lokhamurti</i> <i>Jambhuvar</i>

Among the Kondayamkottai Maravars first cousins, the children of two brothers, may not marry each other ; but first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, may and should marry each other. A man often marries a wife of his father's subclan (*khilai*) ; indeed there seems to be an idea that he ought to do so.<sup>2</sup> A widow may marry her deceased husband's elder brother, but not his younger

Cousin-marriages among the Maravars.

The Levirate.

<sup>1</sup> F. Fawcett, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 61 ; E. Thurston, *op. cit.* v. 33.

<sup>2</sup> F. Fawcett, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 62.

brother. Property devolves through males. Daughters cannot inherit.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamous  
clans  
of the  
Medaras.

The Medaras are workers in bamboo in the Telugu, Canarese, Oriya, and Tamil countries. They are divided into *gotras* and exogamous clans or septs, some of which are named after animals, plants, and other objects, such as the tiger, snake, civet cat, Bengal gram, *Sesbania grandiflora*, *Butea frondosa*, ant hill, and a new pot. All the Medaras formerly worshipped Siva, but now many of them worship Vishnu also. Amongst them a man most commonly marries his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother; less frequently he marries his first cousin, the daughter of his father's sister. Marriage with a deceased wife's sister is regarded with special favour. A man often marries two living sisters, if one of them is diseased.<sup>2</sup>

Cousin-  
marriages.

Marriage  
with two  
sisters.

Exogamous  
clans of  
the Mogers.

The Mogers are Tulu-speaking fishermen of the South Canara district. Like other Tulu castes, they are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*balis*), some of which bear the names of *Āne* (elephant), *Bali* (a fish), *Dēva* (god), *Dyava* (tortoise), *Honne* (*Pterocarpus Marsupium*), *Shetti* (a fish), and *Tolana* (wolf).<sup>3</sup>

The Muka  
Doras and  
their  
exogamous  
clans.

The Muka Doras are a Telugu-speaking caste, who are traditionally regarded as one of the primitive hill tribes. Nowadays they are farmers and itinerant hucksters, and may be seen travelling about the country with pack bullocks at the time of the rice harvest. They are divided into two sections, one of which worships the sun and the other the cobra. Each section is further subdivided into exogamous clans or septs (*intipērulu*), the names of which, so far as they are recorded, are taken from trees or plants, namely, the *vemu* or *nim* tree (*Melia Azadirachta*), *chikkudi* (*Dolichos Lablab*), *velanga* (*Feronia elephantum*), and *kākara* (*Momordica Charantia*). A man ought to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother; and that uncle, the father of the bride, officiates at the wedding.<sup>4</sup>

Cousin-  
marriages.

The Mutrachas are a low Telugu caste, who are most

<sup>1</sup> F. Fawcett, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) 65.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of*

*Southern India*, v. 52, 54 sq.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* v. 65, 69.

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* v. 103 sq.

numerous in the Kistna, Nellore, Cuddapah, and North Arcot districts. They engage in various occupations as hunters, fishers, palanquin bearers, and village watchmen. They are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intipērula*), which are named after the cow, the tiger, the jackal, doves, the fly, the *Ficus bengalensis*, a house, a garden, a swing, a dagger, an iron measure for grain, a watchman, and so forth.<sup>1</sup>

The Mutrachas and their exogamous clans.

The Padma Sale are a Telugu-speaking caste of weavers, who are scattered all over the Madras Presidency. Like other Telugu castes they are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intipērus*), some of which take their names from the gazelle, the horse, the scorpion, the crane, the mango, the indigo plant, tamarind seeds, *Lawsonia alba*, *Cassia auriculata*, *Acacia arabica*, cotton, ant-hill, beard, ditch, pots, and so on.<sup>2</sup> They profess the religion of Vishnu, but some of them worship Siva. The deity of the caste is Bhāvana Rishi, to whom, in some places, a special temple is dedicated. Every year a festival is held in honour of this divinity, and during its continuance the god and goddess are represented by two decorated pots placed on the model of a tiger, to which on the last day of the festival great quantities of rice and vegetables are offered. Members of the caste revere tigers and believe that the beasts will not molest them.<sup>3</sup>

The Padma Sale and their exogamous clans.

Worship of the tiger.

### § 3. *Exogamy and the Classificatory System among the Todas*

The Todas are a small tribe, now less than a thousand in number, who inhabit the lofty and isolated tableland of the Neilgherry Hills. They are a purely pastoral people devoting themselves to the care of their herds of buffaloes and despising agriculture and nearly all manual labour as beneath their dignity. Their origin and affinities are unknown; little more than vague conjecture has been advanced to connect them with any other race of Southern India. They are a tall, well-built, athletic people, with a

The Todas, a small pastoral tribe of the Neilgherry Hills; their origin and affinities unknown.

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, v. 127 sq., 130.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* v. 448, 449.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* v. 448, 451.

rich brown complexion, a profusion of jet black hair, a large, full, speaking eye, a Roman nose, and fine teeth. The men are strong and very agile, with hairy bodies and thick beards. Their countenances are open and expressive; their bearing bold and free; their manners grave and dignified; their disposition very cheerful and friendly. In intelligence they are said to be not inferior to any average body of educated Europeans. In temperament they are most pacific, never engaging in warfare and not even possessing weapons, except bows and arrows and clubs, which they use only for purposes of ceremony. Yet they are a proud race and hold their heads high above all their neighbours.<sup>1</sup> The country which they inhabit has by its isolation sheltered them from the inroads of more turbulent and warlike peoples and has allowed them to lead their quiet dream-like lives in all the silence and rural simplicity of an Indian Arcadia. For the tableland which is their home stands six or seven thousand feet above the sea and falls away abruptly or even precipitously on every side to the hot plains beneath. Its steep sides, where they approach the lowlands, are clothed with dense, almost impenetrable jungle, a hotbed of fever, in which the traveller sleeps at his peril. Above this pestilential belt, still ascending, he comes to grassy slopes and forests like those of temperate climates, and when he has reached the summit he finds himself in a cool breezy upland, a land of green rolling downs and rounded hills, the turf gay with wild flowers and interspersed with rich woods, deep in ferns and moss, where the crimson splendour of the rhododendron vies with the snowy purity of the white camelia, while the woodland glades and lonely green valleys are gladdened by purling brooks, their banks mantled thick with dog-roses and jessamine. After meandering through these beautiful glens the streams either lose themselves in sedgy morasses in the hollows of the hills, or finding their way to the brink of the tableland they tumble over the edge in roaring cataracts and clouds of glittering spray to swell

The land of  
the Todas.

<sup>1</sup> Captain Henry Harkness, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills* (London, 1832), pp. 6 sqq., 12 sqq., 16 sqq.; Lieut.-Colonel

W. E. Marshall, *Travels amongst the Todas* (London, 1873), pp. 45, 58; W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 18 sqq., 586, 693 sqq.

the rivers that sweep round the base of the mountains thousands of feet below. But in all this lovely land it is the prospect from the sharp edge of the tableland which travellers dwell upon with the most rapturous delight. The scene is perhaps most impressive early in the day, when the white sea of morning clouds at the feet of the spectator gradually opens up and rolls away like a curtain with the growing heat of the sun, revealing in its gaps now a vast crimson plain veined with dark lines of wood, now a long rocky ridge gleaming like fire in the sunlight, till a purple cloud-shadow blots it out and a fresh line of crags and ravines starts into view beyond. Jagged peaks hung with woods frame the nearer landscape and in the distance faint blue mountains melt like dreams into the azure of the sky. Under the shifting lights and shadows of the morning sun struggling with mist and cloud the scene is a phantasmagoria, a perfect dissolving view, all the colours glowing with gem-like radiance in the intense tropical sunshine and the keen thin mountain air.<sup>1</sup>

Prospect from the edge of the tableland.

In this happy and peaceful land, remote from the turbulence of the busy world, enjoying an equable, temperate, and highly salubrious climate within a few degrees of the equator, the Todas live in little villages dotted about the grassy hills and valleys where their herds of buffaloes crop the herbage. Generally a village nestles in a beautiful wooded hollow near a running stream. It is composed of a few huts surrounded by a wall with two or three narrow openings in it wide enough to admit a man but not a buffalo. The huts are of a peculiar construction. Imagine a great barrel split lengthwise and half of it set lengthwise with the cut edges resting on the ground, and you will get a fair idea of a Toda hut. The half-barrel forms the rounded thatched roof and long rounded sides of the dwelling, and juts for some feet, like the eaves of our houses, beyond the short upright wall that closes the end of the barrel in which is the door. Near the village is commonly a dairy with a

The villages of the Todas.

<sup>1</sup> Captain H. Harkness, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 1-6, 45, 60 sq., 151 sq.; Lieut.-Colonel W. E. Marshall, *Travels*

*amongst the Todas*, pp. 52-57; J. W. Breeks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris* (London, 1873), pp. 2 sq.; W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 4 sqq.

pen for the buffaloes at night and a smaller pen for the calves.<sup>1</sup>

The daily life of the Todas.

The sacred buffaloes, sacred dairies, and sacred dairymen.

Rules of life observed by a sacred dairyman.

The Toda religion of the dairy.

The daily life of the Toda men is spent chiefly in tending the buffaloes and in doing the work of the dairy. The milking of the cows and the churning of the butter fall mainly to the younger men and boys, though the elder men also bear a hand in these honourable labours. Women are entirely excluded from the work of the dairy; they may neither milk the cows nor churn the butter. Besides the common buffaloes there are sacred buffaloes with their own sacred dairies, where the sacred milk is churned by sacred dairymen. These hallowed dairies are the temples and the holy dairymen are the priests, almost the gods, of the simple pastoral folk. The dairyman leads a dedicated life aloof from the vulgar herd. His walk and conversation are regulated by stringent rules. If he is married he must leave his wife and not go near her or visit his home during the term of his incumbency, however many years it may last. No person may so much as touch him without reducing his holiness to the level of a common man. He may not cross a river by a bridge but must wade through the water at the ford, and only certain fords may be used by him. If a death occurs in the clan he may not attend the funeral unless he resigns his sacred office. However, there are different degrees of sanctity among the sacred dairymen. Some are diviner than others and have to submit in virtue of their superior divinity to a severer code of burdensome restrictions. In short, the greater part of the religious ritual of the Todas turns upon what seem to us the commonplace operations of milking cows and churning butter. These are the things which absorb most of the life and thoughts of this bucolic folk. To their simple minds the most sacred things in the wide world are the bells which they hang upon the necks of their buffaloes. These priceless treasures they guard with religious care in the holy dairies and daily feed them with curds and milk.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 23 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 31, 38 sqq., 49 sqq., 56 sqq., 61 sqq., 66 sqq., 71 sqq., 83 sqq., 98 sqq.,

131, 144 sqq., 424 sqq., 566 sq., etc.; Captain H. Harkness, *Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 11 sqq., 62 sqq.; F. Metz, *The*

The Todas have the institution of exogamy without the institution of totemism. The whole tribe is divided into two endogamous groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. Regular marriage is not allowed between these groups, though irregular unions are permitted: a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of exogamous clans; no man or woman may marry a woman of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. But while marriage is prohibited between members of the same clan, it would seem that sexual intercourse is not prohibited and indeed commonly takes place between them. In a certain religious ceremony preliminary to the entrance of a dairyman of the highest class into his sacred office a special part has to be taken by a woman who possesses the qualification of never having had carnal intercourse with a man of her own clan, and it is said to be far from easy to find such a woman.<sup>1</sup> Descent is reckoned in the male line; in other words, children belong to the clan of their father, not to the clan of their mother. The clan system is territorial, not totemic; each clan owns a number of villages and takes its name from the chief of them. Generally the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. These villages are not all occupied at the same time. The people move about from one to another as the seasons change or the pastures in the neighbourhood begin to fail.<sup>2</sup> A man's proper wife, the

Endo-  
gamous  
and exo-  
gamous  
divisions of  
the Todas.

*Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 17, 19 *sqq.*; Lieut.-Colonel W. E. Marshall, *Travels amongst the Todas*, pp. 128 *sqq.*, 135 *sqq.*, 141 *sqq.*, 146 *sqq.*, 153 *sqq.*; J. W. Brecks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, pp. 8 *sq.*, 13 *sq.*, 16. The dairyman of the highest and most sacred grade bears the title of *palol* or *palal*. The ceremonies of his ordination are elaborate, and it is on him that the restrictions mentioned in the text are specially obligatory. To the rule of celibacy observed by this sacred dairyman (*palol*) there is a remarkable exception. If he has held

office for eighteen years without a break, he must have intercourse with a girl or young woman of the Tartharol division. They meet in a wood by day, the girl being adorned in all her finery; and after the meeting the dairyman must remain naked in the wood till sunset. See W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 98-105, 153-165.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 505 *sq.*, 530.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 34, 36 *sq.*, 123 *sqq.*, 504 *sq.*, 540 *sq.*, 546. As to the migrations of the Todas from village to village see also Captain H. Harkness, *op. cit.* pp. 12 *sq.*

Cousin-  
marriages  
among the  
Todas.

woman whom he ought to marry, is his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. But he is forbidden to marry his other first cousins, the daughters of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. These latter cousins he includes under the general term *püliol*, which he applies to all the relatives with whom by the custom of the tribe he is prohibited from contracting marriage.<sup>1</sup>

Polyandry  
among the  
Todas ;  
the poly-  
androus  
husbands  
are  
generally  
own  
brothers.

The Todas have a completely organised and definite system of polyandry, and in the vast majority of polyandrous marriages the husbands are own brothers. Indeed, when a woman marries, it is understood that she becomes the wife of his brothers at the same time. If the husband is a boy and his wife a girl, any brother born after the marriage will in like manner be deemed to share in his older brother's marital rights. When the joint husbands are not own brothers, they may either live with the wife in one family, or they may dwell in different villages. In the latter case the usual custom is for the wife to reside with each husband in turn for a month ; but there is no hard and fast rule in the matter. When the joint husbands are own brothers they live together in amity ; in such a family quarrels are said to be unknown. The Todas scout as ridiculous the idea that there should ever be disputes or jealousies between the brother-husbands. When a child is born in a family of this sort, all the brothers are equally regarded as its fathers ; though if a man be asked the name of his father, he will generally mention one man of the group, probably the most prominent or important of them. But if they should be all dead but one, he will always call that one his father.<sup>2</sup> When the joint husbands are not brothers, they arrange among themselves who is to be the putative father of each child as it is born,<sup>3</sup> and the chosen one accepts the responsibility by performing a certain ceremony called *pursütpimi*, "bow (and arrow) we touch," because it consists in the husband formally presenting his wife with a little imitation bow and arrow. The ceremony takes place about the seventh month of the

Ceremony  
observed in  
the seventh  
month of  
a woman's  
first preg-  
nancy: the  
giving of  
the bow  
and arrow.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 502, 509, 512. As to these cousin-marriages see above, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 515-518.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 517.

woman's pregnancy and begins on the evening before the day of the new moon. Husband and wife repair to a wood, where he cuts a niche in a tree and places a lighted lamp in the niche. The two then search the wood till they find the wood called *puv* (*Sophora glauca*) and the grass called *nark* (*Andropogon schoenanthus*). A bow is made from the wood by stripping off the bark and stretching it across the bent stick so as to form the bowstring. The grass is fitted to the little bow to stand for an arrow. Husband and wife then return to the tree. The relatives of the pair also gather at the spot and the husband and wife salute them in the formal Toda fashion by bowing and raising the feet of the honoured persons to their foreheads. The wife then sits down under the tree in front of the lamp, which glimmers in the gloaming or the dark from its niche, on a level with her eyes as she is seated on the ground. The husband next gives her the bow and arrow, and she asks him what they are called. He mentions the name of the bow and arrow, which differs for each clan. Question and answer are repeated thrice. On receiving the bow and arrow the woman raises them to her forehead, and then holding them in her right hand she gazes steadily at the burning lamp for an hour or until the light flickers and goes out. The man afterwards lights a fire under the tree and cooks jaggery and rice in a new pot. When the food is ready, husband and wife partake of it together. Meantime, while he has been cooking, the wife has tied up certain foods in a bundle and deposited it under the tree. Afterwards the relatives return from the village and all pass the night in the wood, the relatives keeping a little way off from the married pair. When the day breaks, the day of the new moon, they all return to the village to feast.<sup>1</sup>

This remarkable ceremony is always performed in or about the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy, whether her husbands are brothers or not. It only takes place at a subsequent pregnancy when the family wish for

On the performance of this ceremony depends the social

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 319-321. Compare Mr. Metz's briefer account of the ceremony as reported by Lieut.-Colonel W. E. Marshall, *Travels amongst the Todas*, pp. 214 sq. Dr.

Rivers does not tell us what is finally done with the bow and arrow. Mr. Metz says that the wife deposits them at the foot of the tree.

recognition  
of the  
fatherhood  
of the  
child.

The  
observance  
is perhaps a  
ceremony  
of marriage  
and of im-  
pregnation  
in one.

any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. When the joint husbands are brothers, it is the eldest brother who gives the little bow and arrow. The fatherhood of the child, or rather the social recognition of it, depends entirely on the performance of this ceremony, so much so that he who gives the bow and arrow is counted the father of the child even if he be known to have had no former connection with the woman; and on the other hand if no living man has performed the ceremony, the child will be fathered on a dead man. An indelible disgrace attaches to a child for whom the ceremony has not been performed.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the meaning of these curious observances Dr. Rivers remarks that since they are only observed at a woman's first pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood of a child, "it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage ceremonies which have been postponed till shortly before the birth of the first child, or, what is more probable, pregnancy ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have acquired social significance and have come to resemble marriage ceremonies."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the observance in question is an old rite of marriage and impregnation in one. We have seen that some Australian tribes regard the acceptance of food from a man by a woman not only as a marriage ceremony but also as the actual cause of conception.<sup>3</sup> Now in the Toda custom husband and wife partake of a meal together under a tree, which clearly plays an important, though obscure, part in the ceremony. In this connection we should remember that trees are often supposed to possess the power of getting women with child.<sup>4</sup> The burning lamp in the tree, which the woman gazes steadily at for some time after receiving the bow and arrow, must also be endowed, to the thinking of the Todas, with some mysterious significance; and here again it deserves to be borne in mind that sparks of fire as well as trees have been thought by some peoples to be able to impregnate the women on whom they fall.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 322, 516, 517 sq., 531.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 322 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 577 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 192 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> See my *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, pp. 218 sqq., and below, pp. 259-262.

The belief in the fertilising power both of trees and of fire is retained to this day among South Slavonian peasantry, whose superstitions are redolent of the most remote antiquity. Amongst them, we are informed, "the barren woman is pitied and despised. Her position in her husband's home becomes more and more untenable. The husband tries in company with his wife to remedy the evil by means of magic. The following two charms rest on the old belief in the tree-soul which dwells in the tree in the form of a wood-worm. The wife takes a wooden vessel full of water and stands under a beam or rafter, where dust drops from the worm-eaten wood. Her husband strikes the beam or rafter with something heavy and shakes the worm-worn dust out of it. If the woman is lucky enough to catch even a pinch of the worm-worn dust, she drinks it up with the water. Many women seek for a worm in the knots of a hazel-bush, and if they find one they eat it. A spark of fire has also similar power to impregnate a woman. The woman holds a wooden vessel full of water beside the fire on the hearth. The husband meantime knocks two fire-brands together so that the sparks fly out. When some sparks fall into the vessel, the woman drinks the water out of it. Many barren women also repair to a grave, in which a pregnant woman is buried, bite grass from the grave, invoke the deceased by name, and beg her to bestow the fruit of her body upon them. After that they take a little earth from the grave and carry it constantly about with them under their girdle."<sup>1</sup>

These practices seem plainly to imply a belief that women can be got with child directly by a tree-soul, a spark of fire, or the spirit of a dead child, without the need of intercourse with the other sex. Such a belief is identical in principle with that which we have found to be held by the tribes of Central and Northern Australia and by the Melanesians of the Banks' Islands.<sup>2</sup> Those who are familiar

The South Slavonians believe that tree-spirits, sparks of fire, and the dead can get women with child.

The beliefs of the South Slavonians as to conception without sexual intercourse tally with those of the Central Australians.

<sup>1</sup> F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven* (Vienna, 1885), pp. 530 sq. As to the power of fire to impregnate women Miss Mabel Peacock wrote to me from Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire, 30th October 1905: "Not long ago I was told of a

Lincolnshire saying that if a woman's apron is burnt above the knee by a spark or red-hot cinder flying out of a fire she will become a mother."

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. pp. 188 sqq., 536 sqq., 576 sqq.; vol. ii. pp. 84 sq., 89 sqq.

with the tenacity of life possessed by superstition will not wonder at finding one of the crudest and most primitive of its manifestations still held and put in practice by European peasants. The simple truth appears to be that the physiological facts on which conception and child-birth depend are not yet clearly understood by a large part of mankind, who still imagine, like the Australian savages, that women can be impregnated by quite other means than those which nature has ordained. The same belief is still clearly indicated in many popular customs, for examples of which we need not go outside of Europe. Often the original intention of these customs is forgotten, but sometimes it is remembered. As instances we may take the common practice of strewing corn, rice, beans, peas and so forth on a bride, and another common practice of placing a male child in her lap.<sup>1</sup> Both these customs are not unfrequently observed with the avowed intention of fertilising the woman. Thus at wedding feasts in Bohemia and Silesia "peas or groats are thrown on the bridal pair in order that they may be fruitful; and as many grains as remain lying on the bride's dress, so many children will she have."<sup>2</sup> Again, at an Esthonian wedding an infant boy is placed in the bride's lap as she sits at table, and the people believe that she will bear all the more male children for having observed this custom.<sup>3</sup> Again, at Mostar in Herzegovina, as soon as a bride enters her husband's house she goes straight to the hearth, sits down beside it on a bag of fruits, and stirs the fire thrice. While she does this, they bring her a small boy and set him in her lap. She turns him thrice round, "in

Similar beliefs are indicated by certain popular customs at marriage, such as strewing the bride with corn or placing a child in her lap.

<sup>1</sup> For the practice of strewing corn, rice, etc., on a bride or both on the bride and bridegroom, see W. Mannhardt, "Kind und Korn," *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strasburg, 1884), pp. 354 sqq.; L. v. Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Ehsten* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 112-122. The practice in question is rightly interpreted by both these writers as a fertilisation ceremony. For the custom of placing a male child in the bride's lap, see L. v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* pp. 123-127, who has correctly explained this custom also.

<sup>2</sup> W. Mannhardt, "Kind und Korn," *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten* (St. Petersburg, 1854), p. 38. Compare J. B. Holzmayer, "Osiliana," *Verhandlungen der gelehrten Gesellschaft zu Dorpat*, vii. Heft 2 (1872) p. 91; F. J. Wiedemann, *Aus dem inneren und äussern Leben der Ehsten* (St. Petersburg, 1876), p. 318.

order that she may bring male children into the world.”<sup>1</sup> In this interesting ceremony we see clearly combined the fertilising virtue of the fruits upon which the bride sits, of the fire which she stirs, and of the male child who is placed on her lap. Such marriage rites are doubtless very ancient, far older than the marriage ceremony which is performed over the couple by the priest or clergyman in a Christian church. Similarly in the ancient Indian law-books it is prescribed that after a bride has entered her husband's house and a ceremony of placing wood on the fire has been observed, husband and wife should sit down on a red bull's hide, and he should set in her lap the son of a wife who has only sons and whose children are alive, and should at the same time speak these words, “May a male embryo enter thy womb, as an arrow the quiver; may a man be born here, a son after ten months.”<sup>2</sup> While he recited these words, as a charm avowedly intended to ensure the birth of a son, the husband fastened to his wife an arrow which had been steeped in sour milk and honey from the thirteenth to the fifteenth day of the month.<sup>3</sup> This ceremony and these words seem to furnish the clue to the Toda ceremony of presenting a pregnant wife with a bow and arrow; they confirm the interpretation of that ceremony as an ancient rite of impregnation, the arrow being regarded as a symbol of the embryo which is discharged into the woman's womb. Further, the notion that the fire has power to impregnate women is brought out very clearly in another ancient Indian ceremony which was performed for the purpose of ensuring the birth of a male child. Fire was made by the friction of two different kinds of wood, one upon another, the upper wood (*Ficus religiosa*) being regarded as a male and the under wood (*Mimosa suma* or *Prosopis spicigera*) as a female. When fire had been thus kindled, sparks from it were thrown into the melted butter of a cow which had a male calf, and

Ancient  
Hindoo  
belief that  
sparks of  
fire can get  
a woman  
with child.

<sup>1</sup> F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven* (Vienna, 1885), p. 430; compare *id.* pp. 428, 447, 448. The South Slavs sometimes strew millet on a bride. See F. S. Krauss, *op. cit.* pp. 445, 448.

<sup>2</sup> *The Grihya-Sutras*, translated by H. Oldenberg, vol. i. pp. 42, 45; vol.

ii. p. 263 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xxix. and xxx.).

<sup>3</sup> *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, translated by Maurice Bloomfield (Oxford, 1897), pp. 97, 356 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xliii.); W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberitual* (Amsterdam, 1900), p. 114.

this butter was pushed up the right nostril of the woman. Moreover, sparks of the fire were put into a honey-drink, which was given to her to quaff. Lastly, the fire was surrounded by the wool of a male animal, and this wool was then tied on the future mother.<sup>1</sup> These ceremonies seem clearly intended to put a male child into the woman's womb by means of the sparks which are struck out by the friction of the two woods. The same idea comes out in another ancient Indian charm spoken by a husband to his wife: "The embryo which the two Asvins produce with their golden kindling-sticks: that embryo we call into thy womb, that thou mayst give birth to it after ten months."<sup>2</sup>

Food eaten  
as a mode  
of im-  
pregnating  
a woman.

Further, it seems probable that, as I have suggested,<sup>3</sup> many of the foods which husband and wife partake of together as a marriage ceremony may have been formerly supposed, as they are still supposed by some Australian tribes, not merely to prepare the woman for conception but actually to impregnate her. To examine the instances of this widespread custom at length would lead me too far. I will cite only one. The Livonians, not content with strewing wheat, barley, oats, peas, and beans on the bride at every door in her new home, used to oblige both bride and bridegroom to eat the testicles of a goat or a bear with the avowed intention of rendering the pair prolific. For the same reason they would not allow any castrated animal to be slaughtered at a wedding feast,<sup>4</sup> no doubt

<sup>1</sup> *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, translated by Maurice Bloomfield (Oxford, 1897), pp. 97, 460 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xlii.); W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual* (Amsterdam, 1900), pp. 115 sq. The idea that in making fire by friction the two fire-sticks represent a male and female in the act of copulation is very widespread among savages. Ample evidence of this will be given in the third edition of *The Golden Bough*, in treating of the Vestal fire-worship. Meantime see E. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*<sup>2</sup> (Gütersloh, 1886), pp. 64 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *The Grihya-Sutras*, translated by H. Oldenberg, vol. ii. p. 199 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxx.).

<sup>3</sup> Above, vol. i. pp. 577 sq.

<sup>4</sup> J. Meletius (Maletius, Maeletius, Menecius), "De Sacrificiis et Idolatria veterum Borussorum, Livonum, aliarumque vicinarum Gentium," in *De Russorum, Muscovitarum et Tartarorum Religione, Sacrificiis, Nuptiarum, Funerum ritu* (Spirae libera civitate, 1582), pp. 261 sq.; *id.* in *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum*, ii. (Riga and Leipsic, 1848), p. 391; *id.* in *Mitteilungen der Litterarischen Gesellschaft Masovia*, viii. (Löten, 1902) p. 192. For many examples of bride and bridegroom eating together as a marriage ceremony, see E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, ii. (London, 1895) pp. 343 sqq. In these ceremonies Mr. Hartland seems to see nothing more

lest by partaking of its flesh the husband should lose his virility.

The attempt to explain the curious custom observed by the Todas in the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy has led me into a digression ; but the digression can hardly be regarded as irrelevant if it helps us to realise better how widely spread and how deeply rooted is that ignorance of the true causes of conception which appears to lie at the root of totemism. We now return to the subject from which we digressed, the polyandry of the Todas.

The custom of polyandry among the Todas is facilitated, if not caused, by a considerable excess of men over women, and that excess has been in turn to a great extent brought about by the practice of killing the female children at birth. It seems clear that female infanticide has always been and still is practised by the Todas, although in recent years under English influence it has become much less frequent. The motive for killing the girls is unknown ; there is little evidence or probability that lack of food and the consequent difficulty in rearing a large family have had anything to do with it, though a Toda has been known to allege poverty as an excuse for the crime. The murder is said to be done not by the parents but by old hags, who choke the infants. We are told that boys are never killed. However, the Todas are taciturn and reserved on the subject, and it is difficult to wring the truth from them.<sup>1</sup> We cannot therefore at present say whether the disproportion between the sexes, produced by female infanticide, has been the principal or only cause of polyandry among the Todas. It is possible that the causes both of their polyandry and of their female infanticide lie deeper down in some dark abyss of superstition, which the plummet of science has not yet sounded nor its lamp illuminated. At the present time the polyandry of the Todas tends to become combined with polygyny ; in

than a covenant or bond of union between the married pair brought about by their sharing the same food. Yet the interpretation of the ceremony as a rite of impregnation might have been suggested to him by the numerous stories, which in the same work he has

collected, of women who were impregnated by eating of certain foods.

<sup>1</sup> Lieut.-Colonel W. E. Marshall, *Travels amongst the Todas*, pp. 194 sqq. ; W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 477-480, 518 sq., 520 sq.

other words men are beginning to have several wives as well as wives to have several husbands. "Two brothers, who in former times would have had one wife between them, may now take two wives, but as a general rule the two men have the two wives in common. In addition polygyny of the more ordinary kind exists among the Todas, and is probably now increasing in frequency, as one of the results of the diminished female infanticide."<sup>1</sup>

Irregular marriages of the Todas. Each man may become the secondary husband of several women, and each woman the secondary wife of several men.

In addition to their regular marriage the Toda practise an irregular, but publicly recognised and lawful, form of marriage which they call *mokhthoditi*. This is a form of group-marriage resembling the group-marriage which prevails among the Dieri and other tribes of Central Australia.<sup>2</sup> In virtue of it a man becomes a secondary husband (*mokhthodvaiol*) to one or more married women with the consent of the woman's primary husband, who receives payment from the man. A woman has been known to have three such secondary husbands in addition to her primary husband or group of husbands. On the man's side the practice of keeping secondary wives is expensive, and this seems commonly to limit their number to two at the most. Such secondary or group marriages are contracted with nearly the same formalities as the ordinary primary marriages. After the ceremony the couple may either live together like man and wife, or the man may only visit the woman from time to time in the house of her primary husband. The latter is the more usual practice. The children which a man may have by a secondary wife are not reckoned to him, but to the primary husband. It is somewhat remarkable that these secondary or group marriages are most commonly contracted between members of the two endogamous Tarthar and Teivali divisions, between whom no ordinary marriage may take place; that is to say, no Tarthar man may marry a Teivali woman, and no Teivali man may marry a Tarthar woman, in the regular way; but he may and generally does so in an irregular but still public and lawful manner. However, a man of one of these two divisions may not perform the bow and arrow ceremony for

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 521.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. pp. 308 *sqq.*, 363 *sqq.*

a pregnant woman of the other division ; and this disability would of itself prevent her children from being fathered upon him.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it appears that every Toda woman may have several secondary husbands as well as a group of primary husbands, and that every Toda man may have several secondary wives besides a single primary one. But this is not all. Among the Todas at the present time the marriage tie has become very loose, and wives are constantly transferred from one husband or group of husbands, to another, the new husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old.<sup>2</sup> Further, it appears that among the Todas adultery is not regarded as a wrong and furnishes no ground for divorce. There exists no word for adultery in the Toda language, and apparently no idea corresponding to it in the Toda mind. Far from its being regarded as immoral, the stigma of immorality seems rather to rest on the man who grudges his wife to another. So churlish a man, the Todas think, cannot after death go straight to heaven ; he must pass through what has been called the Toda hell, but what is more accurately described as a mild variety of Purgatory, in order to purge himself of his guilt, before he reaches the happy land, where there are no pigs and rats to grub up the soil and spoil the country, and where dead people walk about till they have worn down their legs to stumps, when the presiding deity sends them back to be born again with new legs into the world.<sup>3</sup> Such is, apparently, according to Toda ideas, the fate of the man who objects to be a cuckold. So lax, or rather so perverted, according to our ideas, is their standard of morality. And the laxity is said to be as great between the sexes before as after marriage.<sup>4</sup> In short, to quote the words of the latest and most accurate investigator of this peculiar people, in Toda society "there seems to be no doubt that there is little restriction of any kind on sexual intercourse."<sup>5</sup>

Lax morality of the Todas in sexual matters.

Adultery not regarded as an offence.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 526-529.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* pp. 523-525. The name for this custom of transferring wives is *terersthi*.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 397-400, 529 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 531.

<sup>5</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 529.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Todas.

The Todas possess the classificatory system of relationship.<sup>1</sup> They have two well-marked groups of terms expressive of kinship; one set of terms is used in speaking of relatives indirectly, the other is used in addressing them directly. The latter are fewer in number and are employed in a much more general sense. In what follows, the terms applied indirectly will be given first; and the terms of address, where they exist, will be added in brackets.

The classificatory terms for "father."

Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *in (aia)* "father" not only to his real father but to all the men of his father's clan who are of the same generation as his father; hence he gives the name of "father," amongst others, to all his father's brothers. In Toda society this latter extension of the term is very natural, since all of a father's brothers have a right to share his wife and beget children by her, and in such circumstances it must be a particularly wise Toda who knows his own father. Indeed, as we have seen, all the father's brothers are counted the fathers of his children, so that the children naturally bestow the title of father upon them. Further, a man applies the same term *in (aia)* "father" to all the husbands of his mother's sisters, and not merely to the husbands of her real sisters, but to the husbands of her clan sisters, that is, to all the men who are married to women of the same clan and generation as his mother. Reasoning by analogy we might suppose from this that, just as brothers are at present group-husbands, so sisters may once have been group-wives among the Todas, though they are not so now. Such a supposition would at least explain why a son calls the husbands of his mother's sisters his "fathers."

The classificatory terms for "mother."

Further, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *av (ava)* "mother" not only to his real mother but to all the women of his mother's clan who are of the same generation as his mother; hence he gives the name of "mother" amongst others, to all his mother's sisters. This extension of the term "mother" again points

<sup>1</sup> The following account of the Toda system of relationship is derived from Dr. W. H. R. Rivers's description of it in his book *The Todas*, pp. 483-494.

A list of Toda kinship terms had previously been given by Lieut.-Colonel Marshall in his book *Travels amongst the Todas*, pp. 74-77.

to a marriage group in which a number of sisters are married to one or more husbands who hold them and the children in common. Further, a man applies the same term *av* (*ava*) "mother" to all his father's wives other than his real mother, and also to all the wives of his father's brothers. This extension of the term points to a marriage group in which a number of brothers hold their wives and children in common; and such groups, as we have seen, actually exist among the Todas.<sup>1</sup>

Taking the two sets of terms for "father" and "mother" together we infer from them a former system of marriage in which a group of brothers was married to a group of sisters. At the present day only half of this system survives among the Todas; the group of husbands who are brothers is left, but the group of wives who are sisters has disappeared.

In a man's own generation he has different terms for "elder brother" and "younger brother," and again for "elder sister" and "younger sister." Further, he has distinct terms for a brother and sister who are of the same age as himself. An elder brother is *an* (*anna*); a younger brother is *nodrvud* (*enda*); an elder sister is *akkan* (*akka*); a younger sister is *nodrvudkugh* (*enda*); a brother or sister of the same age as the speaker is *egal* (*egala*). Further, a man applies the terms for "brother" and "sister" not only to his blood brothers and sisters, but also to all the men and women of his own clan and generation, calling them "elder brother," "younger brother," "brother of the same age," "elder sister," "younger sister," "sister of the same age" according to their sex and their age in relation to his own. Further, the various terms for "brother" and "sister" are applied to each other by first cousins, the children either of two sisters or of two brothers. But on the other hand they are not applied to each other by first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively; such cousins call each other *matchuni*, and we have seen that they are the proper mates for each other in marriage; a man ought to marry his first cousin, the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. Hence a man applies the same term *mun* (*mama*) to his mother's brother and to his wife's

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 263 sq.

The Toda terms for "father" and "mother" point to the marriage of a group of brothers to a group of sisters. The classificatory terms for "brother" and "sister."

father, because his mother's brother actually is, or should be, his wife's father, since he ought to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his maternal uncle. And for an analogous reason a man applies the same term *mumi* (*mimia*) to his father's sister and to his wife's mother, because his father's sister actually is, or should be, his wife's mother, since he ought to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his father's sister.

The classificatory terms for "son" and "daughter."

In the generation below his own a man applies the same terms *mokh* (*ena*) and *kugh* (*ena*) daughter to his own sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of all the men of his own clan and generation; hence amongst others he applies them to all the sons and daughters of his brothers, and this extension of the terms is very natural in Toda society, where a man's brothers are normally also the husbands of his wife, so that his children and their children may often be indistinguishable. However, in speaking of his brother's children a Toda may, if he pleases, make clear whether he is speaking of the child of an elder or of a younger brother; thus he may say *en nodrvedvain mokh*, "my younger brother's son."

The Toda form of the classificatory system of relationship shews some advance towards a descriptive system.

In this last case, as in some other cases, the Todas occasionally define their relationships to others more exactly than is usual in the classificatory system. Thus they seem to be advancing from a classificatory to a descriptive system of relationship. On this subject Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, to whom we owe the preceding account of the Toda system, observes: "It seemed to me that the Todas afford an interesting example of a people who are beginning to modify the classificatory system of kinship in a direction which distinctly approaches to the descriptive system. The essential features of the system of kinship are those known as classificatory, but the Todas have various means of distinguishing between the near and distant relatives to whom the same kinship term is applied. Two examples of this have already been given; the son of an own sister may be called 'my sister's son,' while the son of a clan sister is called 'our sister's son,' and the own brother of a mother is simply called *mun*, while in the case of a clan brother of the mother, the name of the man is added. Further, a term which is

definitely descriptive may be used in the examples quoted above. The Todas have reached a stage of mental development in which it seems that they are no longer satisfied with the nomenclature of a purely classificatory system, and have begun to make distinctions in their terminology for near and distant relatives."<sup>1</sup>

In Dr. Rivers's opinion the Toda system of relationship is closely akin to that of the Dravidians of Southern India ; in particular he regards it as a simplified form of the Tamil system with many points of identity.<sup>2</sup> A brief account of the Tamil system will be given in the sequel.<sup>3</sup>

The Toda system is akin to the Tamil system.

#### § 4. Totemism in Mysore

In the native Indian state of Mysore there is a large caste of shepherds who take their name of Kurubas from *kuri*, "a sheep," and rank with the Sudras. They are distributed all over the state. Their language is Kannada, but those of them who border on Telugu districts have adopted the Telugu tongue.<sup>4</sup> The caste is divided into more than a hundred exogamous septs or clans which are known in the vernacular as *kulas*. Hardly any one can give a complete list of these clans. It is said that Revanna, the original ancestor of the caste, divided it into as many divisions as there are grains in four *seers* of paddy, and that being unable to find plants and animals enough after which to name them he was obliged to call some of the clans after meaner objects. Many of the names seem, it is said, to be "adopted without any inward significance"; but on the other hand it is well ascertained that the things which give their names to some of the clans are not eaten or otherwise used even now by members of the clans. Such things therefore fall within the definition of a totem.<sup>5</sup> Thus people of the *Adu* or Goat clan (*kula*) abstain from eating or killing the female goat. People of the *Ane* or Elephant clan are said not to ride on elephants but only to use them,

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Kurubas.

Reverence shewn by people for their totems.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 492 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 494.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 330 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> H. Y. Nanjundayya, *The Ethno-*

*graphical Survey of Mysore*, i. (Bangalore, 1906) pp. 1, 3 (Preliminary Issue). See also above, pp. 244 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, i. 5.

if at all, as beasts of burden. Members of the *Anne* clan abstain from eating the kitchen herb (*Celosia albida*) from which they take their name. People of the *Arasina* or Saffron clan formerly refrained from using or touching saffron; but as saffron is a commodity of every-day use they have transferred their respect to Navane grain or *panic* seed (*Panicum*). But still they do not grow saffron. Members of the *Arasu* clan, the meaning of whose name is doubtful, will not cut the banyan tree. Members of the *Atti* or Indian Fig clan will not cut that tree nor eat its fruit. Members of the *Bandi* or Cart clan ought perhaps strictly to abstain from using carts; but that is too much to expect of them, so they satisfy their conscience by not sitting in the cart in which their god is carried. People of the *Basari* or *Ficus infectoria* clan and people of the *Bela* or Wood-apple Tree neither cut nor burn the tree after which they are named. Members of the *Belli* or Silver clan do not use silver toe-rings. Women of the *Balagara* or Glass Bangle clan do not, or at all events should not, use glass bangles but only bangles made of bell-metal. Members of the *Bevu* or Margosa Tree clan worship the tree and will not cut it or burn it nor use its oil for lamps. People of the *Benne* or Butter clan do not use butter. Members of the *Banni* clan will neither cut nor sit in the shade of the *banni*, a prickly tree (*Prosopis spicigera*). Members of the *Chatta* or Bier clan will not carry their dead on biers but only by hand. Women of the *Honnu* or Gold clan will not wear jewels of gold. Members of the *Hurali* or Horse Gram clan do not abstain from gram, because it is deemed a necessary article of food, but they abstain instead from jungle pepper. People of the *Mcnasu* or Pepper clan neither cultivate the pepper creeper nor cut it. Members of the *Nagare* (a kind of tree) clan do not sit under the shade of the tree, much less do they cut or burn the tree. Members of the *Onike* or Pestle clan do not touch a pestle but use a wooden hammer instead of it. In all, no less than one hundred and eleven of these exogamous septs or clans are recorded. Besides those which have been mentioned there are others which take their names respectively from the dog, rabbit or hare, he-goat, she-buffalo,

scorpion, ant, ant-hill, sandalwood tree, peepul tree, tamarind tree, cummin-seed, pumpkin, jessamine, cotton, the sun, moon, night, salt, flint, bell-metal, pearl, conch shell, manure, milk, butter-milk, a drum, cage, reel of thread, arrow, knife, garland, rope, temple, pickaxe, bracelet, fire-brand, toe-ring, bamboo-tube, needle, ring, weaver's shuttle, etc.<sup>1</sup> Members of the same exogamous sept or clan (*kula*) are regarded as brothers and sisters and therefore may not marry each other. Children belong to the clan of their father. A man may not marry his cousin, the daughter of his mother's sister; but he is particularly recommended to marry his cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother. He may marry two sisters, but not simultaneously.<sup>2</sup> A widow is allowed to remarry, but she is forbidden to marry her deceased husband's brother or even any man of his clan.<sup>3</sup>

The Holeyas are an outcast or pariah caste of Mysore, who number about a tenth of the total population of the state. They are employed as agricultural labourers and artisans. They are divided into many exogamous septs or clans (*kulas*), all of which descend in the male line only. The clans take their names from the elephant, buffalo, rabbit, snake, cuckoo, fig-tree, tamarind, beans, plantain, musk, jessamine, a thorny plant (*naggaligaru*), ears of corn, pigeon pea, betel leaf, garland, milk, honey, sun, moon, earth, gold, silver, lightning, ant-hill, burial-ground, temple, sheep-fold, oil-mill, bolt, bag, crowbar, nose-ring, saw, umbrella, etc. When the name of the clan denotes an edible plant, grain, and so forth, the members of the clan abstain from eating the thing from which they take their name. When the thing is a tree, people of the clan shew their reverence for it by not felling it or burning the wood. It is said that when a man of the *Naggaligaru* clan is pierced by a thorn of the plant, he may not pluck it out for himself, but must get a member of another clan to do so for him.<sup>4</sup> A man may not marry his cousin, the daughter of his mother's sister, but he generally marries either his niece,

Cousin marriages.

The Levirate forbidden.

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Holeyas.

Totemic taboos.

Marriage with a niece or a cousin.

<sup>1</sup> *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, i. 28-32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 16.

<sup>4</sup> H. Y. Nanjundayya, *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, ii. (Bangalore, 1906) pp. 1, 5, 19, 22-24 (Preliminary Issue). Compare E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. 343 sq.

the daughter of his elder sister, or his cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. He ought not to marry a niece who is the daughter of his younger sister; but if no other suitable wife is to be found, the objection may be overruled. A man or a man and his brother may marry two sisters simultaneously, but the custom is not recommended.<sup>1</sup> A widow is allowed to marry again, but is forbidden to marry any of her deceased husband's brothers; she may, however, marry one of his cousins. In no case may she marry a man of her father's clan.<sup>2</sup>

The  
Levirate  
forbidden.

The  
Bestha and  
their  
exogamous  
clans.

The Bestha caste is composed of fishermen, lime-burners, palanquin bearers, and cultivators. At the last census (1901) they numbered about 153,000 persons and were scattered all over the State of Mysore. They profess the Hindoo religion and worship the ordinary Hindoo gods.<sup>3</sup> They are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*kula*), some of which bear the following names:—Gold (*chinna*), Silver (*belli*), Sun (*surya*), Moon (*chendra*), Goddess (*devi*), Charioteer (*suta*), Cloud (*mugilu*), Marriage chaplet (*Bhashinga*), Pearl (*muttu*), Precious Stone (*ratna*), Musk (*kasturi*), Coral Bead (*havalala*), and Jessamine (*mallige*). It is said that members of the Silver clan do not wear silver ornaments except at marriage.<sup>4</sup> No man may marry a woman of his own clan or sept (*kula*). Polyandry is unknown, but polygamy is freely practised. The same man may not marry two sisters simultaneously, but the first wife's sister is generally preferred as a second wife. Two brothers may marry two sisters, the elder brother marrying the elder sister and the younger brother marrying the younger sister. A farmer does not give his daughter in marriage to a fisherman; nor does a fisherman give his daughter in marriage to a farmer; and neither a farmer nor a fisherman will contract a marriage with a daughter of a palanquin-bearer. The price of a bride is twelve rupees; for a second marriage she is to be had at half-price. A

Marriage  
with a  
wife's  
sister.

<sup>1</sup> *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, v. (Bangalore, 1901) pp. 1, 10, 11 (Preliminary Issue).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> H. V. Nanjundayya, *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, v. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, v. 2.

widow is allowed to marry her late husband's elder brother, The  
but such marriages are rare.<sup>1</sup> Levirate.

The Komatis, whom we have already met with in the Exogamous  
Madras Presidency,<sup>2</sup> are a trading class of Mysore, ranking and  
high in the scale of castes. They are Hindoos by religion totemic  
and almost as strict as Brahmans in observing rules of clans  
of personal cleanliness and restrictions as to eating and among the  
drinking. Their language is Telugu, but in the Kannada Komatis.  
districts of the state they speak Kannada, and some have  
almost forgotten their mother tongue.<sup>3</sup> They are divided  
into a hundred and one exogamous septs or clans (*gotras*),  
some of which are grouped together in exogamous classes  
or phratries. One such group (class or phratry) comprises  
ten clans, another four; seven groups include three clans  
each; and sixteen groups include two clans each. The  
great majority of the clans are named after plants, grains, Totemic  
fruits, or flowers, and members of the clans abstain, or used taboos.  
to abstain, from eating or otherwise using the thing from  
which they derive their name. However, in many families  
no such taboos are observed. Sometimes, when people  
have forgotten what their original taboo was, they regard  
the pandanus flower as the thing which they may not use.<sup>4</sup>  
Among the plants, fruits, and flowers which give names to  
the exogamous clans (*gotras*) are the flower of the tree  
*Bauhinia purpurca*, the fruit of the tree *Emblica myrabolan*,  
lime fruit, pumpkins, green pulse, red lotus, black lotus,  
white lotus, snake-gourd, the gourd *Momordica*, a bitter  
gourd, black gram, Bengal gram, the kitchen herb *Closia*  
*albida*, plantain fruits, a small kind of castor oil seed,  
pigeon peas, a prickly tree with an edible fruit (*Prosopis*  
*spicigera*), the gigantic swallow-wort (*Calotropis gigantea*),  
the long pepper, the pungent fruit *Photos officinalis*, flax  
(*Linum usitatissimum*), mango, pomegranate, bambo seed,  
Panicum grain, wheat, grapes, guava, dates, the Indian  
fig, sugar-cane, the fragrant grass *Cyperus rotundus*, cuscus  
grass, chrysanthemum, asafoetida, jessamine, Holy Basil,

<sup>1</sup> *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, vi. (Bangalore, 1906) pp. 1, 5, 28 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, 241 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *The Ethnographical Survey of*

<sup>3</sup> H. V. Nanjundayya, *The Ethno-Mysore*, vi. 5 sq.

China rose, fragrant oleander, red watercresses, horse radish, red radish, nutmeg, mustard, the fragrant screw pine, sandalwood, tamarind, and civet. Other objects which give names to clans are curds of the sheep, red ochre, alum, camphor, and white silk. Apparently none of the clans are named after animals.<sup>1</sup> A boy is obliged to marry his cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, however unattractive she may be; and on his side the maternal uncle must give his daughter in marriage to his nephew, the son of his sister, however poor the young man may be. Widows are not allowed to marry again.<sup>2</sup>

Obligation to marry a cousin.

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Bili Magga.

A subdivision of the weaver caste in Mysore is known as Bili Magga ("white loom") from the white muslin and other cloth which they weave. They speak the Kannada language, but their origin is unknown. They are divided into sixty-six exogamous septs or clans (*gotras*), which are distributed into two groups known respectively as the Siva and the Parvati group or as the male and the female group. Each group contains thirty-three clans (*gotras*) with the usual prohibition of marriage between persons bearing the same family name. Most of the clans are named after animals, plants, implements, and so forth; and members of the clans appear to deem it sinful to injure the things whose name they bear. Among the objects which give names to the Bili Magga clans are the buffalo, bull, horse, serpent, squirrel, sparrow, Brahman kite, banni tree, another kind of tree (*Pongamia glabra*), asafoetida, cummin seed, the pandanus flower, jessamine, grass, paddy, broken corn, flour, pepper, butter, milk, saffron, turmeric, sand, field, forest, the sun, white, nest, boulder, cart, pestle, plank, pot, rope, and tank.<sup>3</sup>

Exogamous and totemic clans among the Nayindas.

The Nayindas are a caste in Mysore whose business is that of shaving. But their profession is deemed inauspicious, and people, particularly married women of the upper classes, will not so much as mention the name of the caste. If they must refer to a barber, they call him "one who is not to be thought of," or "one who is not to be named,"

<sup>1</sup> *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, vi. 32-41.

<sup>2</sup> *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, vi. 8, 22. As to the marriage of cousins among the Komatis, see

further above, pp. 225 sq.

<sup>3</sup> H. V. Nanjundayya, *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, viii. (Bangalore, 1907) pp. 1, 8-10 (Preliminary Issue).

especially when they allude to him at night.<sup>1</sup> The caste falls into two main divisions according as the members of it speak the Kannada or the Telugu language. The Telugu-speaking Nayindas are further subdivided into a number of exogamous septs or clans, which are named after animals, plants, flowers, and other objects, with the usual prohibition of killing, cutting, or using them.<sup>2</sup> Thus the *Chitlu* clan is named after a tree, which the members neither cut nor burn. People of the *Gurram* or Horse clan will not ride a horse. The *Jambu* clan takes its name from a kind of reed, which the clanspeople will not cut. The *Kanagula* or *Honge* clan are called after a tree, the *Pongamia glabra*, which they will not cut nor burn nor use the oil of its seed. People of the *Karu* clan will not cut the *karu* tree from which they take their name. Members of the *Mallela* or Jessamine clan and of the *Samanti* or Chrysanthemum clan will not use the jessamine and chrysanthemum flowers respectively. People of the *Navilu* or Peacock clan will not eat peacocks. People of the *Pasupu* or Turmeric clan will not raise crops of turmeric; and people of a clan named *Uttareni* after the *Achryranthes aspera* will neither cut nor touch that plant.<sup>3</sup> In most sections of the caste a widow is allowed to marry again, but she is forbidden to marry her deceased husband's brother, whether younger or elder.<sup>4</sup>

Totemic  
taboos.

The  
Levirate  
forbidden.

### § 5. Totemism in the Bombay Presidency

"In the Bombay Presidency," says Sir Herbert Risley, "the Katkaris of the Konkan will not kill a red-faced monkey, the Vaidus, or herbalists of Poona will not kill a rabbit, and the Vadars whose name is derived from the *Vaa* (*Ficus Indica*), will not fell the Indian fig tree. The totemistic character of the septs which regulate marriage is, however, most pronounced in the Kanara district which borders on the Dravidian tract of the South. The rice-growing caste

Sir Herbert  
Risley on  
totemism  
in the  
Bombay  
Presidency.

<sup>1</sup> H. V. Nanjundayya, *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, xii. (1907) p. 1 (Preliminary Issue).

*Mysore*, xii. 2 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *The Ethnographical Survey of*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 9.

Totemic  
taboos  
among the  
Halvakki  
Vakkal.

of Halvakki Vakkal in Kanara have a number of exogamous septs or *bali* (lit. a creeper) which include the tortoise, the sambar, the monkey, the hog-deer, two sorts of fish, saffron, the acacia and several other trees, and the axe used for felling them. As we find them now, these groups are plainly totemistic. Thus the members of the screw-pine *bali* will neither cut the tree nor pluck its flowers, and those of the *Bargal bali* will not kill or eat the *barga* or mouse-deer. The followers of the *Shirin bali*, named after the *shirkal* tree (*Acacia speciosa*), will not sit in the shade of the tree, and refrain from injuring it in any way. But in Kanara, as in Orissa, there is a tendency to disguise or get rid of these compromising designations as the people who own them rise in the social scale. The Halepaik, once freebooters and now peaceful tappers of toddy trees, are divided into two endogamous groups, one dwelling on the coast and taking its name (*Tengina*) from the cocoanut tree, and the other living in the hills and calling itself *Bainu* after the sago-palm. Each of these again contains a number of exogamous *balis*. The *Tengina* have the wolf, the pig, the porcupine, the root of the pepper plant, turmeric, and the river; to which the *Bainu* add the snake, the sambar, and gold. The members of the *Nāgchamṇa* group will not wear the flower of that name in their hair, nor will the *Kadave bali* kill a *sāmbhar*. Two of the *balis* are called after the low castes Mahār and Hole, and it is curious to find that the other groups, though they will take girls from these *balis*, will not give them their own daughters to wife. Among the Halepaiks, unlike most of the Kanara castes, the *bali* descends through the female line, that is to say, the children belong to the *bali* of the mother, not of the father. Similar groups are found among the Suppalig (musicians), the Ager (salt workers and makers of palm-leaf umbrellas), the Ahir (cowherds), and the Mukur (labourers and makers of shell-lime). Several of these have the elephant for a totem and may not wear ornaments of ivory.”<sup>1</sup>

Exogamous  
clans  
among the  
Halepaik.

Maternal  
descent of  
the clans  
among the  
Halepaik.

*Devaks* or  
sacred  
family  
symbols  
among the  
Marathas.

Again, the Marathas of the Bombay Presidency, who worship the Brahman gods and keep the Brahman festivals, are divided into families, each of which has its *devak* or

<sup>1</sup> Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India* (Calcutta, 1908), pp. 98 sq.

sacred symbol. These symbols appear to have been originally totems; for a man may not marry a woman whose *devak*, reckoned on the male side, is the same as his own. Worship is paid to the *devaks* at marriage and at other important ceremonies. The following is a list of the chief *devaks* :—<sup>1</sup>

The *pāñch pallav* or five leaves of the *Ficus Indica*, *Ficus religiosa*, *Cynodon dactylon*, *Bauhinia racemosa*, and *Syzygium jambolanum* or rather *Eugenia jambolana*.

*Kadamb* (*Nauclea cadamba* or *Anthocephalus cadamba*).

*Umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*).

Lotus (*Nelumbium speciosum*).

Conch shell.

Turmeric tubers.

Gold.

*Ketaki* (*Pandanus odoritissimus*).

*Nāgchampā* (*Mesua ferrea*).

*Rui* (*Calotropis gigantea*).

Peacock's feather.

Lamps (*Chirāks*), 360 in number.

Sword.

Mango-leaf (*Mangifera indica*).

*Ficus religiosa* (singly).

*Bhārdwāj*, feather of a crow pheasant.

Bamboo.

Wreath of Onions.

*Rudrāksh* (*Elaeocarpus ganitrus*).

*Surya-Kānt* (crystal).

*Ficus Indica* (singly).

*Shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*).

Eagle's feathers.

*Garud vel* (?)

*Nirgud* (*Vitex negundo* or *trifoliata*).

*Marvel* (*Andropogon scandens*).

*Aghādā* (*Achyranthes aspera*).

With regard to the worship of these *devaks* or sacred symbols at marriage we are told that after the boy-bridegroom has been rubbed with turmeric and bathed, "next comes the marriage guardian or *devak* worship. A day or two before the marriage a man at the house of the boy and of the girl bathes, and with music and a band of friends

Worship  
of the  
*devaks* at  
marriage.

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. *India, Ethnographic Appendices* (Calcutta, 1903), pp. 94, 99 (from the *Bombay Gazetteer*, by Sir James Campbell).

The correction *Eugenia jambolana* for *Syzygium jambolanum* is due to Mr. Edgar Thurston.

goes to the tree, which is the family guardian, offers sandal, flowers, burnt frankincense, and sweetmeats to it, cuts a branch, lays it in a winnowing fan, and brings it home with music. He takes it to his god-room and worships it alone with his family gods, which are represented by betel nuts in a winnowing fan. Meanwhile five unwidowed girls wash a grindstone or *jātè* and lay sandal, flowers, and sweetmeats before it, and a family washerman worships the stone slab or *pātā*, and a feast to married women and a few friends and relations completes the guardian or *devak* worship.”<sup>1</sup>

### § 6. Totemism in North-West India

Exogamous  
and  
totemic  
clans  
among the  
Agariyas.

In North-West India the Agariyas are a small Dravidian tribe inhabiting the hilly parts of Mirzapur south of the Son. They profess the Hindoo religion and occupy themselves with the smelting and forging of iron, a laborious business which may partly account for their gaunt and worn appearance.<sup>2</sup> The tribe is divided into seven exogamous and totemic clans or septs (*kuris*). Thus the Markam clan take their name from the tortoise, which the members of the clan will neither kill nor eat. The Goirar clan is called after a tree of the same name, which members of the clan will not cut. The Paraswan clan derive their name from the *palasa* tree (*Butea frondosa*), and members of the clan will neither cut the tree nor eat out of platters made from its leaves. The Sanwan clan say that they are called after *san* or hemp, which they will not sow nor use. The Baragwar clan are named after the *bar* tree (*Ficus Indica*); they will not cut or climb the tree, nor will they eat out of its leaves. Banjhakwar, the name of another clan, is said to be a corruption of Bengachwar, from *beng* “a frog,” which the members of the clan will not kill or eat. Members of the Gidhle clan will not kill or even throw stones at a vulture (*gidh*). The only rule of exogamy observed by the Agariyas is that no person may marry within his or her

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. *India, Ethnographic Appendices*, p. 96 (from the *Bombay Gazetteer*, by Sir James Campbell).

<sup>2</sup> W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Calcutta, 1896), i. 1 sq., 8, 12.

clan (*kuri*).<sup>1</sup> When a man dies, his younger, but not his elder, brother has a right to marry the widow; it is only when he has renounced his claim, that she is free to marry another.<sup>2</sup> The Levirate.

The Baiswar are a tribe of doubtful but probably non-Aryan origin in the hill country of Mirzapur. They rank as respectable high caste Hindoos, and are either landholders or tenants with rights of occupancy. The tribe is divided into clans or septs, which are exogamous in theory though apparently not always in practice. Some of the clans are totemic. Thus the Khandit clan takes its name from the sword (*khandā*), which the members hold in great respect. The Bansit clan revere the bamboo (*bans*) and allege that the ancestor of the clan was produced out of it. These are said to be the two original clans, from which the other five are derived.<sup>3</sup> Exogamous and totemic clans among the Baiswar.

The Bhangi are a sweeper tribe or caste of India. At Benares some of them are divided into several exogamous clans (*gotras*), which appear to be totemic. Thus the Kharaha or Hare clan will not eat hares, and the Pattharaha or Stone clan will not take their food out of stone vessels. The Chuhan clan derive their name from the rat (*chuhā*), and the Pathrauta clan from a vegetable called *pathre-ka-sag*.<sup>4</sup> Exogamous clans among the Bhangi.

The Dhangars are a Dravidian tribe allied to the Oraons of Chota Nagpur. They are found in Gorakhpur and the south of Mirzapur, as well as in the Central Provinces. Though nominally Hindoos, they worship none of the regular Hindoo deities.<sup>5</sup> The tribe is divided into at least eight exogamous clans, most or all of which are totemic. Thus Ilha is said to mean a kind of fish, which the members of this clan will not eat; Kajur is the name of a jungle herb, which people of the clan do not use; Tirik is the name of a clan which may be identical with *Tirki*, the name of the Bull clan among the Oraons; in Chota Nagpur members of this clan will not touch any cattle after their eyes are open. The Lakara clan in Mirzapur Exogamous clans among the Dhangars.

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* i. 5.

<sup>3</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* i. 126, 130.

<sup>4</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* i. 272 sq.

<sup>5</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 263 sq., 269. As to the totems of the Dhangars in the Central Provinces, see above, p. 230.

takes its name from the hyaena (*lakar bagha*), which members of the clan will not hunt nor kill. The Bara clan in Mirzapur will not cut the *bar* tree (*Ficus Indica*). The Ekka clan say that their name means "leopard," and accordingly they will not kill leopards. The Tiga clan profess to derive their name from a jungle root, which they will not eat. Lastly, the Khaha clan say that their name means "crow," a bird which they respect and will not injure.<sup>1</sup> The Dhangars observe the custom of the levirate; for when a man dies his younger brother has a right to marry the widow. Only when he gives up his claim to her may she marry another. The property of the first husband passes to the levir, that is, to the brother who has married the widow, but the sons of the levir are not by a legal fiction fathered on his deceased elder brother.<sup>2</sup>

The  
Levirate.

Exogamous  
clans  
among the  
Ghasiyas.

Traditions  
as to the  
origin of  
the totemic  
clans.

The Ghasiyas, a Dravidian tribe in the hill country of Mirzapur, are divided into seven exogamous clans. Khatangiya, the name of one clan, is said to mean "a man who fires a gun"; and members of the clan worship the matchlock. The Sunwan or Sonwan clan, which ranks highest, is said to take its name from gold (*sona*). When any Ghasiya becomes ceremonially impure, one of the Sunwan clan purifies him by sprinkling him with water in which a little bit of gold has been placed. The Janta clan is alleged to take its name from the quern or flour-mill (*janta*); they say they got this name because a woman of the clan was delivered of a child while she sat at the quern. The Bhainsa clan claim descent from a godling called Bhainsasur, whom they worship with the sacrifice of a young pig on the second of the light half of the month Karttik. Simarlokwa, the name of another clan, is said to mean "the people of the cotton tree"; and to explain it they say that once a great cotton tree fell on the clan and crushed them all except one pregnant woman, who escaped and so preserved the clan from extinction. The Khoiya

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, ii. 265; *id.*, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 150 sq. As to the

totemic clans of the Oraons, some of which bear the same names as those of the Dhangars, see below, pp. 287 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 267.

clan derive their name from a wild dog (*koiya*, *Cuon rutilans*), because a member of the clan is said to have been persuaded by a Rajah to eat one of these animals, which the Rajah had killed in hunting. Lastly, the Markam clan take their name from the tortoise, which they worship because a tortoise once carried a member of the clan across a river in flood.<sup>1</sup> Among the Ghasiyas the custom of the levirate prevails with the usual restriction that it is only a younger brother who has the right to marry the widow of his deceased elder brother. There is no pretence of fathering the sons of the levir on his dead brother.<sup>2</sup>

The  
Levirate.

The Kharwars are a tribe of landholders and cultivators in South Mirzapur. Their origin appears to be Dravidian. A portion of the tribe is found in Bengal, where they have preserved their totemic organisation more perfectly than in Mirzapur.<sup>3</sup> North of the River Son in Mirzapur the tribe is divided into four exogamous clans and one endogamous clan. The four exogamous clans are as follows. The Surajbansi claim descent from the sun (*suraj*). The Dualbandhi say that their name comes from *dual*, "a leather belt," because they were once soldiers. The Patbandhi aver that they are so called because they once were very rich and wore silk (*pat*). Lastly, the Benbansi give two explanations of their name. Some of them say it comes from *ben*, "a bamboo," because the clan is descended from a bamboo, and some of its members will not cut bamboos. Others derive the name from a haughty Rajah of the name of Ben. The endogamous clan of the Kharwars bears the name of Khairaha, which they are said to take from the *khair* tree (*Acacia catechu*), because they extract catechu from it. The occupation is deemed disreputable; hence the members of the clan may not marry into the other four clans and are therefore forced to marry among themselves.<sup>4</sup> In regard to the marriage of widows and the levirate the tribe is at present in a state of transi-

Exogamous  
clans  
among the  
Kharwars.

Endogam-  
ous clan  
of the  
Kharwars.

The  
Levirate.

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, ii. 408 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 413.

<sup>3</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* iii. 237 sq.

As to the Kharwars of Bengal, see below, pp. 295 sq.

<sup>4</sup> W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iii. 238 sq.

tion. The more Hindooised Kharwars forbid both, but the more primitive portion of the tribe permits them.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamous  
and  
totemic  
clans  
among the  
Nats.

The Nats are a so-called gypsy tribe of dancers, acrobats, and strumpets, who are found scattered all over the North-Western Provinces of India. The problem of their origin and affinities is very perplexing and its solution very uncertain. Perhaps the term Nat designates an occupation rather than a race, and includes members of different stocks, who have been grouped together only because they pursue the same vagrant life, ministering to the pleasure of idlers by rope-dancing, tumbling, and in other less reputable ways.<sup>2</sup> The Bajaniya Nats of Mirzapur are divided into seven exogamous and totemic clans. The Makriyana take their name from *makri*, "a spider," and no member of the clan will kill the insect. The Gauharna clan derive their name from *goh*, the alligator or lizard of the Ganges, and none of them will harm the reptile. Another clan bears the more ambitious title of Deodinaik or "leader given by God," and the members of this clan are generally the headmen of the tribe. The Bahunaina clan take their name from the fly, which members of the clan will not injure. Members of the Sanpaneriya clan will not kill the snake (*sanp*), from which they derive their name; and members of the Suganaik clan in like manner refuse to harm parrots (*suga*) after which they are called. One clan, the Gagoliya, cannot give any explanation of their name. The rule not to take a wife within the clan is the only prohibition on intermarriage, and it is notorious that the Nats marry very near blood-relations.<sup>3</sup>

Totemic  
taboos.

Marriage  
with blood-  
relations.

It is doubt-  
ful whether  
totemism  
exists in  
the Punjab.

It is not easy to say definitely whether totemism exists in the Punjab. The custom of exogamy is indeed almost universal among the Hindoos there as elsewhere, but there seems to be little or no clear evidence that the exogamous clans or septs (*gots*) are totemic, that is, that they observe certain taboos with regard to plants, animals, or other objects which they deem sacred. On this subject a good

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iii. 242.

<sup>2</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* iv. 56 sq.

<sup>3</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* pp. 61 sq.

authority, Mr. H. A. Rose, observes: "A few instances have apparently survived among the Aroras, and there are possibly stray cases among the Jats of the south-eastern plains, the Gujars, Rajputs, and other castes, even the Khattris, but the evidence is not conclusive, for little but the names remain, the instances of respect paid to the totem itself being few and uncertain. Amongst the Kanets of the Simla hills there are a few *khels* which have originated in some manifestation of divine favour by a tree, which is subsequently worshipped as an ancestor, its name being also adopted as the *khel* name." Examples of such Kanet clans (*khels*) are the Palashi, named after the *palash* tree; the Pajaik clan named after the *paja* tree; and the Kanesh clan named after the *kanash* tree.<sup>1</sup> Other instances of totemic clans in the Punjab are perhaps to be found in the Agarwal group of Banias, who are divided into fourteen exogamous clans (*gots*). Of these clans the Kansal takes its name from a grass (*kans*), and the Bansal takes its name from the bamboo (*bans*), and neither clan may cut or injure the plant after which it is called.<sup>2</sup>

On the subject of exogamy in the Punjab I will quote the observations of a high authority, the late Sir Denzil C. J. Ibbetson: "The tribe as a whole is strictly endogamous; that is to say, no Jat can, in the first instance, marry a Gujar or Ror, or any one but a Jat; and so on. But every tribe is divided into gentes or *gots*; and these gentes are strictly exogamous. The gens is supposed to include all descendants of some common ancestor, wherever they live. . . . Traces of phratries, as Mr. Morgan calls them, are not uncommon. Thus the Mandhar, Kandhar, Bargujar, Sankarwal, and Panihar gentes of Rajputs sprang originally from a common ancestor Lao, and cannot intermarry. So the Deswal, Man, Dalal, and Siwal gentes of Jats, and again the Mual, Sual, and Rekwil gentes of Rajputs, are of common descent, and cannot intermarry.

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Rose, *Census of India*, 1901, vol. xvii. *Punjab, its Feudatories, and the North-West Frontier Province*, Part I. (Simla, 1902), p. 332. As to exogamy, without totemism, in the Punjab, see Mr. H. A. Rose, *op. cit.*

p. 331. Compare (Sir) Denzil C. J. Ibbetson, *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Panipat Tahsil and Karnal Parganah of the Karnal District* (Allahabad, 1883), pp. 77-79.

<sup>2</sup> H. A. Rose, *op. cit.* p. 327.

Mr. H. A. Rose on traces of totemism in the Punjab.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson on exogamy in the Punjab.

The fact that many of the gentes bear the same name in different tribes is explained by the people on the ground that a Bachhas Rajput, for instance, married a Gujar woman, and her offspring were called Gujars, but their descendants formed the Bachhas gens of Gujars. This sort of tradition is found over and over again all over the country; and in view of the almost conclusive proof we possess (too long to detail here) that descent through females was once the rule in India, as it has been probably all over the world, I think it is rash to attribute all such traditions merely to a desire to claim descent from a Rajput ancestor."<sup>1</sup>

### § 7. Totemism in Bengal

Natural  
features of  
Chota  
Nagpur.

In Bengal the district of Chota Nagpur has for ages formed a secure asylum for those aboriginal tribes who have been driven from the lowlands by the tides of invasion that have swept over the plains of the Ganges. It is a high tableland guarded on all sides by precipitous jungle-clad hills and pierced here and there by rugged paths which a handful of resolute men could hold against an army. The first settlers who forced their way up through the dense thickets and steep declivities to the summit must have rejoiced to find themselves at last not so much on the crest of a mountain range as on the edge of a far-spreading land of rolling wooded hills, diversified by fertilising streams and broken here and there by fantastic pinnacles of rock, which in places resemble the vast domes of temples buried in the earth. Here in a genial climate, safe from pursuit, the refugees could draw breath and look down tranquilly on the bustle and tumult of life far off in the plains below. Here, therefore, the rude children of nature could maintain their freedom and preserve their simple habits with but little change from generation to generation.<sup>2</sup> It is accordingly

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) Denzil C. J. Ibbetson, *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Panipat Tahsil and Karnal Parganah of the Karnal District* (Allahabad, 1883), p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Lieut.-Col. E. T. Dalton, "The Kols of Chota-Nagpur," *Transactions*

*of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vi. (1868) pp. 1 sq.; F. B. Bradley-Birt, *Chota Nagpore, a little-known Province of the Empire* (London, 1903), pp. 1 sqq.; W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India* (London, 1907), pp. 7 sq.

among the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur that we find preserved, perhaps more perfectly than elsewhere in India, the ancient systems of totemism and exogamy.

Of these tribes the Oraons, whose name is probably derived from the Dravidian *horo*, "man," appear to be the earliest settlers in the plateau. They are pure-blooded Dravidians, of the darkest brown complexion, approaching to black, with coarse, jet-black hair, which inclines to be frizzly, projecting jaws, thick lips, broad flat noses, and bright full eyes. Their language is Dravidian. They cultivate the soil; indeed, they claim to have introduced the use of the plough into Chota Nagpur instead of the old barbarous mode of tillage, which consists in burning the jungle and sowing a crop of pulse or Indian-corn in the ashes.<sup>1</sup> Their country is the northern and western parts of Chota Nagpur. In these days it presents to view a vast stretch of terraced rice-fields, divided by swelling uplands, some well wooded with groves of mango, tamarind, and various useful or ornamental trees, others still crowned with relics of the primaeval forests, which are preserved with religious care to serve as haunts for the woodland spirits. Huge piles or soaring pinnacles of granite rock add an element of strangeness and romance to the scene. Far off the fair landscape is generally bounded by blue hills.<sup>2</sup>

The Oraons  
and their  
country.

Yet the dwellings of the savages who claim to be the original lords of this fair domain assort but ill with the grandeur of the scenery. Their mud-built huts, incapable of affording decent accommodation to a family, are huddled together in a fashion little conducive to health, convenience, or decorum. Groups of such houses are built in rows of three or four facing each other and forming a small enclosed courtyard, which is seldom properly drained or cleaned. In these hovels human beings and cattle herd together. Only the swine have sties of their own. When the huts are built of the red laterite soil of which the uplands are generally composed, they are as durable as if constructed of

Houses of  
the Oraons.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Ethnographic Glossary* (Calcutta, 1891-1892), ii. 138 sq., 148; W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*,

pp. 76 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872), p. 246.

Bachelors'  
houses  
(*dhum-  
kuria*) in  
Oraon  
villages.

brick and mortar; indeed such walls last indefinitely, provided that they are protected from the drip of the rain by roofs or merely by a slight coping of leaves or straw. In all the older Oraon villages, which adhere to the ancient customs, there is a bachelors' house called a *dhumkuria*, where all the unmarried men and boys must sleep under penalty of a fine. The young unmarried women also sleep apart from the houses of their parents; but where they pass the night is somewhat of a mystery. Colonel Dalton was told that in some villages a separate dormitory, like the dormitory of the bachelors, is provided for them, where they consort together under the charge of an elderly duenna; but he believed the more common practice to be to distribute them among the houses of the widows, and this is what the girls themselves assert, if they answer at all when the question is put to them; but they are reticent on the subject. But however billeted, it is well known that they often find their way to the bachelors' hall, and in some villages actually sleep there. "I not long ago," says Colonel Dalton, "saw a *dhumkuria* in a Sirguja village in which boys and girls all slept every night. They themselves admitted the fact, the elders of the village confirmed it, and appeared to think that there was no impropriety in the arrangement. That it leads to promiscuous intercourse is most indignantly denied, and it may be there is safety in the multitude; but it must sadly blunt all innate feelings of delicacy. Yet the young Oraon girls are modest in demeanour, their manner gentle, language entirely free from obscenity, and whilst hardly ever failing to present their husbands with a pledge of love in due course *after* marriage, instances of illegitimate births are rare, though they often remain unmarried for some years after reaching maturity. Long and strong attachments between young couples are common."<sup>1</sup>

Loose  
relations  
of the sexes  
among the  
Oraons  
before  
marriage.

However, the charitable view which the gallant colonel took of the relations between Oraon maids and bachelors is not shared by other experienced authorities on the Indian people. Thus Sir Herbert Risley observes that among the Oraons "sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognised, and is so generally practised that in the opinion

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 246-248.

of the best observers no Oraon girl is a virgin at the time of her marriage. To call this state of things immoral is to apply a modern conception to primitive habits of life. Within the tribe indeed the idea of sexual morality seems hardly to exist, and the unmarried Oraons are not far removed from the condition of modified promiscuity which prevails among many of the Australian tribes. Provided that the exogamous circle defined by the totem is respected, an unmarried woman may bestow her favours on whom she will. If, however, she becomes pregnant, arrangements are made to get her married without delay, and she is then expected to lead a virtuous life. Prostitution is unknown. Intrigues beyond the limits of the tribe are uncommon, and are punished by summary expulsion."<sup>1</sup>

The Oraons are divided into a great many exogamous and totemic clans. At least, seventy-one such clans are known to exist. They are named after their totems, which are sacred or tabooed to members of their respective clans. The totems are mostly animals or plants, which the clans-people are forbidden to eat. Iron and salt are totems of two clans. The following is the list of totemic clans given by Sir Herbert Risley :—<sup>2</sup>

Exogamous  
and  
totemic  
clans of  
the Oraons.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 141. Sir Herbert Risley's view is accepted by Mr. W. Crooke, who writes of the Oraons: "The youths, like those of the Nagas, are supposed to sleep in a bachelors' hall; but the intercourse of the sexes is practically unrestricted, ante-nuptial connections are the rule rather than the exception, and marriage, as they understand the term, is equivalent to cohabitation" (*Natives of Northern India*, p. 77). On this subject Mr.

E. A. Gait, of the Indian Census, writes to me: "Risley is certainly right about premarital communism amongst the Oraons. I have been told that if an Oraon girl is thought unduly coy all the youths of the village combine against her and get her deflowered by one or more of their number."

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. Appendix, pp. 113 sq.

## ORAON TOTEMS

(Sir Herbert Risley)

Clan.	Totem.	Clan.	Totem.
<i>Amri</i>	rice soup	<i>Khalkhoa</i>	cannot eat fish caught
<i>Bagh</i>	tiger		by baling water out
<i>Bandh</i>			of a tank or pool
<i>Bando</i>	a wild cat which barks	<i>Kheksa</i>	curry vegetable
	at night	<i>Khes</i>	cannot eat plants that
<i>Bakula</i>	paddy-bird		grow in ponds
<i>Bar</i>	<i>Ficus Indica</i>	<i>Khetta</i>	a cobra
<i>Barwa</i>	a wild dog	<i>Khoepa</i>	a wild dog
<i>Basa</i>	a tree	<i>Kinda</i>	a date palm
<i>Bekh</i>	salt	<i>Kispotta</i>	pig's entrails
<i>Beanh</i>	a large fish with thorns	<i>Kosuar</i>	a kind of fish
	on its back	<i>Kujur</i>	a fruit used to stain
			the horns of cattle
<i>Bhakla</i>			at the Sohrai festival
<i>Chigah</i>	a jackal		curry vegetable
<i>Chirra</i>	a squirrel	<i>Kundri</i>	a fish
<i>Chowria Musa</i>	field-rat	<i>Kusuwa</i>	a hyaena
<i>Dhan</i>	rice soup forbidden	<i>Lakra</i>	a kind of fish
<i>Dhechua</i>	kingcrow	<i>Lila</i>	an eel
<i>Dirva</i>	a kind of eel	<i>Linda</i>	iron
<i>Dom Khakha</i>	a raven	<i>Loha</i>	a title
<i>Ekka</i>	tortoise	<i>Mahato</i>	a kind of eel
<i>Ergo</i>	a rat	<i>Minji</i>	a wild creeper
<i>Gari</i>	monkey	<i>Munjniar</i>	cock
<i>Garwe</i>	a stork	<i>Murga</i>	cobra
<i>Gede</i>	a duck	<i>Nagbans</i>	a hawk
<i>Gidhi</i>	a vulture	<i>Orgonra</i>	fruit of kusum tree
<i>Gislihi</i>	a bird	<i>Pusra</i>	a tree
<i>Godo</i>	crocodile	<i>Putri</i>	a fruit or tree
<i>Golala</i>		<i>Rori</i>	a fox
<i>Gondrari</i>	a tree	<i>Runda</i>	fish
<i>Induar</i>	a kind of eel	<i>Sal</i>	
<i>Kachua</i>	tortoise	<i>Sarno</i>	
<i>Kaith</i>	curry vegetable	<i>Suar</i>	hog
<i>Kanda</i>	sweet potato	<i>Tig Hamuman</i>	monkey
<i>Kaua</i>	crow	<i>Tirki</i>	young mice
<i>Kendi</i>	a tree	<i>Tirkuar</i>	fruit
<i>Kenu</i>	a fish	<i>Tirtia</i>	
<i>Keond</i>	a fruit	<i>Tiru</i>	a kind of fish
<i>Kerketa</i>	a bird which makes a	<i>Topoar</i>	a bird with a long tail,
	noise like <i>ket ket</i>		and body mottled
			black and white

A list of twenty-seven Oraon totems is given by the Rev. F. Hahn. It differs in some points from the one given by Sir Herbert Risley, the differences being probably

due to local variations in the totemic system or nomenclature of the tribe. Mr. Hahn's list is as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

### ORAON TOTEMS

(Rev. F. Hahn)

Clans.	Totems.
1. <i>Lakra</i> . . .	tiger ; nothing of a tiger is eaten by the members of this clan (sept).
2. <i>Chigalo</i> . . .	jackal ; nothing of a jackal is eaten by the members of this clan.
3. <i>Kispota</i> . . .	the intestines or stomach of a pig are not eaten by this clan.
4. <i>Kaya</i> . . .	the wild dog ; nothing of him is eaten.
5. <i>Kartu</i> . . .	the black <i>hanuman</i> ape ; not eaten.
6. <i>Tiga</i> . . .	the field mouse ; not eaten.
7. <i>Tirki</i> . . .	young mouse ; not eaten.
8. <i>Orgora</i> . . .	hawk ; not eaten.
9. <i>Gidhi</i> . . .	vulture ; not eaten.
10. <i>Khakha</i> . . .	crow ; not eaten.
11. <i>Chelek Cheta</i>	swallow ; not eaten.
12. <i>Toppo</i> . . .	woodpecker ; not eaten.
13. <i>Kerketta</i> . . .	quail ; not eaten.
14. <i>Dhicua</i> . . .	swallow-tailed bird ; not eaten.
15. <i>Ekka</i> . . .	tortoise ; not eaten.
16. <i>Minj</i> . . .	eel ; not eaten.
17. <i>Kindo</i> . . .	carp fish ; not eaten.
18. <i>Khalkho</i> . . .	shad fish ; not eaten.
19. <i>Kujur</i> . . .	a creeper, from the fruit of which an oil is obtained, which is not used by the Kujur people.
20. <i>Bara</i> . . .	the <i>Ficus Indica</i> ; the fruit is not eaten.
21. <i>Chitkha</i> . . .	the <i>Ficus religiosa</i> ; the fruit is not eaten.
22. <i>Bakhla</i> . . .	tank weed ; the roots may not be eaten by this clan.
23. <i>Khess</i> . . .	paddy. The <i>conjy</i> [?] is not used by this clan unless it is diluted.
24. <i>Madge</i> . . .	mahua ; the flower may not be eaten.
25. <i>Kisskhocol</i> . . .	a thorny tree ; the fruit is forbidden to this clan.
26. <i>Panna</i> . . .	iron ; may never be touched with the tongue or the lips.
27. <i>Bek</i> . . .	salt ; may not be eaten on the tip of the finger.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. F. Hahn, "Some Notes on the Religion and Superstitions of the Orāḍs," *Journal of the Asiatic Society*

of Bengal, lxxii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1904) pp. 18 sq.

Respect  
shown to  
the totems.

From a comparison of the lists we may infer that the *kerketa* and the *topoar* of Sir Herbert Risley's list are the quail and the woodpecker respectively. In regard to the totems generally, Mr. Hahn tells us that they "are held sacred in some way or other," and that the respect shewn to them is regarded as homage paid to ancestors.<sup>1</sup> Hence it would seem that the Oraons, like many other totemic peoples, conceive themselves to be descended from their totems.

Dalton on  
the Oraon  
clans and  
totems.

A few of the Oraon clans and their totems were first recorded by Colonel E. T. Dalton. He tells us that "the *Tirki* have an objection to animals whose eyes are not yet open, and their own offspring are never shewn till they are wide awake. The *Ekhar* will not touch the head of a tortoise. The *Katchoor* object to water in which an elephant has been bathed. The *Amdiar* will not eat the foam of the river. The *Kujrar* will not eat the oil of the *Kujri* tree, or sit in its shade. The *Tiga* will not eat the monkey."<sup>2</sup> In general he observes that "the family or tribal names are usually those of animals or plants, and when this is the case, the flesh of some part of the animal or fruit of the tree is tabooed to the tribe called after it."<sup>3</sup>

The rule of exogamy observed by the Oraons is the

<sup>1</sup> Rev. F. Hahn, "Some Notes on the Religion and Superstitions of the Oraons," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1904), p. 18.

Kols of Chota-Nagpore," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S. vi. (1868) p. 36. In his later work, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 254, Colonel Dalton gives the following list of Oraon clans (or tribes, as he calls them) with their taboos:—

<sup>2</sup> Lieut.-Col. E. T. Dalton, "The

Clans.	Taboos.
<i>Tirki</i>	may not eat <i>tirki</i> , young mice
<i>Ekhar</i>	may not eat head of tortoise
<i>Kirpotas</i>	do not eat the stomach of the pig
<i>Lakrar</i>	may not eat tiger's flesh
<i>Kujrar</i>	may not eat oil from this tree or sit in its shade
<i>Gedhiar</i>	may not eat kite
<i>Khakhar</i>	„ „ crow
<i>Minjar</i>	„ „ eel
<i>Kerketar</i>	„ „ the bird so named
<i>Barar</i>	may not eat from the leaves of the <i>Ficus Indica</i>

<sup>3</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 254.

simple one that a man may not marry a woman of his own clan. There is no objection to a man's marrying a woman of his mother's clan. Children belong to the clan of their father. In addition to the rule of exogamy there seems to be a system of prohibited degrees, though no one can state it clearly. Still every Oraon admits that he may not marry his mother's sister nor his first cousin on the mother's side, though he will probably not be able to say how far these prohibitions extend in the descending line. Again, no man may marry the widow of his younger brother nor his deceased wife's elder sister; but he may marry the widow of his elder brother and his deceased wife's younger sister.<sup>1</sup>

Marriage customs of the Oraons.

The Levirate and marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

Another large Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur who retain totemism and exogamy are the Mundas. Physically they are among the finest of the aboriginal tribes of the plateau. The men are about five feet six in height, their bodies lithe and muscular, their skin of the darkest brown or almost black, their features coarse, with broad flat noses, low foreheads, and thick lips.<sup>2</sup> Thus from the physical point of view the Mundas are pure Dravidians. Yet curiously enough they speak a language which differs radically from the true Dravidian. Together with the languages of the Kherwaris, Kurkus, Kharias, Juangs, Savaras, and Gadabas it forms a separate family of speech, to which the name of Kolarian used to be applied; but modern philologists prefer to name it Munda after its best known representative, the language of the Mundas. This interesting family of language is now known to be akin to the Mon-Khmer languages of Further India as well as to the Nicobarese and the dialects of certain wild tribes of Malacca. It is perhaps the language which has been longest spoken in India, and may well have been universally diffused over the whole of that country as well as over Further India and Malacca before the tide of invasion swept it away from vast areas and left it outstanding only in a few places like islands or solitary towers rising from an ocean of alien tongues.<sup>3</sup> The Mundas are

The Mundas of Chota Nagpur.

The Munda or Kolarian language.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 141. (London, 1903), p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> F. B. Bradley-Birt, *Chota Nagpore, a little-known Province of the Empire* (Oxford, 1909) pp. 382 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, i. (Oxford, 1909) pp. 382 sq.

Exogamous  
and  
totemic  
clans of the  
Mundas.

divided into many exogamous clans (*kilis*), of which no less than three hundred and thirty-nine are enumerated by Sir Herbert Risley. The great majority of them appear to be totemic, deriving their names from animals or plants which the members of the clan are forbidden to eat. Children belong to the clan of their father.<sup>1</sup> Among the totemic animals of the Munda clans are the tiger, leopard, elephant, wolf, jackal, crocodile, a kind of snake, river-snake, cobra, stag, deer, wild cow, horse, monkey, hog, dog, wild dog, cat, rat, mouse, tree-mouse, porcupine, rabbit, squirrel, tortoise, hawk, kite, vulture, quail, parrot, peacock, swan, crow, king-crow, pigeon, cock, fowl, and many other birds, black bee or hornet, fly, red tree-ant, black tree-ant, red flying ant, rice weevil, earth worm, a red worm, leech, eel, water-snake, and fish of various sorts. Among the totemic plants of the clans are rice, fried rice, paddy, yam, plantain, potato, sweet potato, a curry vegetable, areca nut, lotus, various fruits, fig, fig-tree root, *Ficus Indica*, tamarind, kussum-tree, mango, a kind of grass, mushroom, and moss. Among the miscellaneous totems are salt, red earth, ashes, a kind of mud, vermilion, copper, cocoon, horn, bone, clarified butter, honey, new rice soup, full moon, moonlight, rainbow, the month of June, Wednesday, brass bracelet, verandah, umbrella, basket-maker, torch-bearer, and the Rautia caste. The totemic taboos of three clans are respectively not to eat beef, not to wear gold, and not to touch a sword. Members of the clan which has paddy (unhusked rice) for its totem are forbidden to eat rice and rice soup; they eat millet instead. Members of the clan which takes its name from the *udbarn* tree do not use the oil which is extracted from the tree.<sup>2</sup> The Mundas cultivate rice and celebrate festivals at harvest.<sup>3</sup>

Totemic  
taboos.

The Hos  
or Larka  
Kols.

Another large non-Aryan tribe which is divided into exogamous clans are the Hos or Larka Kols. As they are

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Dalton, "The Kols of Chota-Nagpore," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S. vi. (1868) pp. 26, 36; *id.*, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 189; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 101 *sq.*, and Appendix,

pp. 102-109.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. Appendix, pp. 102-109.

<sup>3</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 104.

closely akin to the Mundas, they may be noticed here, though Singbhum, the district which they inhabit, does not form part of Chota Nagpur proper, but lies to the south-east of it. The most fertile and highly-cultivated part of this region surrounds the station of Chaibasa, and here are massed about two-thirds of the Hos or Kols. To the south-west, bordering on Chota Nagpur, is a mountainous tract of vast extent sparsely peopled by the wildest of the Kols, whose poor villages nestle in the deep valleys of these rugged highlands. Like their kinsmen the Mundas, the Hos or Kols are classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarians.<sup>1</sup> They are a purely agricultural people, and all their festivals are connected with the cultivation of the ground. They raise three crops of rice in the year, and they also cultivate maize, millet, tobacco, and cotton. Their agricultural implements, which they make themselves, are a wooden plough tipped with iron, a harrow, a large hoe, a sickle, and a battle-axe, which serves more peaceful purposes than the name implies. They plough with cows as well as oxen, but prefer buffaloes to bullocks. The cattle are used only for ploughing ; for the Hos, like many other hill tribes of India, never touch milk.<sup>2</sup> In the most fruitful part of the land the villages are often prettily situated on a hillside looking away over the flat-terraced rice-fields and the rolling uplands. Ancient and noble tamarind trees overshadow the roomy, substantially built houses with their thatched roofs and neat verandahs. The outhouses are so placed as to form with the farm-house itself a square courtyard with a large pigeon house in the middle. Not far off, in the shade of the solemn tamarind trees, are the graves covered with great slabs of stone, on which in the cool of the evening, when their work is done, the elders love to sit and smoke their pipes, gossiping of village affairs and no doubt often recalling the days of their youth and the memory of the rude forefathers who sleep their long sleep under these ponderous stones.<sup>3</sup>

Agriculture  
of the Hos.

Villages of  
the Hos.

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 177 sq. ; (Sir H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 319. As to the Hos and their country, see further F. B. Bradley-Birt, *Chota Nagpore, a little-*

*known Province of the Empire* (London, 1903), pp. 82 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 195, 196 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 189.

High places and sacred groves of the Hos.

Every village has its high place and its sacred grove, where the gods, unseen by mortal eyes and unrepresented by images, receive the offerings of their worshippers. The high place is some mighty mass of virgin rock, to which man has added nothing and from which he has taken nothing away. The sacred grove is a fragment of the primæval forest left standing when the rest of it was felled, lest the sylvan deities, rendered houseless by the woodman's axe, should forsake the land for ever. For ages these venerable trees have been carefully protected, and even now if one of them is destroyed, the gods manifest their displeasure by withholding the rains in their due season. It is to these woodland deities that the husbandman looks for a bounteous harvest; it is to them that he pays his devotions at all the great festivals of the agricultural year.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamous clans of the Hos.

The Hos or Larka Kols are divided into at least forty-six clans or septs, which strictly observe the rule of exogamy, no man being on any account allowed to marry a woman of his own clan. "With this exception" says Sir Herbert Risley, "their views on the subject of prohibited degrees appear to be lax, and I understand that marriages with near relatives on the mother's side are tolerated provided that a man does not marry his aunt, his first cousin, or his niece." The clans of the Hos, like those of the Mundas, are called *kilis*. Among the names of the clans Colonel Dalton found only one which is that of an animal; however, according to Sir Herbert Risley, many of the names appear to be totemic. Six of the clans are identical in name with six clans of the Santals, who are themselves akin to the Hos.<sup>2</sup>

Totemism and exogamy among the Bedias and other tribes of Chota Nagpur.

Another totemic people in Chota Nagpur are the Bedias, a small agricultural tribe of the Dravidian stock. They are divided into nineteen exogamous and totemic clans or septs, and the clan totems include the squirrel, cobra, tortoise, owl, pigeon, and other birds, various kinds of fish, the banyan tree, the *Bassia latifolia*, and the mahua flower.<sup>3</sup> The Bhars, a

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 185-188.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 189; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*,

i. 320, ii. Appendix, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 83, ii. Appendix, p. 8. That the septs or (as I call them) clans of the Bedias are exogamous

small Dravidian caste of Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal, The Bhars. are for the most part cultivators of the soil. They are divided into seven exogamous clans or septs, of which four have for their totems the tortoise, the peacock, the bamboo, and the *bel* fruit. The other three clans (Agni, Brahmarishi, and Rishi) are eponymous, that is, they derive their names from real or mythical ancestors, not from totems.<sup>1</sup> In Chota The Goalas. Nagpur the Goalas, the great pastoral caste of India, are divided into thirty-one exogamous and totemic clans or septs of the type common in that part of the country. Among their clan totems are the tiger, deer, calf, cobra, rat, field-rat, red tree-ant, eel, swan, mango, *Ficus Indica*, *pakar* fruit, lotus, a kind of grain, a grass, and an arrow. One clan, (the Sona) is forbidden to wear gold; another (the Tirki) to touch cattle after their eyes are open.<sup>2</sup> The Kharias, The Kharias. a Dravidian tribe of cultivators in Chota Nagpur, are divided into at least thirty-four exogamous and totemic clans or septs. Among the clan totems are the tiger, elephant, tortoise, cobra, red ant, eel, several kinds of birds and fish, the *Ficus Indica*, paddy, salt, and a rock. The exogamous rule is regularly observed, no man being allowed to marry a woman of his own clan. On the other hand, it is said that the totemic rule to regard the totem as sacred or taboo is not now very generally observed; it must, however, have been at one time in force, for a clan of wild Kharias, whom Mr. Ball met with on the Dalma range in Manbhum, had the sheep for their totem and were not allowed to eat mutton or even to use a woollen rug.<sup>3</sup> The Kharwars, The Kharwars. a Dravidian

is not expressly mentioned by Sir Herbert Risley, but I assume that they and all the other septs enumerated by him in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Ethnographic Glossary*, vol. ii. Appendix I., are in fact exogamous. That they are so appears to be clearly implied by Sir Herbert Risley in his general account of exogamy. See his essay "Primitive Marriage in Bengal," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1886, pp. 75 sqq.; *The People of India*, pp. 154 sq.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 95, ii. Appendix, p. 9. As to eponymous septs or clans,

see *id.* "Primitive Marriage in Bengal," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1886, pp. 81 sq.; *id.*, *The People of India*, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 282, 288, ii. Appendix, pp. 51 sq.

<sup>3</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 466, ii. Appendix, pp. 77 sq. As to the taboo on the sheep and its products, see V. Ball, *Jungle Life in India* (London, 1880), p. 89, "The Keriaks do not eat the flesh of sheep, and may not even use a woollen rug"; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 161.

tribe of cultivators and landholders in Chota Nagpur and Southern Behar, are divided into more than seventy exogamous clans or septs, of which many are totemic. Among the totems of their clans are the tiger, elephant, cobra, cow, tortoise, rat, squirrel, red tree-ant, eel, hawk, swan, duck, hen, a water-fowl and other kinds of birds, *Ficus Indica*, plum, pineapple, various other fruits and grasses, salt, lime, coral, gold, copper, a top-knot, a neck ornament, an arrow, and goldsmith.<sup>1</sup>

The Koras.

The Koras are a Dravidian caste of earth-workers and cultivators in Chota Nagpur, and Western and Central Bengal. Probably they are an offshoot from the Munda tribe. Amongst them, wherever the exogamous clans have been preserved, the rule is that a man may not marry a woman of his own totem, but the mother's totem is not taken into account. Amongst their totems are the bull, pig, tortoise, heron, wild goose and a fish (*sal* or *saula*).<sup>2</sup>

The Koshtas.

The Koshtas are a caste of weavers and cultivators in Chota Nagpur. Some at least of their exogamous clans are totemic, such as the *Baghal* (tiger), *Bhat* (rice), *Chaur* (yak's tail), *Khanda* (sword), *Kurm* (tortoise), *Manik* (gem), and *Nag* (snake). But there is no evidence that the members of the clans pay any respect to the totems whose names they bear. Among the Koshtas a widow is expected to marry her deceased husband's younger brother, if one survives him.<sup>3</sup>

The Kurmis.

The Kurmis are a very large caste of cultivators in Chota Nagpur, Upper India, Behar, and Orissa. Their origin is obscure. In Chota Nagpur and Orissa their exogamous clans number sixty and are purely totemic. The clan totems include the tiger, crocodile, tortoise, buffalo, jackal, snake, rat, cat, spider, kite, wild goose, bamboo, betel palm, fig, *kesar* grass, gold, net, pierced ears, and hunter. One clan (Bansriar) will not play the *bansi* or bamboo flute. Another will not wear silk, and another will not wear shell ornaments.<sup>4</sup>

The Lohars are the blacksmith caste of Chota Nagpur, Behar, and Western Bengal, comprising a large and hetero-

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 472, 474, ii. Appendix, pp. 78 sq.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 506, 507, ii. Appendix, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 513, ii. Appendix, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 528 sqq., ii. Appendix, pp. 87 sq.

geneous aggregate of members of different tribes and castes. In Chota Nagpur the caste is divided into sixty-eight exogamous clans or septs, of which many, if not all, are totemic. Among their clan totems are the tiger, elephant, cobra, snake, tortoise, cow, bullock, wild cat, fox, red tree-ant, eel, hawk, kingcrow, crow, heron, birds of other sorts, bamboo, fig, sweet potato, lotus, grass (*kons*), turmeric, and net. The Tirki clan may not touch any animals after their eyes are open.<sup>1</sup> The Mahili are a caste of labourers, palanquin-bearers, and workers in bamboo, who are found in Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal. They are divided into about thirty exogamous and totemic clans. Some of the totems are the bull, nilgau (a species of antelope), eel, caterpillar, wild goose and other birds, jack-fruit tree, wild fig, and *turu* grass. One clan has ears for its totem, and members of it are forbidden to eat the ear of any animal.<sup>2</sup> The Nagesar are a small Dravidian tribe of cultivators in Chota Nagpur, short, very dark, and ugly. The exogamous clans into which they are divided bear totemic names which occur among the Mundas and many other Dravidian tribes. Among their totems are the bull, the cobra, two kinds of eels, the mango, and the *Ficus Indica*. One of their clans (the Sonwani) is forbidden to wear gold.<sup>3</sup>

Totemism and exogamy among the Lohars, Mahili, and Nagesar of Chota Nagpur.

The Pans are a low caste of weavers, basket-makers, and menials scattered under various names (Chik, Ganda, Pab, Panika, Panwa, Tanti, etc.) throughout the north of Orissa and the southern and western parts of Chota Nagpur. It has been conjectured on very slender grounds that the Pans are descendants of Aryan colonists, who settled of old in Chota Nagpur and were subdued by the Dravidian races of that country. But the numerous totemic clans into which they are divided seem to furnish strong evidence of their Dravidian origin.<sup>4</sup> On this subject Sir Herbert Risley observes: "The caste has a very numerous set of totems,

Totemism and exogamy among the Pans of Orissa and Chota Nagpur.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 22, and Appendix, pp. 94 sq.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 40, and Appendix, pp. 96 sq.; *id.*, *The People of India*, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*

of Bengal, pp. 131-133; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 122, and Appendix, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 155 sq., and Appendix, pp. 36 sq., 115-117; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 325.

comprising the tiger, the buffalo, the monkey, the tortoise, the cobra, the mongoose, the owl, the kingcrow, the peacock, the centipede, various kinds of deer, the wild fig, the wild plum, and a host of others which I am unable to identify. They have in fact substantially the same set of totems as the other Dravidian tribes of that part of the country, and make use of these totems for regulating marriage in precisely the same way. The totem follows the line of male descent. A man may not marry a woman who has the same totem as himself, but the totems of the bride's ancestors are not taken into account, as is the case in the more advanced forms of exogamy. In addition to the prohibition of marrying among totem kin, we find a beginning of the supplementary system of reckoning prohibited degrees. The formula, however, is curiously incomplete. Instead of mentioning both sets of uncles and aunts and barring seven generations, as is usual, the Pans mention only the paternal uncle and exclude only one generation. They are therefore only a stage removed from the primitive state of things when matrimonial relations are regulated by the simple rule of exogamy, and kinship by both parents has not yet come to be recognized."<sup>1</sup> To the Pan or Chik totems enumerated above by Sir Herbert Risley may be added the cat and a small wild cat, the frog, the cow, the rat, the wood-louse, the crab, a red tree-ant, the flying bug, a water-snake, the hawk, the swan, the paddy-bird, the *Ficus Indica*, the tomato, curry vegetable, fork of a tree, *kansi* grass, *Bassia latifolia*, horn, bull's horn, a yak's tail, iron, the moon, and a ship. The members of one clan (*Balbandhiya*) are bound to tie up their hair. The members of another clan (*Dip*) may not eat after lights are lit. The members of another (*Mahabaar*) may not kill or chase the wild boar; and the members of another (*Rikhiasan*) are forbidden to eat beef or pork.<sup>2</sup>

Totemic  
taboos.

Totemism  
and  
exogamy  
among the  
Rautias of  
Chota  
Nagpur.

The Rautias are a caste of landholders and cultivators in Chota Nagpur, who are probably Dravidian by origin, but have been refined in features and complexion by a large infusion of Aryan blood. They are divided into many

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 156.

ii. Appendix, pp. 36 sq., 115-117.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.*

exogamous clans (*paris* or *gots*), of which some are totemic. Such are the clans which take their names respectively from the eel, the tortoise, the snake, the cat, the wild dog, the squirrel, the vulture, the *kasi* grass, the sword, and the axe. The rule that the totem is tabooed to members of the clan appears in the case of the Rautias to apply only to the animal-totems, which may be named, but may not be killed or eaten. On the other hand members of the Sword clan and of the Axe clan are not forbidden to use these weapons, nor is a man of the *kasi* Grass clan prohibited from touching the grass from which his clan is supposed to be descended. The clan, with its totem, is inherited by children from their father. While a man is forbidden to marry a woman of his own totemic clan, he is free to marry a woman of his mother's clan. The simple rule of clan exogamy is accordingly supplemented by a table of prohibited degrees made up, like our own, by enumerating the individual relatives whom a man is forbidden to marry, and not, as is more usual, by prohibiting intermarriage with certain large classes of relations or with the descendants, within certain degrees, of particular relations. It is considered right that a widow should marry her late husband's younger brother. Under no circumstances may she marry his elder brother. Any children she may have by the younger brother are deemed his and not his deceased brother's.<sup>1</sup>

The  
Levirate.

The last totemic people of Chota Nagpur whom we shall notice are the Turis, a non-Aryan caste of cultivators, workers in bamboo, and basket-makers, whose physical type, language, and religion prove that they are a Hindooised offshoot of the Mundas. Their exogamous clans are for the most part totemic and correspond closely to those of the Mundas. They include *Bar* (*Ficus Indica*), *Charhad* (tiger), *Hansda* (wild goose), *Hastadda* (eel), *Induar* (a kind of eel), *Jariar* (lizard), *Kachhua* (tortoise), *Kerketa* (a kind of bird), *Samp* (snake), *Saur* (fish), *Sumat* (deer), *Suren* (a kind of fish), *Tirki* (mouse), and *Toppo* (bird).<sup>2</sup>

Totemism  
and  
exogamy  
among the  
Turis of  
Chota  
Nagpur.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 199, 200, 201, and Appendix, p. 123.

*sq.*, and Appendix, p. 140. As to the *Kerketa*, *Tirki*, and *Toppo* totems, see above, pp. 288, 289, 290, 295.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 333

The  
Santals.

But while the secure tableland of Chota Nagpur is the home of many aboriginal tribes which have retained the ancient social system of totemism and exogamy, it is by no means the only part of Bengal in which totemic peoples are found. Amongst these the best known are the Santals, a large Dravidian tribe of cultivators, who have their nucleus in the Santal Parganas or Santalia, but are also found scattered at intervals over a strip of Bengal which stretches for about three hundred and fifty miles from the Ganges to the Baitarni and is bisected by the meridian of Bhagalpur or 87° East longitude. So far as physical appearance goes, the Santals may be regarded as typical examples of the pure Dravidian stock. Their complexion varies from very dark brown to almost charcoal-like black; the proportions of the nose approach those of the negro; the mouth is large, the lips thick and protruding, the hair coarse, black, and sometimes curly. On the ground of their language, however, the Santals are classed as Kolarians or Mundas.<sup>1</sup> Though they till the soil, their habits are migratory; they do not care to settle for long in one place, but clear fresh patches for cultivation in the woods and so move on. A country denuded of the forest which furnishes them with the hunting grounds they love and the virgin soil they prefer has little attraction for them. When by their own labour the trees have been felled, the jungle cleared, and the land brought under cultivation, they quit it and retire into the backwoods, where their harmonious flutes sound sweeter, their drums find deeper echoes, and their bows and arrows may be used again.<sup>2</sup>

Migratory  
agriculture  
of the  
Santals.

The social  
system of  
the Santals,  
their  
exogamous  
clans and  
subclans.

The social structure of the Santal tribe is very elaborate. It is divided into twelve clans or septs and at least seventy-six subclans or subsepts. Both clans and subclans are exogamous and both appear to be totemic. No man may marry into his own clan (*pari*) or subclan (*khunt*), but he may marry into any other clan, including his mother's; on

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 207; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 224 sq.; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, vol. i. (Oxford, 1909), p. 383. The work of the late

Sir W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*<sup>6</sup> (London, 1872), is in great part devoted to a detailed and sympathetic account of the Santals.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 208 sq.

the other hand he is not allowed to marry into his mother's subclan. Children belong to their father's clan. The twelve exogamous clans are: 1. *Hasdak* (wild goose); 2. *Murmu* (the nilgau or nilgao, a species of antelope, *Portax pictus*); 3. *Kisku*; 4. *Hembrom* (betel palm); 5. *Marndi* (grass); 6. *Saren* (the constellation Pleiades); 7. *Tudu*; 8. *Baske*; 9. *Besra* (hawk); 10. *Pauria* (pigeon); 11. *Chore* (lizard), and 12. *Bedea* or *Bediya* (sheep?). The *Pauria* (pigeon) and the *Chore* (lizard) clans are said to have been so called because on a famous hunting party conducted by the tribe members of these clans failed to kill anything but pigeons and lizards respectively. Members of the *Murmu* (antelope) clan may not kill the species of antelope (*Portax pictus*) from which they take their name nor may they touch its flesh.<sup>1</sup> Among the subclans or subsepts (*khunts*) into which the Santal clans (*paris*) are divided we may note *Kahu* (crow), *Kara* (buffalo), *Chilbinda* (eagle-slayer), *Roh-Lutur* (ear-pierced), *Dantela* (so called from breeding pigs with very large tusks for sacrifice), *Gua* (areca nut), *Kachua* (tortoise), *Nag* (cobra), *Somal* (deer), *Kekra* (crab), *Roht* (*panjaun* tree), *Boar* (a fish), *Handi* (earthen vessel), *Sikiya* (a chain), *Barchi* (spearmen), *Sankh* (conch shell), *Sidup* or *Siduk* (a bundle of straw), *Agaria* (charcoal-burners), and *Lat* (bake meat in a leaf-platter).<sup>2</sup> Many of the subclans observe certain

Traditional usages of the Santal subclans.

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 212 sq.; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 226-228, and Appendix, pp. 125 sq.; (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural*

*Bengal*,<sup>6</sup> p. 202 (as to exogamy of the clan and paternal descent).

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. Appendix, pp. 125 sq.

Traditional usages of the Santal subclans.

festival and go round asking alms of rice. With the rice they get they make little cakes which they offer to the gods. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Manjhi-Khil* subclan are so called because their ancestor was a *manjhi* or village headman. Like the *Sada-Saren*, they are forbidden to attend when the priest offers up his own blood. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Naiki-Khil* subclan claim descent from a *naiki* or village priest and may not enter a house of which the inmates are ceremonially unclean. They have a sacred grove (*jadhirthan*) of their own apart from the common sacred grove of the village, and they dispense with the services of the priest who serves the rest of the village. Members of the *Saren* clan and of the *Ok* subclan sacrifice a goat or a pig in their houses, and during the ceremony they shut the doors tight and allow no smoke to escape. The word *ok*, which is the name of the subclan, means to suffocate or stifle with smoke. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Mundu* or *Badar* (dense jungle) subclan offer their sacrifices in the jungle, and allow only males to eat of the flesh of the animals which have been slain. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Mal* subclan may not utter the word *mal* when they are engaged in a religious ceremony or sitting to determine tribal questions. Men of the *Saren* clan and the *Jihu* subclan may not kill or eat the *jihu* or babbler bird after which they are called, nor may they wear a particular sort of necklace known as *jihu mala* from the resemblance which it bears to the babbler bird's eggs. The babbler bird is said to have guided the ancestor of the clan to water when he was dying of thirst in the forest. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Sankh* (conch shell) subclan may not wear shell necklaces or ornaments. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Barchir* (spearman) subclan plant a spear in the ground when they are engaged in religious or ceremonial observances.<sup>1</sup>

The Levirate among the Santals.

The Santals think it the right thing for a widow to marry her deceased husband's younger brother, if one survives him, but under no circumstances may she marry his elder brother.<sup>2</sup> An eldest son is always named after his grandfather.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 228.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii.

231.

<sup>3</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 214.

The principal festival of the Santals is the *sohrai* or harvest festival celebrated in the month of Posh (November-December), after the chief rice crop of the year has been got in. Public sacrifices of fowls are offered by the priest in the sacred grove; pigs, goats and fowls are sacrificed by private families, and a general saturnalia of drunkenness and debauchery prevails. Chastity is in abeyance for the time, and all unmarried persons may indulge in promiscuous intercourse. This licence, however, does not extend to adultery, nor does it cover intercourse between persons of the same clan, though even that offence committed during the harvest festival is punished less severely than at other times.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this period of licence may be a temporary revival of old communal rights over women.

Another well-known Dravidian tribe of Bengal among whom totemism combined with exogamy has been discovered are the Khonds, Kondhs, or Kandhs, who inhabit a hilly tract called Kandhmals in Boad, one of the tributary states of Orissa in the extreme south of Bengal. A portion of the tribe is also found in Gumsur, formerly a tributary state, which now forms part of the Ganjam District in Madras. The Khonds of Orissa call themselves Maliah, to distinguish themselves from the Khonds of Gumsur.<sup>2</sup> Their country is wild and mountainous, consisting of a labyrinth of ranges covered with dense forests of *sal* trees. They are a shy and timid folk, who love their wild mountain gorges and the stillness of jungle life, but eschew contact with the lowlanders and flee to the most inaccessible recesses of their rugged highlands at the least alarm. They subsist by hunting and a primitive sort of agriculture, clearing patches of land for cultivation in the forest during the cold weather and firing it in the heat of summer. The seed is sown among the ashes of the burnt forest when the first rains have damped it. After the second year these rude tillers of the soil abandon the land and make a fresh clearing in the woods.<sup>3</sup> The cruel human sacrifices which they used

Sexual licence among the Santals at the harvest festival.

The Khonds and their country.

Migratory agriculture of the Khonds.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 233.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 397; J. E. Friend - Pereira, "Totemism

among the Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxiii. Part

III. (Calcutta, 1905) p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *l.c.*

Human sacrifices to fertilise the fields.

to offer to the Earth Goddess in order to ensure the fertility of their fields have earned for the Khonds an unenviable notoriety among the hill tribes of India. These sacrifices were at last put down by the efforts of British officers.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamous clans (*gochis*) of the Khonds.

The Khonds of Orissa are divided into fifty exogamous septs or clans called *gochis*, each of which bears the name of a village (*muta*) and believes its members to be all descended from a common ancestor. As a rule the clanspeople live together in the village or group of villages from which they take their name. Each clan is further split up into subclans called *klambus*. No man may marry a woman of his own clan even though she may belong to another subclan. Both clan and subclan are inherited by children from their father; no traces of female kinship have been detected among the Khonds, unless the rule which forbids a man to take a wife from his mother's subclan may be regarded as such.<sup>2</sup> The statements of some older writers further point to the practice of totemism among the Khonds. Thus one of them says that many Khond chieftains "lay claim to a fabulous descent, and point to their coat of arms as indicating the animal or object from which their ancestors sprung. The Rajah of Goomsur, for example, had a peacock, another prince a snake, and a third a bamboo tree; and these cognizances are no small source of pride."<sup>3</sup> Again, another writer tells us that "Khond names seem to be universally taken from natural objects, never expressing qualities. Thus, there is the *Meeninga*, or Fish tribe; the *Janinga*, or Crab tribe; the *Pochangia*, or Owl; the *Syalinga*, or Spotted Deer tribe; the *Grango*, or Nilgae";<sup>4</sup> and he further informs us that "marriage can take place only betwixt members of different tribes, and not even with strangers who have been long adopted into or domesticated with a tribe; and a state of war or peace appears to make

Traces of totemism among the Khonds.

<sup>1</sup> See Major-General John Campbell, *Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice* (London, 1864); Major S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India* (London, 1865); *The Golden Bough*,<sup>2</sup> ii. 241-246.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 400 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Major-General J. Campbell, *Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service*, etc., p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Major S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, p. 78.

little difference as to the practice of intermarriage betwixt tribes. The people of Baramootah and of Burra Des in Goomsur have been at war time out of mind, and annually engage in fierce conflicts, but they intermarry every day.”<sup>1</sup>

In recent years these indications of totemism among the Khonds have been confirmed by the researches of Mr. J. E. Friend-Pereira, whose enquiries were prosecuted mainly in the northern section of the tribe, particularly among the group of clans who inhabit the tributary state of Boad or Bod, a part of the tributary state of Daspalla, and the former tributary state of Gumsur, which now belongs to the Ganjam district of Madras. The western part of the country investigated by Mr. Friend-Pereira is a high plateau intersected by the many ramifications of the Ghaut Mountains. Eastward the land opens out into broader and more fertile valleys, till the plateau begins to merge into the plains of Ganjam. On reaching Boad we have passed into the lowlands, though even here hills rise like islands from the alluvial flats. As the country changes, so do its inhabitants. For the Khonds of the western highlands are wilder and more primitive than their brethren of the plains; as a rule they speak no language but their native tongue, they still eat pork and drink strong drink, and their women go about with nothing but a loin-cloth to hide their nakedness. On the other hand the Khonds of the low countries speak the Uriya tongue, have more or less eschewed pork, and in the plains of Boad and Gumsur are hardly distinguishable from the Uriyas in features, language, and mode of life.<sup>2</sup> These two sections of the Khond tribe, the more and the less civilised, are known respectively as the Uriya Khonds and the Mulua or Mal Khonds. The Malua or Mal Khonds, the wilder inhabitants of the highlands, already refuse to intermarry with the Uriya Khonds of the plains, whom they despise as degenerate for having abandoned many of their old native customs and assimilated themselves to Hindoos. It seems probable that in time a complete

Mr. Friend-Pereira's evidence of totemism among the Khonds.

<sup>1</sup> Major S. C. Macpherson, *Memoirs of Service in India*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, "Totemism

among the Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxiii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1905) pp. 40 sq.

separation will take place between the two branches of the tribe.<sup>1</sup>

The Chota Paju commune of the Khonds with its totems.

Among the Malua or Mal Khonds there exist certain communes or confederacies of clans, of which the largest and most influential is known as the Chota Paju or Chota Padki. It comprises six clans or rather subclans and occupies the centre of the eastern half of the Mal country.<sup>2</sup> The following is Mr. Friend-Pereira's account of the totemic system of the confederacy: "The constitution of Chōtā Pāju confederacy is peculiar. *Chōtā Pāju* or *Chōtā Pādki* means the six *pādu* or countries. There are six territorial areas called *Muthā* (a handful) as follows: Biḍumēḍi and Bākāmēḍi, Gūmālmēḍi and Grāṇḍimēḍi, Saṇḍumēḍi and Dutimēḍi; and each of the pairs forms a sub-commune. In each of the six *muthās* are found families of various stocks with different totems:—as for instance, a dominant stock called *gajēsvar* whose totem is the elephant and whose title is *māliko*; a stock bearing the title of *kunāro* and possessing as their totem *ḍūrā* (a cudgel or heavy stick); a stock styled *bisoi* whose totem I have not been able to discover; a stock surnamed *podān* who are admittedly descended from a *pāno* and who will not touch the *mohri* (clarionet)—an instrument on which *pāno* musicians play at marriage celebrations and other festivities of the Khonds; a stock styled *nāiko* who worship the *pānji* (almanac) as a tutelary deity and who have as their totem *betā* (cane); a stock called *bāgo* or *chita krāṇḍi* (chameleon) who take their title from their totem, the *bāgo*; another *māliko* stock who are supposed to be descended from a *kumhār* (potter) and will not touch the *piṭnā* (potter's hammer) which is their totem; a stock surnamed *behrā* who are also supposed to be descended from another class of *kumhār*—the *khond-kumhār*—whose totem I could not discover; a third stock with the title *māliko* whose tutelary deity is *āti gosāni* (Uriya: *hāthi gosāin*) but whose totem is not very clear; and lastly the servile *Rōpārmēḍi* Khonds who have both the titles *māliko*

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 398. The form Malua is used by Sir H. H. Risley, the form Mal by Mr. J. E. Friend-Pereira, "Totemism among the

Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxiii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1905) pp. 40 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* p. 41.

and *kunāro* and possess as their totem the *ṭimkurī*—a small kettle-drum on an earthenware body which was used in former days to summon clansmen to a gathering. All the members of these various stocks cannot intermarry within the six confederated *nuthās*, and they form an exogamous group in themselves, being considered, by a fiction of course, members of one great brotherhood. This exogamous group of various totem stocks is the *gochi* of Mr. Risley, who was misled into believing that all the members of a *gochi* were of the same blood.”<sup>1</sup> If a member of the Chameleon (*chīṭa krāṇḍī*) clan meets his totemic animal on a journey, he will at once turn back and tell his relations in an awed whisper, “I have seen our god” (*Māi penu meh’lē*). Thereupon the priest of the clan will be sent for to offer a propitiatory sacrifice and to find out why the deity has deigned to appear to the clansman.<sup>2</sup>

Another Khond commune or confederacy bears the name of Tin Pari or Borgocha. The name *Tin Pari* means “the three septs or clans,” though in fact the confederacy comprises three distinct communes, in each of which are found different family stocks. The three dominant septs or clans are the Dela Pari, the Kalea Pari, and the Sidu Pari. In the Khond language *delā* means a twig, and the totem of the Dela Pari clan is the twig of any tree. Hence the members of the clan will never use twigs in constructing a house of wattle and daub, and they will never stay in one of the temporary huts of branches and leaves (*kūriā*) which the people generally set up in the fields for the purpose of watching the crops; for the Dela Pari think that if they slept in such a hut by night they would be carried off by tigers.<sup>3</sup> The Sidu Pari clan takes its name from *sidu*, which in the Khond language means “they are not.” Legend says that the clan formerly dwelt in caves. When strangers approached, the clanspeople disappeared into their caves like rabbits in a warren; hence their name of *sidu*, “they are not.” Be that as it may, the Sidu Pari clan will not enter

The Tin Pari commune of the Khonds with its totems.

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, “Totemism among the Khonds,” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxiii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1905) pp. 43 sq. As

to the *gochi*, see above, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* p. 44.

a cave nor dig a hole such as a well or a tank. But they perform a religious rite, in which a structure like a dolmen figures. Two slabs of stone are planted perpendicularly in the ground, a third rests on the top of them, and the whole represents a cave (*gumpa*), within which the priest offers a sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> The totem of the Kalea Pari clan has not been ascertained, but they have a legend which appears to be a degenerate form of the Swan Maiden or Cupid and Psyche type of story, which elsewhere is associated with totemism. They say that a youth hunting in the forest came on a group of girls bathing in a mountain stream, and that smitten with love of one or more of them he caught up their clothes and disappeared with them into the jungle. The girls belonged to his own exogamous group and therefore could not be his wives. Knowing that the penalty for such an incestuous union was death, he dared not return to his village, so he became a fugitive and a wanderer till at last he made his way to the Tin Pari country, where he founded the Kalea Pari or thief clan. At an annual festival of the clan the priest makes a rude flag by tying a piece of cloth to a pole, which he carries with great solemnity from village to village. All the young men and women of the clan follow in procession, chanting lewd songs as part of the ritual. The flag is then ceremoniously buried in the ground. Yet unchastity or incontinence is said to be strictly tabooed to both men and women of the Kalea Pari clan, who regard it as a sacrilege that would provoke the unappeasable wrath of the deity. Hence the women of the clan enjoy a reputation for immaculate virtue.<sup>2</sup>

Other  
Khond  
communes  
with their  
totems.

In another Khond commune or confederacy called Bengrikiya a dominant stock or clan is the Bheti, who take their name from their totem *bheti*, a rope of twisted straw, which on being lit smoulders long and furnishes fire in the absence of lucifer matches. The use of such ropes is forbidden to members of the clan.<sup>3</sup> Two other communes

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, "Totemism among the Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxiii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1905) p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* p. 45. As to the Swan Maiden or Cupid and

Psyche tale in connection with totemism, see above, pp. 205 *sq.* We shall meet with such tales again in West Africa.

<sup>3</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* pp. 46, 47.

or confederacies bear each the name of Ath Kombo, and each is divided into four sub-communes, of which each in turn contains many totem clans. Of these clans a large one takes its name from its totem, the *hānsāri* or mallard duck, and is said to have sprung from an egg of that bird.<sup>1</sup> Another confederacy, which bears the name of Tin Kombo, includes totemic clans which have for their respective totems, among other things, the lac insect, the she-bear, the fruit of the *sal* tree (*Shorea robusta*), the tender shoots of bamboos, the tree (*Butea frondosa*) on which lac is generally cultivated, the horn of an animal, and a woman's loin-cloth.<sup>2</sup> As specimens of the totems found among the wilder Khonds of the west and in Gumsur are recorded *pānā* (frog), *srāsu* (snake), *tīteri* (button quail), *gūnderi* (lesser florican), *dāāk* (crow pheasant), *irpi* (mohul: *Bassia latifolia*), and *sōlā* (grass).<sup>3</sup>

"In the matter of marriage prohibitions," says Mr. Friend-Pereira, "the Khonds appear to have a series of exogamic circles that beginning with the smallest unit—the *gochi* or commune—goes on expanding until it reaches a circumference of truly stupendous magnitude in the totem. The circle of actual prohibition is the commune, for a man may on no account marry within its limits even though it consist of widely different totem stocks. He must always seek for a wife outside the commune, but subject to certain restrictions." Thus he may not marry a woman of another totem stock if she belongs to a commune which is in alliance with his own; he may not marry a woman of another commune, whatever her totem may be, if she is known or supposed to be of the same blood as himself; and lastly he may not marry a woman of any commune, though she may be a perfect stranger to him, if her totem is the same as his. This prohibition of marriage with a woman of the same totem is the most comprehensive of the rules of exogamy among the Khonds.<sup>4</sup>

The Asuras are a small non-Aryan tribe of Lohardaga

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, "Totemism among the Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxiii. Part III. (Calcutta, 1905) p. 48.

p. 49. <sup>3</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.* pp. 50 sq.

Totemism and exogamy among the Asuras.

(Ranchi) and the eastern portion of Sarguja, who live almost entirely by smelting iron. They are divided into thirteen exogamous and totemic clans, namely *Aind* (an eel), *Baroa* (a wild cat), *Basriar* (bamboo), *Beliar* (*bel* fruit), *Kachua* (a tortoise), *Kaithawar* (*kaitha* or *chichinga* fruit), *Kerketa* (a bird), *Mukruar* (a spider), *Nag* (a snake), *Rote* (frog), *Siar* (jackal), *Tirki* (a bird), and *Topo* (a bird). A man may not marry a woman of his own clan nor may he eat, cut, or injure the plant or animal after which his clan is called.<sup>1</sup>

Respect for the totem.

Totemism and exogamy among the Bagdis.

The Bagdis are a caste of cultivators, fishers, and menials of Central and Western Bengal, who appear from their features and complexion to be of Dravidian descent and closely akin to the tribes commonly classed as aboriginal. In the district of Bankura, where the original structure of the caste seems to have been particularly well preserved, the Bagdis are divided into nine endogamous subcastes, which are in turn subdivided into exogamous clans or septs. Many of these clans or septs are totemic, as *Ardi* (fish), *Baghrishi* (tiger), *Kachchap* (tortoise) *Kasbak* (heron), *Pakbasanta* (bird), *Patrishi* (bean), *Ponkrishi* (jungle cock), *Salrishi* or *Salmachh* (the *sal* fish). The totem is tabooed to members of the clan; for example, members of the Heron clan may not kill or eat a heron; and members of the Bean clan may not touch a bean. A man must marry within his subcaste but outside of his totem clan. For example, a man of the Tentulia subcaste must marry a Tentulia woman, but a Tortoise man may not marry a Tortoise woman. Children belong to their father's clan; for example, the children of a Heron man and a Bean woman would be Herons. A widow may marry her late husband's younger brother, but she is not obliged to do so.<sup>2</sup> The rule of clan exogamy is supplemented, as commonly happens, by a table of prohibited degrees. Marriage with any person descended in a direct line from the same parents is forbidden as long as any relationship can be traced. To

Totemic taboos.

The Levirate.

Table of prohibited degrees and formula for reckoning them.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 25, ii. Appendix, p. 2. *India, 1901*, vol. i. India, Part i. pp. 181, 182, 184. As to the Asurs compare W. H. P. Driver, "Notes on some Kolarian Tribes," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lviii. Part i.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 37, 38, 40, ii. Appendix, p. 5; *id.* in *Census of* (Calcutta, 1889) pp. 7-10.

simplify the calculation of collateral relationship the following formula is in use: "Paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, maternal aunt—these four relationships are to be avoided in marriage." Ordinarily the prohibition only extends to three generations in the descending line, including the person under consideration.<sup>1</sup>

The Bhumij are a non-Aryan tribe of Manbhum, Singbhum, and Western Bengal who on grounds of language have been classed as Kolarian. They are without doubt closely allied to, if not identical with the Mundas. Indeed they are apparently nothing but a branch of the Mundas, who have spread eastward, mingled with the Hindoos, and thus for the most part severed their connexion with the parent tribe. The Bhumij of Western Manbhum are certainly pure Mundas. They inhabit a country which is bounded on the west by the edge of the Chota Nagpur plateau and is thickly studded by Mundari graveyards; the present inhabitants call themselves Mundas or, as the name is usually pronounced in Manbhum, Muras; they speak the Mundari language, and they observe all the customs practised by their brethren on the tableland of Chota Nagpur. For example, like the Kolarians generally, they build no temples, but worship the deity in the form of a stone smeared with vermilion in a sacred grove (*sarna*) near the village. The sacred grove always consists of purely jungle trees, such as the *sal*, and can therefore be recognised with certainty as a fragment of the primaeval forest left standing, when the rest was felled, to serve as a last refuge for the old sylvan deities from the woodman's axe. Again, like the Mundas of the tableland, the Bhumij burn their dead and bury the charred bones and ashes under grave-stones, of which some are of enormous size. On certain feast days the simple folk lay small offerings of food under these big stones to regale the dead; and early next morning the victuals are consumed by prowling Hindoos of the baser sort. But to the east of the Ajodhya range all this

The Bhumij, a tribe akin to the Mundas.

Their sacred groves.

Their burial customs.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 38. The same formula, "Paternal uncl, maternal uncl," etc., is in use for the same purpose throughout Behar. In the

original it runs *Chachera, mamera, phuphera, masera, ye char nata bachake shadi hota hai*. See Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, p. 156.

East of the  
Ajothya  
range the  
Bhumij are  
becoming  
assimilated  
to the  
Hindoos.

is changed. Both the Mundari language and the title of Munda have dropped out of use; the aboriginal inhabitants of this eastern tract call themselves Bhumij or Sardar and speak Bengalee. Yet the physical features of the race remain the same; and although they have adopted Hindoo customs and are fast becoming Hindoos, there can be no doubt that they are descendants of the Mundas who settled in the country and received the name of Bhumij from Hindoo immigrants.<sup>1</sup> They now worship the Hindoo gods in addition to their old aboriginal deities; but the tendency now is to keep the latter in the background and to relegate the less formidable of them to the women and children to be worshipped in a hole-and-corner way with the help of a tribal hedge-priest (*Laya*), who is supposed to be specially familiar with their divine tastes and habits. Some of the leading men of the tribe, who call themselves Bhuinhars and possess large landed estates on terms of police service, have set up as Rajputs and keep a low class of Brahmans as their family priests; but they cannot conform with the Rajput rules of intermarriage and they marry within a narrow circle of pseudo-Rajputs like themselves. The rest of the tribe, which at the last census numbered over three hundred and seventy thousand souls, are still divided into a number of exogamous and totemic clans, thus presenting an interesting example of an old non-Aryan tribe which, in the very act of blossoming out into a regular caste in the Brahmanical system, nevertheless preserves the ancient savage institutions of totemism and exogamy. Among the totemic clans of the Bhumij are *Badda Kurkutia* (a kind of worm), *Bhuiya* (a fish), *Gulgu* (another fish), *Hansda* (wild goose), *Hemrong* (betel palm), *Jaru* (a bird), *Kasyab* (tortoise), *Leng* (mushroom), *Nag* (snake), *Obarsari* (a bird), *Salrishi* (*sal* fish), *Sandilya* (a bird), *Tesa* (another bird), *Tumarung* (a pumpkin), and *Tuti* (a sort of vegetable).<sup>2</sup> A man may not marry a woman of his own clan nor a woman who

Totemism  
and  
exogamy  
among the  
Bhumij.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 116-118; *id.* in *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. India, *Ethnographic Appendices*, p. 149. As to the Bhumij, whose name is said to mean "the children of the soil,"

see also E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 173 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *The People of India*, pp. 94 *sq.*; *id.*, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. Appendix, p. 12.

comes within the standard formula for reckoning prohibited degrees, calculated as a rule to the third generation in the descending line, though sometimes it is extended to five. The Bhumij deem it right for a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother or cousin, when that is possible.<sup>1</sup>

Prohibited degrees.

The Levirate.

The Binjhias are a tribe of cultivators and landholders in the south of the Lohardaga (Ranchi) district, in Palamau, and in the tributary states of Gangpur and Sarguja in Bengal, and in Patna of the Central Provinces. The Southern Binjhias speak Uriya among themselves, but use for ordinary purposes the Hindoo jargon current in Chota Nagpur. They are a quiet, unwarlike people with flat faces and black complexions, allied perhaps to the Asuras or Agariyas. They are divided into exogamous and totemic clans which take their names, for example, from the squirrel, the rat, the bull-frog, the tortoise, the crocodile, the serpent, various kinds of fish, the hen, the paddy-bird, the *kasi* grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*), and vermilion (*sindur*). The clan name descends in the male line. The Vermilion clan (*Sinduria*) use vermilion at marriage, but the Bamboo clan (*Bansetti*) will not touch bamboos at a wedding. A man may marry two sisters, provided he marries the elder of the two first, but not otherwise. It is considered right for a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother.<sup>2</sup>

Totemism and exogamy among the Binjhias.

Marriage with two sisters.

The Levirate.

The Doms are a Dravidian caste of menials in Bengal, Behar, and the North-Western Provinces. It has been held that they are the surviving representatives of an older, ruder, and blacker race who preceded the Dravidians in India, some of them being driven by the invaders to take refuge in mountain fastnesses and pestilential jungles, while others, such as the Doms of Kumaon, were reduced to perpetual servitude. They are divided into very many exogamous clans. In Behar these clans seem to be territorial or titular, but in Bankura their names are totemic, and the members of a clan abstain from injuring the animal after which they are named. Among their clan totems are the tortoise, the cobra, the rat, the bull, a fish (*saur*), the *kerketa* bird,

Totemism and exogamy among the Doms.

Respect for the totem.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 122, 123.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 134 sq., ii. Appendix, p. 13.

17  
8  
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and a tree (*mahua*) from the flower of which a wine is made.<sup>1</sup>

Totemism and exogamy among the Gonds, Goraitis, and Juangs.

The Gonds, who have already met us in Central India,<sup>2</sup> are also to be found in Bengal, where they occur in the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur, in the south of Lohardaga (Ranchi), and in Singbhum. Here also they are divided into exogamous and totemic clans which take their names from the tiger, the snake, the tortoise, the buffalo, the horse, the hawk, the goose, several kinds of fish, the sea, iron, a bead, etc.<sup>3</sup> The Goraitis or Koraitis are a non-Aryan caste of musicians, comb-makers, and cotton-carders in the south-west of the Lohardaga (Ranchi) district. They are divided into exogamous and totemic clans, which include, among others, the *Bagh* (tiger), the *Bar* (*Ficus Indica*), *Induar* (a kind of eel), *Khalkho* (a fish), *Kujri* (a fruit from which oil is made), *Sandh* (bullock), *Sontirki* (gold), and *Topoar* (a kind of bird). Members of the *Tirki* clan "cannot eat birds born blind, nor deep-setting eggs."<sup>4</sup> The Juangs are a non-Aryan tribe of Keunjhar and Dhenkanal in Orissa, who on grounds of language have been classed as Kolarian and have been thought to be closely related to the Mundas. They are a primitive folk, who had no knowledge of metals till foreigners came amongst them. Their language contains no word for iron or any other metal. They neither spin nor weave, nor have they ever attained to the art of making the simplest pottery. In their habits they are still seminomadic, for they often shift the sites of their villages and occupy isolated huts in the midst of their patches of cultivation, whilst the crops are on the ground. The agriculture which they practise is of the rudest kind. They destroy the forest trees by fire and sow a little rice, pulse, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and so forth in the ashes. Their huts are tiny, measuring about six feet by eight, and very low, "with doors so small as to preclude the idea of a corpulent householder." But for the boys there is a separate dormitory at

Primitive habits of the Juangs: their shifting cultivation of the ground.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 240, 242; ii. Appendix, p. 44. As to the Doms in North-West India, see W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, ii. 312 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 222 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 292 sq., ii. Appendix, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 297 sq., ii. Appendix, p. 55.

the entrance of the village. This is a building of some pretensions, built on a raised plinth of earth and containing two apartments, an inner and an outer. The boys sleep and the musical instruments of the village are kept in the inner apartment. Guests and travellers are lodged in this building. The tribe is divided into a number of exogamous and totemic clans, which take their names from the tigress, elephant, buffalo, bear, boar, fox, dog, dove, bee, mosquito, paddy, pumpkins, the tobacco flower, various sorts of mushrooms, a palm, the *jari* tree, the *mahua* tree, hailstones, etc. As usual, no man may marry a woman of his own totemic clan. A widow is expected, but not compelled, to marry her deceased husband's younger brother.<sup>1</sup>

Separate dormitories for boys.

The Levirate.

Another primitive and still pagan folk who retain totemism are the Korwas, a Dravidian tribe of Sarguja, Jashpur, and Palamau. They claim to be the aborigines of the country they occupy, which is a land of hill and dale, well-cultivated plains and forest-clad mountains, well suited to the mixed population that inhabits it. The Korwas, a short, dark, hirsute, but strong and active people, exceedingly wild and uncouth in appearance, cling to the highlands, where they lead a savage and almost nomadic life. They live in detached hamlets or solitary huts, sometimes perched on the ledge of mountain precipices in spots which, seen from below, might appear accessible only to birds. The men hunt and the women dig for roots. But they also practise a primitive form of agriculture, clearing away the jungle and tilling the virgin soil for two or three years, then deserting the place as the land becomes exhausted and moving their homesteads further into the depths of the forest. Their principal crop is a kind of pulse called *arhar* (*Cajanus Indicus*). It is reaped in December, and the savages then celebrate their harvest home with extravagant revelry, drunken dances, and unbridled debauchery. They also sow summer rice, vetches, millet, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, yams, and chillis. The hoar frosts, which in the cold weather lie thick and white on the ground almost every morning, forbid the

The Korwas, a primitive Dravidian tribe.

Their rude mode of agriculture and shifting tillage.

Their licentious festivals at harvest.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 350, 352, 353; ii. 152 sqq. Appendix, p. 61; E. T. Dalton,

Totemism  
and  
exogamy  
among the  
Korwas.

growth of winter rice on these high uplands. The claim of the Korwas to be the aboriginal inhabitants of the country is supported by the circumstance that the priests whose duty it is to propitiate the old local deities are always chosen from their tribe.<sup>1</sup> The Korwas are divided into a number of exogamous and totemic clans. Among the totems of the clans are the tiger, the snake, the parrot, the wild goose, the *kerketa* bird, two kinds of eel, a fish, the mango, a jungle fruit, myrabolam, unhusked rice, ploughs, and pestles for pounding grain. To what extent the totems are tabooed to members of their respective clans is uncertain. The general tendency is for such prohibitions to fall into disuse, and the only rule which really holds its ground is the one which forbids marriage between persons whose clan-name is the same.<sup>2</sup>

Totemism  
and  
exogamy  
among the  
Kumhars.

The Kumhars are the potter caste of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. There is a wide difference of opinion among our authorities as to their traditional parentage. As regards exogamy the practice of Kumhars differs greatly in different parts of the country; for example, in Eastern Bengal, where the Mohammedan influence is strong, only one or two clans are known to the caste and marriage within the clan is permitted. On the other hand the Jagannathi Kumhars of Orissa, who hold a fairly high social position in that province, are subdivided into the following exogamous clans:—*Kaundinya* (tiger), *Sarpa* (snake), *Neul* (weazel), *Goru* (cow), *Mudir* (frog), *Bhad-bhadria* (sparrow), and *Kurma* (tortoise). The members of each clan shew their respect for their totemic animal, whose name they bear, by not killing or injuring it and by bowing when they meet it. Moreover, the whole caste abstains from eating, and even goes so far as to worship, the *sal* fish, because the rings on its scales resemble the potter's wheel, the symbol of their craft. The Khatya Kumhars in Orissa have only one clan and are therefore really endogamous, having no other clan to marry into. Their single clan bears the name of the Vedic Rishi *Kasyapa*, and they venerate the tortoise (*kachhap*). This

Respect  
for the  
totem.

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 221 sqq.; (Sir H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of*

Bengal, i. 511-513.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 512, ii. Appendix, p. 83.

lends weight to the plausible conjecture that many of the lower castes in Bengal who are beginning to set up as pure Hindoos have taken advantage of the resemblance in sound between *kachhap* and *kasyap* (*chh* and *s* both becoming *sh* in colloquial Bengalee) to convert a totemic title into an eponymous one, while they went on to appropriate as many of the exogamous Brahmanical clans (*gotras*) as they thought fit.<sup>1</sup> In Lohardaga some of the exogamous Kumhar clans take their names from the elephant, a river-fish, the *Ficus Indica*, and *kansi* grass.<sup>2</sup>

The Mals are a Dravidian caste of cultivators in Western and Central Bengal. Many of them are employed as village watchmen. They profess the Hindoo religion and no vestiges of an older faith can now be traced among them. The most primitive members of the caste are to be found in Bankura, where they are divided into five exogamous clans named after the tortoise, the snake, and various birds. In Midnapur and Manbhum the Mal clans take their names from two sorts of fish and a bird. Among the Mals of Western and Central Bengal the primitive rule of exogamy is in full force, and no man may marry a woman of the same totemic clan as himself. Prohibited degrees are reckoned by the standard formula calculated in the descending line to five generations on the father's and to three on the mother's side.<sup>3</sup> The Mauliks are a Dravidian caste of Manbhum and Western Bengal. They are divided into at least four exogamous clans, all of which are totemic. The totem of one clan is a tree-rat, of a second a rock-snake, of a third another kind of snake, and of the fourth a small red bird with a long tail. No man may marry a woman of his own totemic clan, nor a woman who falls within the usual formula for reckoning prohibited degrees.<sup>4</sup> The Parhaiyas are a small Dravidian tribe of Palamau, divided into nine exogamous and totemic clans with the tiger, the cobra, the vulture, the crow, the grasshopper, the bloodsucker, etc., for their totems.<sup>5</sup> Their features are

Totemism  
and  
exogamy  
among  
the Mals,  
Mauliks,  
and  
Parhaiyas.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 517 sq., 520 sq.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. Appendix, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 45,

47, 49, and Appendix, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 82, and Appendix, p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 164, and Appendix, p. 118.

Turanian, but they speak the Hindoo language and affect Hindoo customs, though they retain practices which genuine Hindoos regard with disgust and abhorrence.<sup>1</sup>

Maternal descent of totem not found in Bengal.

In concluding this survey of totemism and exogamy in Bengal it deserves to be stated expressly that within that province no single case has yet been found of a totemic clan which is inherited in the maternal line. All the totemic peoples of Bengal observe paternal, not maternal, descent of their clans and totems.<sup>2</sup>

### § 8. Totemism and Exogamy in Assam

The Khasis of Assam.

Among the hill tribes of Assam, who have retained many primitive customs and beliefs, the Khasis or Khasias appear to have preserved a totemic system or something closely resembling it.<sup>3</sup> They inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia hills.<sup>4</sup> The origin and affinities of the Khasis are still uncertain, but it has been proved that their language is closely akin to the Mon-Khmer, Palaung, and Wa languages in Burma and the Malay Peninsula. This raises a presumption that the Khasis are of the same stock as the tribes who speak these tongues.<sup>5</sup> They have strongly marked Mongolian features, namely oblique eyes, a broad bridgeless nose, high cheek bones, a short head, and little or no beard. In person they are short and stumpy, but sturdily built, especially about the calves of the legs. Even the women can carry heavy loads which natives of the plains could hardly lift. Their disposition is cheerful, and their habits

Their language.

Their Mongolian features.

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, "Primitive Marriage in Bengal," *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1886, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Above (vol. i. pp. 67 *sq.*) I noted what seemed to me at the time when I wrote the passage (1887) a discrepancy between the evidence of Colonel E. T. Dalton and (Sir) H. H. Risley as to the Khasis or Kasias. The apparent discrepancy is explained very simply, as my friend Sir Herbert Risley courteously informed me in a letter (3rd October 1890), by the fact that,

when Col. Dalton wrote, the province of Assam still formed part of Bengal, whereas when Sir Herbert Risley wrote, it had ceased to do so, having been severed in the year 1874 from the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal and formed into a separate Chief-Commissionership. See (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam* (London, 1879), i. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis* (London, 1907), pp. 1 *sq.*, 6 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, pp. 10 *sqq.*

industrious.<sup>1</sup> They subsist chiefly by agriculture and live in villages, the sites of which are seldom changed. They are industrious tillers of the soil and well know the uses of manure. Among the crops which they raise are rice, maize, millet, yams, potatoes, plantains, lemons and oranges.<sup>2</sup> With regard to their social organisation Mr. E. A. Gait writes as follows:—

“The Khasis are subdivided into an immense number of exogamous clans or septs. The theory is that these clans are composed of persons descended from the same female ancestor, and intermarriage between persons of the same clan is strictly forbidden. The meaning of the names used to denote these septs is not always known, but so far as I have been able to get translations, they may be divided into four main classes:—

Mr. E. A. Gait on the exogamous clans of the Khasis.

“(a) *Totemistic*, such as the pumpkin clan, the crab clan, the monkey clan, etc. In these cases it is supposed that the ancestor of the clan came from a pumpkin, crab, or a monkey, and I am informed that the *totem* was formerly *taboo* to the persons designated by it. Nowadays, however, the old traditions are losing their hold upon the people, and the *taboo* is no longer strictly enforced.

Clan names derived from totems.

“(b) *Names indicative of origin*, such as Khar Shilot (people of Sylhet), Khar Akor (‘polite Bengali’), etc. In former days, before the British occupation, raids were constantly being made on the people of the plains, and their women were carried off as slaves. The offspring of these slave women, who were also looked upon as slaves, were known by the name of their mother, which thus became a new clan name. Clans with names denoting this origin are very common throughout the hills, and this no doubt accounts for the deviations from the general Mongolian type of face which are occasionally to be noticed.

Clan names indicative of origin.

“(c) *Nicknames applied to the original ancestor*, such as Balit (white), Dukli (selfish), Klim (adultery), Khrawjli (great abomination), etc.

Nicknames of ancestors.

“(d) *Occupational*, as, for instance, the blacksmith clan, the Bania clan, and a few others.

Names derived from occupations.

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, pp. 26, 33, 39 *sqq.*, 433 *sqq.*

The clans  
divided  
into sub-  
clans.

“Each clan comprises on an average from 100 to 1000 members, the larger ones being again divided into subclans. I have not been able to make out the utility or object of the latter, as the rule of exogamy is invariably applied to the larger or main clan. I may note, however, that the same tendency of the old exogamous groups, to subdivide themselves into new ones, is noticeable amongst many other tribes, *e.g.* the Mikirs, Garos, Lalungs, etc.”<sup>1</sup>

Mother-kin  
among the  
Khasis.

A remarkable feature of the Khasi social system is the prevalence of mother-kin instead of father-kin, which obtains almost universally elsewhere in India. Among the Khasis a woman is always head of the family. So long as a man remains in his mother's house, whether he be married or single, he is earning for her family (*kur*), and his property goes at his death to her or, failing her, to his grandmother. Should both his mother and grandmother be dead, his sisters inherit his property, and next to them his sister's children. Thus in practice, as usually happens under the system of mother-kin, a man is more nearly connected with his sister's children than with his own. His brother's children can never be his heirs, since they belong to a different clan. When a Khasi has left his mother's house and gone to live with his wife in her mother's house, as is the usual custom, then his property descends to his wife and her children, with the exception of his personal ornaments and clothing, which go to his own brothers and sisters. All relationship is reckoned through the woman, not through the man. Children belong to their mother's clan, and even the chief or king (*Siem*) is succeeded by his mother's or his sister's child, not by his own. His own offspring belong to their mother's clan, inherit her property, and bear her family name. There is nothing to shew that among the Khasis this system of mother-kin is derived from polyandry; for polyandry neither exists among them at present nor survives in their traditions.<sup>2</sup>

A man's  
heirs are  
his sister's  
children.

A married  
man lives  
in the  
house of  
his wife's  
mother.

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) pp. 258 sq.; *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. *India, Ethnographic Appendices*, pp. 198 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by

E. A. Gait, vol. i. p. 259; *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. *India, Ethnographic Appendices*, p. 199. As to mother-kin among the Khasis, see fuller details in Major P. R. T. Gurdon's book, *The Khasis*, pp. 62 sqq., 76 sqq., 82 sqq.

The principle of the exogamy of the clan is very strictly observed by the Khasis. "As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would entail the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences. For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit, and would cause excommunication by his kinsfolk and the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would not be allowed a resting-place in the sepulchre of the clan."<sup>1</sup> The crime of marrying within the clan (*kur*) is called *kaba shong sang*; it admits of no expiation.<sup>2</sup>

Exogamy among the Khasis.

To marry within the clan is an inexpiable sin.

With regard to the question whether the Khasi clans are totemic, Major Gurdon observes that some of them bear the names of animals or of trees, such as the *Shrieh* or Monkey clan, the *Tham* or Crab clan, and the *Diengdoh* clan. This last clan takes its name from the *diengdoh* tree, because their first ancestress is said to have kept a huge drove of pigs, which she fed in a large trough hollowed out of a *diengdoh* tree.<sup>3</sup> We also hear of an Oak clan among the Khasis;<sup>4</sup> nor is this unnatural, for there are beautiful oak forests in part of the Khasi country, indeed the oak and the rhododendron are the principal trees in the woods.<sup>5</sup> However, "the members of these clans," says Major Gurdon, "do not apparently regard the animals or natural objects, from which they derive their names, as totems, inasmuch as they do not abstain from killing, eating or utilizing them. The names of these objects are connected generally with some story, concerning the history of the clan, but there is no evidence to show that the clans-folk ever regarded the

Traces of totemism among the Khasis.

Compare (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam* (London, 1879), ii. 217 sq., 219 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *op. cit.* p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *op. cit.* pp. 63-65.

<sup>4</sup> See (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam* (London, 1879), ii. 218: "The Khasias believe in metempsychosis, or the transmigra-

tion of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. . . . There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object of nature, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc. etc., and these names entail certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is forbidden." This passage suggests that among the Khasis the souls of the dead are supposed to transmigrate into their totems.

<sup>5</sup> Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, pp. 7, 8.

above animals or objects as their tribal totems."<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, some of the Khasi clans still observe taboos which may be relics of totemism. Thus the Nongthiang clan may not eat lemons; the Khar-umniud clan must abstain from pork; the royal (*Siem*) family of Cherra may not eat dried fish, and the royal (*Siem*) family of Myllem taboo pumpkins.<sup>2</sup> A further trace of totemism may perhaps be detected in the superstitious objection entertained by some Khasi individuals and families to different kinds of food, which they will not allow to be brought into their houses.<sup>3</sup>

The Garos of Assam.

A tribe of Assam who resemble the Khasis in their combination of exogamy with mother-kin are the Garos. They occupy the extreme north-west portion of the mountainous tract which extends from Cape Negrais to the Brahmaputra. Their ethnical affinities are uncertain. They have no traditions of a migration, and the only peoples with whom they claim kinship are the Bûts and the English.<sup>4</sup> The Garos subsist by a rude form of agriculture, raising crops of maize, rice, cotton, and millet.<sup>5</sup> They are divided into a number of exogamous clans called *maharis*, which Dalton says may be translated "motherhoods." The descent of the Garo, as of the Khasi, clans is in the female line, children belonging to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. A man may not marry a woman of his own clan (*mahari*), but must take his wife from one of the clans with which his family have from time immemorial exclusively allied themselves. Some of the noblest families have only one clan with which, as a rule, they may intermarry.<sup>6</sup> With the Garos, as with the Khasis, the wife is the head of the family and through her all the family property descends. "Among Garo families," says Sir W. W. Hunter, "women enjoy a power and position quite unknown among more civilised tribes

Exogamous clans (*maharis*) with maternal descent among the Garos.

Among the Garos the wife is the head of the family, and all property descends through her.

<sup>1</sup> Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, pp. 65 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *op. cit.* p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> (Colonel Sir Henry) Yule, "Notes on the Kasia Hills and People," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xiii., Part ii. (Calcutta, 1844) p. 623 ;

*id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) p. 295. Compare E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.* pp. 58 sq.

<sup>5</sup> E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 63.

and peoples." "However the contract is entered upon," says Mr. E. A. Gait, "it is agreed that the woman occupies the superior position. The husband enters her mother's family, and the children belong to her clan, and not to that of the father. All property goes through the woman, and males are incapable of inheriting in their own right." A remarkable custom observed by them is that a man who marries the favourite or, according to another account, the youngest daughter of a household has to marry his mother-in-law in the event of the death of his father-in-law, and through her he succeeds to all the property, which thus descends in the female line. It is consequently not uncommon to see a young Garo introducing as his wife a woman who is old enough to be his mother, and who is in point of fact his mother-in-law and sometimes his aunt to boot. Sons inherit nothing from their parents, and have to look to the family into which they marry for their establishment in life. A young husband takes up his abode with his wife in the house of her parents. "It would certainly appear," says Colonel Dalton, "from the social customs of the Garos that their great lawgiver must have been a female. The men do much of the heavy work and all the fighting, and are so far not deprived of their natural obligations as the stronger animal, but in other respects they are dependent on the females."<sup>1</sup> As a consequence, perhaps, of the social superiority of women among the Garos it is regularly the girl, not the young man, who makes the proposal of marriage. Indeed it is her duty as well as her privilege to do so. Any infraction of this rule is summarily and severely punished. If it transpires that a youth has so far forgotten the modest reserve natural to his sex as to ask a maiden to marry him, the whole of her clan resents it as a blot on their scutcheon which can only be washed out by pig's blood and copious libations of beer to be paid for by the clan of the abandoned culprit.<sup>2</sup>

Marriage with a mother-in-law.

A man lives with his wife's parents.

It is the woman, not the man, who proposes marriage.

The information at Mr. Gait's disposal did not enable him

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 63; (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam*, ii. 153 sq.; *Census of India, 1891*,

*Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 64.

Indications  
of totemism  
among the  
Garos.

to say whether the exogamous clans (*maharis*) of the Garos are totemic or not,<sup>1</sup> but that they are in fact totemic is rendered probable by the following statement of Sir Herbert Risley, which summarises the evidence for the existence of totemism in Assam. He says: "In Assam the Garos have monkeys, horses, bears, mice, lizards, frogs, crows, pumpkins, and a number of trees among their totems; the Kacharis recognize as totems the tree snail, the *muga* insect, the sesamum plant, the *kumru* or giant gourd, and the tiger. Members of the tiger sept have to throw away their earthenware utensils by way of atonement when a tiger is killed. The louse and the buffalo are the only animal totems on record among the Khasi; the Kuki have the dog; the Lalung eggs, fish, and pumpkins; the Mikir totems appear to be mainly vegetable. Our information, however, on totemism in Assam is extremely scanty, and the subject requires further investigation."<sup>2</sup>

Exogamy  
and  
traces of  
totemism  
among the  
Lalungs.

The Lalungs are a tribe of Assam whose members are found chiefly in Nowgong and the two adjacent districts, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Kamrup. In regard to their social organisation Mr. E. A. Gait tells us that "the Lalungs are divided into a large number of exogamous groups or *phoids*, which again are subdivided into smaller groups. It is difficult to get at the meaning and origin of the terms used to designate these groups. Amongst those recognised I find the 'bamboo,' the 'hill peak,' and 'salt' in use as clan names. The explanation given in these cases, which is probably merely a guess, is that the founder was born on a hill, in a salt-box, etc. The only undoubted case of totemism which I have found is that of the *khara sali* or white pumpkin clan, who will neither eat, grow, nor even touch the gourd after which they are named. Another clan is named after the *mali* fish, and another is said to be descended from two girls who had offended Mahadeo, and were in punishment converted into Lalungs.

The White  
Pumpkin  
clan.

"The usual custom in regard to marriage is for the parents of the girl to find a husband for her and take him to

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Gait, *l.c.*

<sup>2</sup> Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, p. 101.

their house as a member of their family. The offspring of such a marriage enter the clan of the mother. Sometimes, however, girls are enticed away ; and when this is the case, they enter their husband's clan, together with any children that may be born to them. The husband either pays a sum of money to the girl's parents as compensation for the girl, or else makes over to them the first female child that is born of the marriage. In Kamrup it is reported that children in all cases enter the father's clan, and in the dual practice in vogue amongst the Lalungs of Nowgong it is possible that we witness the process of change from the maternal to the paternal method of reckoning relationship which has already been completed amongst the Lalungs of Kamrup and the Kacharis of the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley but which has not yet commenced amongst the Garos.

Marriage customs of the Lalungs ; apparent transition from maternal to paternal descent.

"In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and the more remote portions of the Nowgong district, the unmarried male Lalungs reside in a common house, or bachelor's *chang*, similar to that found in Garo and Naga villages. In this respect, also, the Lalungs appear to be in an interesting state of transition, as the practice is no longer in vogue in Kamrup and the more accessible portions of Nowgong."<sup>1</sup>

Common houses for unmarried men.

The Native State of Manipur is situated in the eastern portion of Assam, bordering on Upper Burma. It embraces an immense variety of climate and scenery, ranging from lofty mountain peaks to hot swampy valleys. Tea is indigenous to the hills ; india-rubber grows in profusion ; about twenty different species of oak have been observed, and forests of huge teak trees form a natural source of wealth. The lakes and hills abound with wild-fowl and game. The natives call themselves Meitheis. They are a people with Mongoloid features, and speak a language allied to the Tibeto-Burman family of speech. Their affinity with the wild hill tribes such as the Nagas and Kukis seems to be well ascertained, though they have advanced considerably beyond these savages in mental refinement and material

The Meitheis Manipur. Their country.

Their language and ethnical affinities.

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 231.

They are  
Hindoos by  
religion  
and live by  
agriculture.

civilisation. Having adopted the Hindoo religion in the eighteenth century, they now claim to be Hindoos by descent. They subsist chiefly by agriculture; rice is at once their principal crop and their staple article of food. The countless streams which gush from the foot of the mountain ranges fertilise the soil and produce abundant harvests even when in the more open parts of the valleys, away from the hills, the land is parched with drought.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamous  
clans  
among the  
Meitheis.

The Meitheis are divided into seven exogamous clans, which bear the names of Ningthaja, Kumul, Luang, Angom, Moirang, Khabananba, and Chenglei. The vernacular name for such a clan is *salei*. Each clan includes a number of subordinate groups or subclans called *yumnaks*, the number varying from a hundred and fifteen in the Ningthaja or Royal clan to seventeen in the Khabananba. Tradition runs that there were formerly ten clans, but that two or three have become extinct. Each clan has its head (*piba*), who is sometimes called its king (*ningthou*). The general rule that no man may marry a woman of his own clan is supplemented by another which forbids him to take a wife from his mother's clan. Further, certain of the clans are or were formerly forbidden to intermarry. Thus Angoms might not marry Khabananbas, Moirangs, or Luangs; the Luangs might not take their wives from among the Kumuls; and the Moirangs were forbidden to marry both into the Khabananba clan and into one or two families of the Chenglei clan. The family of Moirang Laipham seems to have been prohibited to the Ningthaja clan, but the case is obscure, and the prohibition, if it existed, is the only one which affected the Ningthajas. A widow may remarry, but not with her deceased husband's brother.<sup>2</sup> Children belong to the clan of their father.<sup>3</sup>

Rules of  
inter-  
marriage  
between  
the clans.

The  
Levirate  
forbidden.

Each  
exogamous  
clan has its  
tabooed  
object,  
perhaps a  
totem.

Each exogamous clan of the Meitheis has an object which is tabooed (*namungba*) to it; and the members believe that if they were inadvertently to touch one of these objects,

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 48 sq.; T. C. Hodson, "The Native Tribes of Manipur," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 300; *id.*, *The Meitheis* (London, 1908), pp.

1 sq., 10 sq., 22, 39 sq., 43 sq.

<sup>2</sup> T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, pp. 73-77.

<sup>3</sup> So Mr. T. C. Hodson informs me. The statement is not, I think, made in his book *The Meitheis*.

they would die a mysterious death or suffer from some incurable, incomprehensible disease, pine away, and die. Such tabooed objects may provisionally be called totems. The totem of the Ningthaja clan is a reed ; that of the Moirangs, a buffalo ; that of the Kumuls, a fish.<sup>1</sup> The totems of the four other clans are not recorded. Further, special taboos may be created according to circumstances. Thus, if a man falls from a tree, the elders of his clan may gather round the tree and solemnly declare that it and even all trees of the same sort shall henceforth be taboo (*namungba*) to the clanspeople. This is known, for example, to have happened to a particular mango tree, from which a man fell and was killed. Again, near Imphal, the capital, are two fine peepul trees, between which no man of the Moirang clan would dare to walk, because the bones of Moirang men who perished in a great battle long ago are said to lie beneath them.<sup>2</sup> Further, each clan as a rule worships its eponymous ancestor. For example, the Luang clan worships Luang pokpa, and the Khuman clan worships Khuman pokba. However, the worshipful ancestors of two clans, the Ningthaja and the Angom, appear not to be eponymous ; for the Angom clan worships Purairomba, and the Ningthaja clan worships Pakhangba, otherwise called Nongpok Ningthou, "the King (*ningthou*) of the East." This last worshipful ancestor is believed to appear from time to time to men in the form of a snake.<sup>3</sup> These facts seem to shew that the Meitheis to some extent combine totemism with the worship of ancestors.

Each clan worships its eponymous ancestor.

These are all the indications of totemism combined with exogamy which I have noted in Assam. But on the other hand the custom of exogamy is practised in that country by tribes which do not, or at all events which are not reported, to have totemism besides. Nearly all the hill tribes of Assam, indeed, are divided into exogamous clans. Each clan traces its descent from a common ancestor, and

Exogamy without totemism practised by some tribes of Assam.

<sup>1</sup> T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, p. 118.

*Anthropological Institute*, xxxi, (1901) p. 303 ; *id.*, *The Meitheis*, pp. 118 sq.

<sup>2</sup> T. C. Hodson, "The Native Tribes of Manipur," *Journal of the*

<sup>3</sup> T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, pp. 99 sq.

marriage within the clan is forbidden. In most tribes descent is counted in the paternal line, the children belonging to their father's clan ; but to this rule, as we have seen, there are two notable exceptions in the Garos and Khasis, who practise the system of mother-kin as opposed to father-kin.<sup>1</sup> Among the tribes who are divided into exogamous clans with descent in the paternal line are the Mikirs,<sup>2</sup> the Daflas, who inhabit the hills north of Darrang and Lakhimpur ; the Deori Chutiyas ; and the Naga tribes, such as the Angamis, the Aos, and the Semas.<sup>3</sup> Among the Angamis each village is inhabited by many exogamous clans, between which great rivalry exists. In the old days blood feuds and fights were common between the clans of the same village ; indeed it is said that they were far bitterer than the feuds between the villages. In the village of Kohima, which contains seven clans, each dwelling in its own quarter, a party from another village has been known to massacre all the members they could find of a particular clan, while the members of the other clans stood looking on without making the least effort to stop the slaughter.<sup>4</sup> The institution of large common houses in which the unmarried men pass the night exists among the Naga tribes, for example, among the Aos and the Semas. Such houses are called *morangs* ; they are adorned with the trophies of war and of the chase, particularly with human skulls ; for the Nagas, like the Dyaks of Borneo, used to be passionately addicted to head-hunting. Most of these ghastly trophies they obtained not in fair fight but by treachery, often lurking about a hostile village to decapitate defenceless women and children when they went out to draw water ; for the skulls of these poor wretches entitled their cowardly murderers to all the honours of war.<sup>5</sup>

Feuds between the exogamous clans of the Angamis, a Naga tribe.

Common houses for the unmarried men among the Naga tribes.

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Strack, *The Mikirs*, edited by Sir Charles Lyall (London, 1908), pp. 16, 17, 23 *sqq.* The exogamous clans of the Mikirs are called *kurs*.

<sup>3</sup> *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) pp. 222, 223, 234, 238, 239, 245, 247. The exogamous clans of the

Naga tribes are commonly called *khels*, but the Angamis themselves call them *tepfus* or *tinós* (*op. cit.* p. 238). Mr. Gait here gives a list of thirty-two Angami clans, adding that the list could easily be extended.

<sup>4</sup> *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) pp. 242 *sq.*, 246, 247, 248 *sq.* ;

### § 9. *The Classificatory System of Relationship in India*

From the foregoing survey of totemism in India we gather that this remarkable institution, combined as usual with exogamy, is widespread among the swarthy, almost black aboriginal race called Dravidian, with their squat figures, dark eyes, and broad negro-like noses, who represent the most primitive type of man in India and occupy the oldest geological formation in the country, to wit, the medley of forest-clad ranges, terraced plateaux, and undulating plains which stretches from the Vindhya mountains on the north to Cape Comorin on the south.<sup>1</sup> Indeed the evidence seems to justify us in inferring that at one time or another totemism and exogamy have been practised by all the branches of this numerous and ancient people. Though some of the branches now speak languages, namely the Munda or Kolarian and the Dravidian proper, which differ fundamentally from each other,<sup>2</sup> yet tribes of both branches are found to be totemic and exogamous; in other words, the customs of totemism and exogamy cross the linguistic boundaries which divide the Dravidian stock and unite the members of that great family by the bond of common institutions. The Dravidian speech proper includes, amongst others, three great languages, the Tamil, the Telugu, and the Canarese, and from the preceding survey it would seem to follow that totemism at the present day is more prevalent among the Telugu-speaking than among the Tamil-speaking and Canarese-speaking branches of the Dravidian family.<sup>3</sup> It appears doubtful

Totemism and exogamy appear to be, or to have been in former times, universally diffused among the Dravidians, the aboriginal inhabitants of India.

W. H. Furness, "The Ethnography of the Nagas of Eastern Assam," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 451 sqq. As to the Naga tribes in general, see Lieut. - Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, "Notes on the Wild Tribes inhabiting the so-called Naga Hills," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xi. (1882) pp. 56 sqq., 196 sqq.; Miss Gertrude M. Godden, "Naga and other Frontier Tribes of North-East India," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) pp. 161 sqq., xxvii. (1898) pp. 2 sqq.; W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern*

*India* (London, 1907), pp. 37 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, pp. 43, 46; *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Empire of India*, i. (Oxford, 1909) p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, i. (Oxford, 1909) pp. 378 sq., 382 sq.

<sup>3</sup> On Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese as branches of the Dravidian family of speech, see *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. *India, Part I.* (Calcutta, 1903) pp. 284 sqq.; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, i. (Oxford, 1909) pp. 378 sqq.

It is doubtful whether true totemism exists among any Indian race except the Dravidian.

whether totemism proper is practised by any race of India except the Dravidian. We have indeed found some resemblances to it in combination with exogamy among the Mongoloid peoples of Assam,<sup>1</sup> but it is not certain that these resemblances are proof of the actual existence of the institution. Exogamy, but not totemism, is practised by the Aryan race in India; for the Brahmans, Rajputs, and other high castes among the Hindoos are regularly divided into exogamous clans or septs (*gotras* or *gots*), and the rule that no man may marry a woman of his own clan (*gotra* or *got*) is strictly observed.<sup>2</sup> So far as I am aware, no other Aryan people besides the Hindoos is certainly known to have regulated marriage by a rule of exogamy. Can it be that the ancestors of the Hindoos borrowed the institution from the aborigines with whom they came into contact when they settled in India?

The Dravidians combine, as usual, totemism and exogamy with the classificatory system of relationship.

Having found totemism and exogamy firmly established among the Dravidian peoples of India, we may expect to find these institutions accompanied by the classificatory system of relationship; for, so far as we can see at present, it may be laid down as a general rule, that every people who practise totemism and exogamy count their relationships according to the classificatory system. To this rule the Dravidians are no exception; for the family systems of the Tamil-speaking, the Telugu-speaking, and the Canarese-speaking branches of the Dravidian stock have been accurately recorded, and all three are classificatory, agreeing with each other not only in general character but in minute particulars, though the actual terms of relationship for the most part differ dialectically in the three languages. Further, the Dravidian family system, as it exists amongst the Tamils, the Telugus, and the Canarese, is substantially identical with the family system of the Seneca-Iroquois Indians of North America,<sup>3</sup> which will be described in a later part of this

The Dravidian family system agrees closely with that of the

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 319, 321 *sq.*, 323 *sq.*, 326 *sq.* As to the Mongoloid character of the Assamese, see Sir Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, p. 41; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, i. (Oxford, 1909) p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> G. Bühler's *Grundriss der Indo-*

*Arischen Philologie und Altertums-kunde, Recht und Sitte*, von Julius Jolly (Strasburg, 1896), pp. 62 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> As to the Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese systems of relationship, and their relation to the Seneca-Iroquois system, see L. H. Morgan, *Systems of*

book.<sup>1</sup> No two peoples on earth are more widely separated from each other than the Dravidians of Central and Southern India and the Iroquois of North-Eastern America. Their agreement in the principles and most of the details of a complex family system has been justly described by its discoverer, L. H. Morgan, as "one of the most extraordinary applications of the natural logic of the human mind to the facts of the social system preserved in the experience of mankind."<sup>2</sup>

Coming to details, we may take the Tamil system as typical of the Dravidian family. As commonly happens under the classificatory system of relationship, there is in Tamil no term for brother or sister in the abstract. These relationships are conceived in the twofold form of elder and younger, and there are separate terms for each. To all of my brothers and sisters who are older than myself I apply the respective terms for elder brother and elder sister; to those who are younger than myself I apply the respective terms for younger brother and younger sister. There are two synonyms for elder brother, namely *tāmaiyaṅ* and *annān*; two synonyms for elder sister, namely *akkārl* and *tāmākay*; two synonyms for younger sister, namely *tangaichchi* and *tangay*; but there is only one term for younger brother, namely *tambi*. Perhaps one set of these synonyms was originally used by the males and the other by the females; but be that as it may, the two sets are now employed indiscriminately.<sup>3</sup>

In the generation above his own a Tamil man applies the same term *tākkāppān*, "father," to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters, distinguishing them however as "great (*pēriyā*) father" or "little (*sēriyā*) father" according as they are older or younger than his father. But, as usually happens under the classificatory system of relationship, he applies a different term *māmān*, "uncle," to his mother's brothers. He applies

*Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Washington, 1871), pp. 386-398, with the Tables, pp. 511 sqq., 523 sqq. (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii.); *id.*, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 435-452.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. iii. pp. 19 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 441.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, p. 389.

the same term *tay*, "mother," to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers, distinguishing his mother's sisters from his mother as "great (*pēriyā*) mother" or "little (*sēriyā*) mother" according as they are older or younger than his mother. But, as usually happens under the classificatory system of relationship, he applies a different term *attai*, "aunt," to his father's sisters. In his own generation he applies the same terms *tāmaiyan*, "elder brother," *akkārl*, "elder sister," *tambi*, "younger brother," and *tangay*, "younger sister," to his own brothers and sisters, elder or younger, and to his first cousins, the sons and daughters, elder or younger, of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. But, as usually happens under the classificatory system he applies quite different terms to his other first cousins, the sons and daughters either of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers; these he calls his *māittūnān*, "male cousin," and his *maitunni*, "female cousin." In the generation below his own he applies the same term *mākān*, "son," and *mākāl*, "daughter," to his own sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of his brothers. But, as usually happens under the classificatory system of relationship, he applies different terms *mārumākān*, "nephew," and *mārumākāl*, "niece," to the sons and daughters of his sisters. Again, in the generation below his own he calls the son and daughter of his male first cousin (the son either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister) "my son" and "my daughter"; but the son and daughter of his female first cousin (the daughter either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister) he calls "my nephew" and "my niece." So far, all is regular in the Tamil system, but now we come upon an anomaly.

Anomalous  
feature in  
the Tamil  
system.

In the generation below his own, a man calls the son and daughter of his male first cousin (the son either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother) not, as we should expect, "my son" and "my daughter," but "my nephew" and "my niece"; and contrariwise he calls the children of his female first cousin (the daughter either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother) not, as we should expect, "my nephew" and "my niece," but "my son" and "my daughter." This variation from the normal pattern of the classificatory system

is difficult to explain. It is the only important particular in which the Tamil system of India differs from the Seneca-Iroquois system of North America, which in this respect has remained truer to the logical principles of the classificatory system.<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, it may be noted as very remarkable that the Singhalese of Ceylon, though they speak an Aryan language,<sup>2</sup> nevertheless possess the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *appâ* "father" to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters; and he distinguishes his father's brothers and the husbands of his mother's sisters as "great (*loka*) father," or "intermediate (*madduma*) father," or "little (*punchi, kudâ, or bâla*) father" according as they are older or younger than his father. But, as usually happens in the classificatory system of relationship, he applies a different term *mâmâ* "uncle" to his mother's brothers and to the husbands of his father's sisters. He applies the same term *ammâ* "mother" to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers; and he distinguishes his mother's sisters and the wives of his father's brothers as "great mother," "intermediate mother," or "little mother" according as they are older or younger than his mother. But, as usually happens in the classificatory system of relationship, he applies a different term *nendâ* "aunt" to his father's sisters and to the wives of his mother's brothers. In his own generation he applies the same terms *sahôdarayâ* "brother" and *sahôdari* "sister" to his brothers and sisters and to his first cousins, the children either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. But, as usually happens in the classificatory system of relationship, he applies different terms *massinâ* "male cousin" and *neinâ* "female cousin" to the sons and daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. In the generation below his own he applies

Classificatory system of relationship among the Singhalese of Ceylon.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 389-391, with the Tables, pp. 523 sqq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 436-452.

*Science of Language* (London, 1880), ii. 76 sq.; Sir John B. Phear, *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon* (London, 1880), p. 177; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 416.

<sup>2</sup> A. H. Sayce, *Introduction to the*

the same terms *pūtā* "son" and *duva* "daughter" to his sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of his brothers. But, as usually happens in the classificatory system of relationship, he applies different terms *bēna* "nephew" and *lēlī* "niece" to the sons and daughters of his sisters. Similarly a woman applies the same terms *pūtā* "son" and *duva* "daughter" to her sons and daughters and to the sons and daughters of her sisters. But, as usually happens in the classificatory system of relationship, she applies different terms *bēna* "nephew" and *lēlī* "niece" to the sons and daughters of her brothers.<sup>1</sup> As the Singhalese apply the same term *māmā* "uncle" to the husband of a father's sister and to a father-in-law; and as they apply the same term *nendā* "aunt" to the wife of the mother's brother and to a mother-in-law, we may infer by analogy that a man's proper wife is his cousin, the daughter either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother.<sup>2</sup>

The Singhalese seem to be the only Aryan-speaking people who have the classificatory system of relationship. They may be a non-Aryan people who have adopted an Aryan language but retained their old native system of relationship.

So far as I know, the Singhalese are the only Aryan-speaking people who possess the classificatory system of relationship. This remarkable exception to the rule that the Aryan-speaking peoples use the descriptive, not the classificatory, system of relationship points to the conclusion that the Singhalese, though they are Aryans by speech, are not Aryans by blood, but have at some time abandoned their native aboriginal tongue for an Aryan language, retaining nevertheless the classificatory relationships, though they designate these by words which may or may not be Aryan. This conclusion is in turn strongly confirmed by the physical type of the Singhalese, which is not that of a pure Aryan breed. On this subject I will quote the observations of Sir John B. Phear. He says: "The Singhalese people themselves generally have the appearance of being the result of at least an intermixture of an Aryan with some other, yellow-tinted, coarsely-built, ethnic element. It is remarkable that they are broad-shouldered, deep-chested, and muscular, with a

<sup>1</sup> A. A. Perera, "Glimpses of Singhalese Social Life; Relationship and Rights of Property," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxxiii. (1904) p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> A. A. Perera, *op. cit.* p. 143.

As to cousin-marriages and the inference to be drawn from the identity of these terms of relationship, see above, pp. 224-228.

pronounced calf to the leg, like all Mongolian peoples, and unlike the Aryans of India. But their most striking peculiarity, perhaps, is the excessive hairiness of both male and female. The chest of the man often resembles a door-mat, and the hair of his head reaches low down his back, a feature which attracted the notice of the earliest Greek geographers. The lower part of the abdomen also, both in male and female, is profusely hairy. This extraordinary capillary development is certainly the reverse of what we see in those Mongolian peoples with whom we are best acquainted. It seems, however, that the Ainos, a Turanian race on the extreme east of Asia, possess it even to a greater extent than the Singhalese, and that they at an early historical period were widely spread over the islands and tracts of country now covered by the Japanese, Chinese, and Malays. Can it be that the Singhalese are, by blood, in a large measure traceable to an Aino or a cognate origin, and that they owe little more than their language, literature, and religion to the invasion of Aryans from Upper Bengal, of which history tells us?"<sup>1</sup>

This hypothesis is confirmed by the physical type of the Singhalese, which is not that of a pure Aryan breed.

The geographical position of the Singhalese people certainly favours the hypothesis that they are an aboriginal race who have been driven into their last entrenchments by the pressure of alien invaders; for they are pent up in the southern portion of Ceylon<sup>2</sup> while the northern portion of the island is occupied by a Dravidian population speaking the Tamil language.<sup>3</sup> Clearly if the Singhalese retreated into their present home before the advance of the Dravidians from the north, they had no other spot of ground to which to turn: the next step would have carried them into the sea. They must turn to bay or perish.

The geographical position of the Singhalese favours the view that they are an aboriginal race pent up in their last refuge.

<sup>1</sup> Sir John B. Phear, *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon* (London, 1880), pp. 177 sq. 416.

<sup>2</sup> J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 1909 p. 380.

<sup>3</sup> *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, vol. i. (Oxford, 1909) p. 380.

## CHAPTER XI

### TRACES OF TOTEMISM IN THE REST OF ASIA

No clear evidence for the existence of totemism in Asia outside of India.

WHILE totemism combined with exogamy is widely spread among the aboriginal tribes of India, it is remarkable that no single indubitable case of it has been recorded, so far as I know, in all the rest of the vast continent of Asia. In the preceding chapters we have traced this curious system of society and superstition from Australia through the islands of Torres Straits, New Guinea, Melanesia, Polynesia, Indonesia, and India. On the eastern frontier of India totemism stops abruptly, and in our totemic survey of the world we shall not meet with any clear evidence of it again till we pass to Africa or America. If we leave India out of account, Asia, like Europe, is practically a blank in a totemic map of the world. Whether this absence of evidence is due to the absence of the institution, to the negligence and supineness of observers, or merely to the ignorance of the present writer, is a question which future research may perhaps decide. Here I shall confine myself to noting either the slight hints of totemism in Asia which I have met with or the positive statements of good authorities as to the absence of the system in the regions known to them.

Totemism not yet found in any tribe of Burma.

In the first place, then, though totemism, or something very like it, occurs in Manipur, on the eastern frontier of India,<sup>1</sup> it has not yet been discovered in any tribe of Burma. On this subject our principal authority on the ethnology of Upper Burma, Sir J. George Scott, observes: "So far as is yet known there is no tribe which habitually takes its family

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 326 *sq.*

name, or has crests and badges taken from some natural object, plant, or animal.”<sup>1</sup> It is true that a rule of exogamy attaching to family names is observed by the Kachins or Chingpaw, who inhabit the country on the north, north-east, and north-west of Upper Burma. Among these people there are at least ninety-seven different names of families, and all persons bearing the same family name regard themselves as of one blood and will not marry each other, even though they may belong to different tribes; but the origin of these family names has not been ascertained.<sup>2</sup> Further, the Chins are divided into forty or more exogamous clans, called *a'so* or *'kun*; no man may marry a woman of his own clan, but “after the marriage ceremonies are over, the wife is initiated into her husband's clan, and has her wrists wrapped round with a cotton-yarn as a witness to all evil spirits that she is under the guardianship of the *'kun* of her husband. So, too, all children, four or five days after birth, are admitted in like manner into the *'kun*.”<sup>3</sup> But exogamy alone is no proof of totemism. Again, many Indo-Chinese races of Burma trace their descent from animals, eggs, or other natural objects; but such legends are not of themselves evidence that the tribes who relate them are totemic, even when the legend is associated with a taboo, as happens, for example, with the Southern Chins of Burma, who are forbidden to kill or eat the king-crow which they regard as their parent, because it hatched the original Chin egg.<sup>4</sup>

Exogamy among the Kachins of Burma.

Exogamy among the Chins of Burma.

Legends of descent from animals, etc., in Burma.

<sup>1</sup> *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, by (Sir) J. George Scott, assisted by J. P. Hardiman, part i. vol. ii. (Rangoon, 1900), pp. 39 *sq.* Sir J. G. Scott finds traces of totemism “in the prescribed form of names for Shan and Kachin children and in the changing or concealing of personal names,” as well as in “the limiting of marriages between the inhabitants of certain villages only, practised both by tribes of Karens and Kachins.” But these things have no necessary connection with totemism.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* part i. vol. i. (Rangoon, 1900) pp. 402 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> Rev. G. Whitehead, “Notes on

the Chins of Burma,” *The Indian Antiquary*, xxxvi. (1907) p. 206. The word *'kun* signifies the common ancestry of the clan as well as the clan itself.

<sup>4</sup> *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xii. *Burma*, Part I. (Rangoon, 1902) by C. C. Lewis, p. 133. Mr. Lewis here adduces other similar traditions current among the races of Burma. The Was say that their primaeval ancestors were tadpoles; the Palaungs trace their origin to a Naga princess, who laid three eggs; the Kachins believe that they are descended from a man who was made out of a pumpkin, but this belief does not deter them from eating pumpkins.

Professor de Groot on the absence of evidence for totemism in Eastern Asia.

Chinese tribes with animal names.

When we pass from Burma to the vast empire of China which borders it on the north, positive evidence for the existence of totemism is still to seek. On this subject our best authority on the religions of China, Professor J. J. M. de Groot of Leyden, writes as follows: "A strong belief in animal progenitors of men, families, and tribes may, in any country where the worship of ancestors is prevalent, readily lead to methodic veneration of such beasts. Considering, however, that, so far as we can learn from books, a descent from beasts has never been positively claimed by the inhabitants of what we may call ancient China proper, the existence of ancestor worship in such a garb must be dismissed at once for the provinces north of the Yangtze. If we peruse the long list of Chinese tribal names, we find half a dozen names of animals, viz. Bear, Dragon, Horse, Cow, Crow, and Swallow; but, to judge from the researches of native authors, they do not point to any alleged descent of the tribes they denote, from an animal ancestor. The two first, which are very rare, are stated to have been at the outset individual names, adopted as family names by the descendants of the bearers. The Horse tribe, which has a much larger number of members, derives this name from the first letter of the cognomen of one of its ancestors. Cow, likewise a rare surname, marks descent from an individual whose cognomen it was; while Crow or Raven denoted the office or office-badge of some ancestor. And Swallow is only apparently an animal name, representing in reality the name of an ancient country in the present Pehchihli. Words denoting wolves or dogs were never in China actual tribal names. And South-China, the old country of the Man, whose mythic pedigree has its root in the dog Dishgourd? Never have our studies of books brought us across anything intimating that the dog is there more especially an object of worship than other animals, or a respected *do-daim* whose flesh does not appear in the popular bill-of-fare. Zoolatry, as we shall show afterwards, is a prominent feature of China's religion. But the statement must here be made that, as yet, we have found no trace in China of animals being worshipped in their capacity of tribal progenitors, so that we entertain serious doubts whether

any so-called totemism exists in East Asia as a religious phenomenon."<sup>1</sup>

It is true that in China, as among the Kachins of Burma, a rule of exogamy attaching to family names is observed; since no Chinaman is allowed to marry a Chinese woman who bears his own family or clan name;<sup>2</sup> but exogamy, as I have said, in itself furnishes no proof of totemism. There are estimated to be about four hundred different family names in China, and among these names are words denoting animals, plants, and other natural objects, such as Horse, Sheep, Ox, Fish, Bird, Plum, Flower, Leaf, Rice, Forest, River, Hill, Water, Cloud, Gold, Hide, Bristles, and so on. "Custom and law alike prohibit intermarriage on the part of people having the same family surname. The children are of the father's family, that is, they take his family surname."<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Y-kia, an aboriginal race of Southern China, the same custom is observed. Children take their patronymic name (*sin*) from their father, and with certain exceptions no persons who bear the same patronymic are allowed to marry each other.<sup>4</sup> Again, the people of Corea are divided into exogamous clans, each of which traces its descent by primogeniture from a single male ancestor. The prohibition of marriage between persons who bear the same clan name "is more than a law with penalty for infraction; it is a traditional custom of which the negative is inconceivable." Some of the clan names are those of natural objects, such as Horse, Fish, Mule, Plum, Pear-tree, Willow-tree, Dwarf Nettle (*Cectis sinensis*), Gold, and Stone; but we are told that no totemic devices are used by members of the clans.<sup>5</sup>

In recent years a social system which bears some resemblance to totemism has been reported to exist among the Lolos, an aboriginal race of Southern China. These people are found in all parts of the province of Yunnan and

<sup>1</sup> J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, iv. (Leyden, 1901) p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Gray, *China* (London, 1878), i. 186.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 364 sq., quoting Mr. Robert Hart, of Canton.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. P. R. Deblenne, in *La Mission Lyonnaise d'Exploration commerciale en Chine 1895-1897* (Lyons, 1898), pp. 368, 369.

<sup>5</sup> W. Hough, "Korean Clan Organization," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, i. (1899) pp. 150, 152, 153, 154.

Exogamy attaching to family names in China.

Exogamous clans in Corea.

Reported totemism among the Lolos, an aboriginal race of Southern China.

in a few districts of Kweichow ; but the home of their race is Szechwan, where in the fastnesses of the great Taliang Mountains they still retain their independence in a country as large as Wales. European travellers have skirted that country, but as yet none have entered it, so that our knowledge of the pure Lolos is very slight. Mr. A. Henry, stationed at Szemao, a Customs post in the south of Yunnan, has studied the Lolos of that neighbourhood,<sup>1</sup> and it is to him that we owe a notice of their social system which contains at least some hints of totemism. He writes: "It is interesting then to know that Lolo surnames always signify the name of a tree or animal or both tree and animal, and that these are considered as the ancestors of the family bearing the name. This name is often archaic. Thus the surname Bu-luh-beh is explained as follows:— Bu-luh is said to be an ancient name for the citron, which is now known as *sa-lu*. The common way of asking a person what his surname is, is to inquire 'What is it you don't touch?' and a person of the surname just mentioned would reply, 'We do not touch the *sa-lu* or citron.' People cannot eat or touch in any way the plant or animal, or both, which enters into their surname. The plant or animal is not, however, worshipped in any way. People of the same surname may marry if there is no obvious relationship. There are, however, groups of two or three surnames, amongst whom intermarriage is forbidden, and no explanation of this is given. There are also groups of two or three surnames who are called comrades, and intermarriage amongst them is favoured. Marriage is brought about by the father of the boy selecting a wife for his son. She is brought home by the groom and a friend, and is accompanied by her brothers and a number of attendant girl friends. The feast occurs in the father-in-law's house. The remarkable peculiarity amongst the Lolos is that invariably, some days after marriage, the bride escapes and runs home to her father's house." The husband sends presents to her father to induce her to return, and if these do not soften her heart he may go and persuade her with a

Lolo surnames are derived from animals or plants, and people may not eat or touch the animal or plant from which their surname is derived.

<sup>1</sup> A. Henry, "The Lolos and other Tribes of Western China," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii (1903) pp. 96, 98 sq.

stick.<sup>1</sup> In this account the prohibition to eat or touch the object from which the family takes its name is strongly suggestive of totemism ; but on the other hand the absence of the exogamous rule, which forbids a man to marry a woman of his own family or clan, seems to prove that, if totemism exists among the Lolos, it is not totemism of the common type.

Again, some hints of totemism have been reported as to the little-known aborigines of Formosa. Those of them who inhabit the mountains and forests in the interior of the northern part of the island are said to be divided into tribes, each tribe with its own village, its own name, and almost its own language. Further, each tribe or village possesses an animal, under whose special protection the inhabitants believe themselves to dwell, and accordingly they keep and feed it in a cage. Some will thus keep a serpent, others a leopard, and so on. It is possible that these guardian animals are totems. The people live in settled villages, which they sometimes fortify. The men hunt and fish, using nets and hooks ; the women till the fields, spin, weave, and make excellent mats. Among the crops which they raise are rice, millet, hemp, and tobacco. All unmarried men and lads sleep together in a common building raised on posts several feet above the ground. Here the heads which they took in war from their enemies, especially the Chinese, used to be hung, and here festivals are held. Sometimes the inhabitants of a village observe a fast and a species of taboo (*hiang*), during which no one may enter the village.<sup>2</sup>

Traces of totemism among the aborigines of Formosa.

Each village keeps its guardian animal in a cage.

Common dormitories for unmarried men.

When we pass from the vast empire of China to the vast empire of Russia in Asia, the indications of totemism which meet us are still very few and slight among the many heterogeneous races who profess allegiance to the Czar. Such indications are reported of the Yukuts, a race of Turkish stock in Siberia, who inhabit the district of Yakutsk

Indications of totemism in Siberia.

<sup>1</sup> A. Henry, "The Lolos and other Tribes of Western China," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) pp. 105 sq.

der Eingebornen der Inseln Formosa und Ceram," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1882, pp. (56) sq., (60), (61), (62) (appended to the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv.).

<sup>2</sup> W. Joest, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss

Sacred animals of the Yakut tribes.

and the valley of the Lena.<sup>1</sup> Von Strahlenberg, a Swedish writer of the early part of the eighteenth century, who has given us a description of Siberia, says of the Yakuts that "each tribe of these people looks upon some particular creature as sacred, e.g. a swan, goose, raven, etc., and such is not eaten by that tribe, though the others may eat it."<sup>2</sup>

Exogamous divisions among the Yakuts.

The Yakuts are certainly divided into exogamous sections called *aga-ussa* or "father-kin," from *aga*, "father," and *ussa*, "kin." A wife must always be taken from another *aga-ussa*; indeed well-to-do men will not even marry a wife of their own *nasleg*, which is another and usually larger division comprising within it from one to five *aga-ussas*.<sup>3</sup> But the nature of these divisions is not defined, and there is nothing to shew whether either the *aga-ussa* or the *nasleg* is identical with the "tribe" spoken of by von Strahlenberg. If either identity could be made out, it would go far to prove the existence, present or past, of totemism among the Yakuts. Further, it would seem that the Yakuts have the classificatory system of relationship. For they have no general word either for brother in general or for sister in general; but they have special terms for elder brother and younger brother, for elder sister and younger sister; further, they apply "the term 'child' or 'my child' not only to their own proper children, but also to the children of brothers, or of sisters, or even to brothers and sisters themselves, if they are very much younger."<sup>4</sup> Among the

Traces of the classificatory system among the Yakuts.

<sup>1</sup> H. Vambery, *Das Türkenvolk* (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 146 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *An Historico-Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia, but more particularly of Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary, written originally in High German by Mr. Philip John von Strahlenberg, A Swedish Officer, thirteen years Captive in those Parts, now faithfully translated into English* (London, 1738), p. 383. The number of Yakut tribes, according to Von Strahlenberg, is ten (*op. cit.* p. 380).

<sup>3</sup> W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts, abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi, (1901) pp. 73 sq., 87. "When a Jakut (Siberia) wishes to

marry, he must, says Middendorf, choose a girl from another clan. No one is permitted to marry a woman from his own" (Sir John Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilisation*, Fourth Edition (London, 1882), p. 135). In support of these statements Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury) refers to Middendorf, *Sibirische Reise*, p. 72, and Müller's *Description de toutes les Races de l'Emp. de Russie*, Pt. II. p. 58. I accept the truth of the writer's statements, though I have not been able to verify his references.

<sup>4</sup> W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi, (1901) p. 90. The account here reproduced from the Russian is so vague, and the facts so mixed with

Yakuts, further, the mutual avoidance of a woman and her husband's relations, and of brothers and sisters appears to be practised to a certain extent. In regard to the latter we are told that "boys ten or twelve years of age do not eat with their sisters; they do not lie down to sleep with them on the same bed. The boy is given a separate bed, which involves a special expense. They do it apparently not from modesty, but in obedience to an ancient prohibition in the nature of a taboo. These very sisters, however, may go completely naked, entirely untroubled by the presence of their grown brothers."<sup>1</sup>

Avoidance of brothers and sisters among the Yakuts.

Among the Samoyeds we are told that a man may not marry a woman of his father's clan, but must marry a woman of his mother's clan, however near the relationship between bride and bridegroom may be.<sup>2</sup> If this statement, which appears to be well authenticated, is correct, it proves the existence of exogamy, though not of totemism, among the Samoyeds. Further, it may be noted that some of the tribes of the Kara Kirghiz or Black Kirghiz, inhabiting the northern spurs of the Thian Shan range and the high mountains from Kashgar on the east to Khokan on the west, are divided into tribes, some of which bear the names of animals. The whole people falls, first, into two divisions, namely the *Ong* or the Right and the *Sol* or the Left. The *Ong* or Right division includes six tribes, of which three are

Exogamous clans among the Samoyeds.

Tribes named after animals among the Black Kirghiz.

speculation, that no precise information can be extracted from it. It is not even quite clear whether the *nasleg* and *aga-ussa* (which the translator regularly represents by *sib*) are kinship or local divisions, but apparently they are the former.

<sup>1</sup> W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 90. As to traces of avoidance between a woman and her husband's relations, see *ibid.* p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> "Ueber den religiösen Glauben und die Ceremonien der heidnischen Samojeden im Kreise Mesen, nach dem Russischen," *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, N.F. viii. (1860) p. 55. The original article here extracted and translated into German was written by the Archimandrite Benjamin of Archangel and published in the fourteenth

volume of the *Wjästnik* of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Though the writer deals specially with the Samoyeds of Mesen in the Government of Archangel, he says that exactly the same marriage law is observed by the Samoyeds of Siberia. Similarly, Pallas says that when a Samoyed wishes to marry, he chooses a woman of another family or clan (*in einem andern Geschlecht*). See P. S. Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs*, iii. (St. Petersburg, 1776) p. 76. Similarly, J. G. Georgi says of the Samoyeds: "From disinclination to marry among relations, they all seek brides in other families or clans (*in andern Geschlechtern*)." See J. G. Georgi, *Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs* (St. Petersburg, 1776), p. 282.

named after the stag, the yellow eland, and the great eland respectively.<sup>1</sup> But I know of no evidence that these tribes are either exogamous or totemic.

Marriage  
customs  
of the  
Gilyaks of  
the Amoor  
River.

Among the Gilyaks of the island of Saghalien certain marriage customs are observed which may appropriately be noticed in this book. Brothers appear to hold their wives to a certain extent in common ; for when an elder brother is away on a journey, his younger brother enjoys marital rights over his elder brother's wife ; but the converse does not hold good, an elder brother never has any rights over his younger

Avoidance  
of brothers  
and sisters.

brother's wife.<sup>2</sup> Further, the mutual avoidance of brothers and sisters is in vogue among the Gilyaks. Boys and girls live and play with each other, but when they have reached the age of puberty brothers and sisters may no longer speak to one other, or if they do speak it must be with averted eyes.<sup>3</sup> Further, it appears that the Gilyaks have the classifi-

Classi-  
ficatory  
system of  
relation-  
ship among  
the Gilyaks.

catory system of relationship ; for we read that "the villages are in general inhabited by members of one and the same family ; every Gilyak comes into the world with so many fathers and so many mothers that it is somewhat difficult to understand their system of relationships. He always calls by the name of *ytk*, that is, 'father,' not only his father but the brothers and male cousins german of his father ; and he calls by the name of *ymk*, that is, 'mother,' the sisters and the female cousins german of his mother. All the children of brothers and cousins german are considered as brothers and sisters, and are distinguished by the name of *rouer*, a sort of collective name like the word *Geschwister* in German. The family forms a very sharply limited clan, but marriage between relations is not allowed ; the father has a great authority over his sons, and the oldest brother over his younger brothers. The families are grouped in tribes and boast of descending from the same father, and every Gilyak always knows the name of his tribe. When a child is born into the world, he receives a name ; there is a cycle of names in each tribe, and in the tribe two persons may not bear the same

Personal  
names  
among the  
Gilyaks.

<sup>1</sup> W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* (Leipsic, 1884), i. 230 sq. ; *id.*, *Proben der Völk-  
litteratur der Nördlichen Türkischen  
Stämme*, v. (St. Petersburg, 1885) p. i.

(preface).

<sup>2</sup> P. Labbé, *Un baigne Russe, L'île  
de Sakhaline* (Paris, 1903), pp. 170 sq.

<sup>3</sup> P. Labbé, *op. cit.* p. 167.

name ; if a child receives a name which is already borne by a man still living, the man or the child will die within the year. When a man dies, it is forbidden to pronounce his name ; but when the festival of the bear comes round, at which they sacrifice the beast and send him as a messenger to the divinity, in order to obtain game and fish in abundance, they beat the bear's skin crying out the name of the deceased, and from that day the name may be pronounced by all and will be given to a child subsequently born. The names of boys are chosen by the father, who consults with the old men of the family on the subject ; they often signify 'strength,' 'courage,' 'bravery,' 'intelligence,' etc. The names of women are not necessarily taken from the cycle of the tribe."<sup>1</sup>

From this account of Gilyak personal names we may infer that these people assume an intimate connection between a person's name and his life or soul ; and further, perhaps, that they believe in the reincarnation of the dead, a deceased person coming to life again in the child who bears his name. If that is so, the Gilyaks in this respect resemble not only the Central Australian aborigines but also the Indians of North America, among whom, as we shall see later on, a dead person is supposed to come to life again or " to be raised up," as they sometimes express it, in the person of his namesake.

The inference that the Gilyaks believe the dead to be reborn in the persons who bear their names is confirmed by the observation that a precisely similar belief is held by another people of North-Eastern Asia, the Koryaks, whose customs and beliefs have lately been investigated with great care by Mr. Waldemar Jochelson. The Koryaks think that before a child is born, the Supreme Being, a benevolent but rather inert old man who lives up in the sky with his wife and children, sends into the mother's womb the soul of a deceased relative of the child to be born again. He keeps a supply of souls suspended by straps from the cross-beams of his house ; and as is the length of a soul's strap, so will the length of that soul's life be when it is reborn into the world. A long strap, a long life, and a

The Gilyaks seem to believe in the reincarnation of the dead.

Belief of the Koryaks in the reincarnation of the dead.

<sup>1</sup> P. Labbé, *Un bague Russe, L'île de Sakhaline* (Paris, 1903), pp. 165 sq.

Children are named after the deceased relatives whose souls have been reborn in them.

short strap, a short life ; that is the idea. Accordingly as soon as a child is born, it is given the name of the deceased relative whose soul has been reborn in it. There are various ways of identifying him or her. Sometimes the father uses for this purpose a divining stone called the Little-Grandmother. This he ties by a string to a stick and swings it backwards and forwards, enumerating the names of the dead kinsfolk both on his own and on his wife's side of the house. When he mentions the name of the one whose soul has entered into the baby, the stone swings faster. Or he may observe the behaviour of the child while the names are being mentioned. If the infant squalls at any name, that cannot be the name of the person reborn in it. But if the child stops squalling or smiles at the mention of any name, then they know that to be its real name, the name of the kinsman or kinswoman who has come to life again in it. Then the father takes up the baby in his arms and carrying it from the sleeping-tent to the house tells the people, "A relative has come." If any mistake is made in identifying the soul which has entered into the new-born child, something will certainly ail that child ; but the mistake may be corrected and the name changed by means of another appeal to the Little-Grandmother or other mode of divination.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamy among the Golds of the Amoor.

Lastly, strict exogamy of the clan is practised by the Goldi or Golds, a tribe settled in the middle course of the great Amoor River ; and from the following account it seems to follow that the organisation of society in exogamous clans is common, if not universal, among the peoples of Siberia. The tribes of this region were investigated for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition by Mr. Berthold Laufer in the years 1898 and 1899, and he reports upon the exogamy of the Golds as follows :—

Exogamous clans (*xala*) of the Golds.

"The social organization of the Gold is very simple, and resembles that of all other Siberian peoples. The whole tribe is grouped into clans called *rody* by the Russians, and *xala* by the Gold. The members of such clans constitute patronymic societies. All the families of a clan bear the

<sup>1</sup> Waldemar Jochelson, *The Koryak, Religion and Myths* (Leyden and New York, 1905), p. 100 (*The Jesup North*

*Pacific Expedition*, vol. vi. part i.). As to the Supreme Being, his wife, and family, see *ibid.* pp. 23 sq.

same name. For example, in Sendaka, the region between Chabarovsk and Vyatskoye, the following names occur most frequently: Posaxara, Ojal, Xader, Perminka, Axtanka, Oninka, Donka, Yukkami, Udinka, Pozar. The members of such clans are scattered over the whole territory occupied by the tribe. Some clans have a double name. Thus the clan Axtanka is also styled Beldi. The names of a great many of their clans are met with among the Mangun and Amoor-Gilyak; for example, the name Posaxara occurs among both these tribes. From this fact may be traced the race mixture of early times. Marriage is strictly exogamic. A man belonging to the clan Perminka is never allowed to take a wife of the same family name."<sup>1</sup>

A Gold buys his wife from her father, and he may have as many wives as he can buy and keep. When he dies, his brother may marry the widow on condition that she consents to have him.<sup>2</sup> "A peculiar feature of the Goldian language is that the terms of relationship are divided into two classes. The names of relatives on the paternal side are different from those on the maternal side. Moreover, each of these classes is again subdivided, distinguishing terms used for relatives older from words for those younger than father or mother. The elder brother of the father is called *fafá*; his younger brother, *achá*; the father's elder sister, *dadá*, his younger sister *ghughú*; the mother's elder sister *dadá*, her younger sister, *oukd*."<sup>3</sup> This distinction between elder and younger brothers and sisters points to the existence of the classificatory system among the Golds. We may surmise that the system is widespread among the tribes of Northern Asia, though observers have paid but little attention to it.

Polygamy.  
The  
levirate.  
Terms  
of relation-  
ship  
among the  
Golds.

Such are the few slight indications or hints of totemism and exogamy which I have been able to glean in Asia outside the limits of India.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. Laufer, "Preliminary Notes on Explorations among the Amoor Tribes," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, ii. (1900) p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> B. Laufer, *op. cit.* pp. 319 sq., 322.

<sup>3</sup> B. Laufer, *op. cit.* p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> The late German traveller Vaughan-Stevens alleged that he had discovered

something which he took for totemism among the Sakai, an aboriginal tribe of the Malay Peninsula. But no reliance can be placed on his evidence, and I prefer not to repeat his confused statements on the subject. See W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* (London, 1906), ii. 62-64, 258 sq. The barbarous

Absence of  
totemism  
and  
exogamy  
among the  
Chukchees  
and the  
Koryaks  
of North-  
eastern  
Asia.

In view of the now prevalent theory which connects the American Indians with the peoples of Northern Asia, it is of some interest to observe that the two tribes, the Chukchees and the Koryaks, who inhabit the part of Asia nearest to America, appear to be entirely without both totemism and exogamy, the two great institutions so characteristic of the North American Indians.<sup>1</sup> The striking discrepancy thus revealed between the social organisation of these neighbouring peoples in the two continents does not favour the theory of their racial affinity.

Group-  
marriage  
among the  
Chukchees.

But while neither the Chukchees nor the Koryaks have totemism and exogamy, it deserves to be noticed that the Chukchees, who occupy the north-eastern extremity of Asia, possess a system which has been called group-marriage. It will be best to describe the system in the words of Mr. Waldemar Bogaras, who has lived among the people and made a careful study of their institutions. His account applies particularly to the marriage customs of the Reindeer Chukchees; with those of the Maritime Chukchees he is less familiar. He says:

*“Group-Marriage.*—Marriage among the Chukchee does not deal with one couple only, but extends over an entire group. The Chukchee group-marriage includes sometimes up to ten married couples. The men belonging to such a marriage-

tribes in the mountains of Northern Tonquin abstain from eating the flesh of dogs, and they say that one of their people lost an eye through looking at some Annamites, who were engaged in eating dog's flesh. But this is not of itself a trace of totemism, though it has been adduced as such. See E. Lunet de Lajonquière, *Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional* (Paris, 1906), p. 240. The Rev. J. Batchelor believes that he has found totemism among the Ainos, an aboriginal race of Japan; but his ideas of totemism appear to be vague, and the evidence which he adduces is quite insufficient. See the Rev. John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore* (London, 1901), pp. 8-10, 83 *sqq.*, 156-164, 206. The respect which the Ainos and some tribes of the Amoor River (the Gilyaks, Golds, and Orotchis) pay to bears, which they

keep in captivity for a time and then sacrifice, is not to be confused with totemism. See *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition (London, 1900), ii. 374 *sqq.*

<sup>1</sup> The social organisation and the religious beliefs of the Chukchees and the Koryaks have been carefully investigated in recent years by members of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, the prime object of which was to ascertain the ethnical relations between the aboriginal races of America and Asia. See W. Jochelson, *The Koryak* (Leyden and New York, 1908); W. Bogaras, *The Chukchee* (Leyden and New York, 1904-1909). These works form volumes vi. and vii. of the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, and are issued as memoirs by the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

union are called 'companions in wives' (*n̄ew-tu'mgit*). Each 'companion' has a right to all the wives of his 'companion,' but takes advantage of his right comparatively seldom, namely, only when he visits for some reason the camp of one of the 'companions.' Then the host cedes him his place in the sleeping-room. If possible, he leaves the house for the night; goes to his herd, for instance. After such a call, the companion visited generally looks for an occasion to return the visit, in order, in his turn, to exercise his rights.

"The union, in group-marriages, is mostly formed between persons who are well acquainted . . . , especially between neighbors and relatives. Second and third cousins are almost invariably united by ties of group-marriage; brothers, however, do not enter into such unions. In ancient times this form of marriage was obviously a union between the members of a related group. In course of time, other friendly persons began to be included in the union. The rite accompanying the formation of group-marriages reflects such an origin, for it is intended to give the union the character of a tie between relatives. The persons concerned make sacrifices and anoint themselves with blood, first in one camp, and then in the other. After that they are considered as belonging to one fireside, as do the relatives in the male line. According to tradition, group-marriages with persons of high standing were much sought after by younger people. They would send their relatives as match-makers, and would even serve in a strange herd in order to enter such a union, precisely as is the custom in individual marriages.

Group-marriages mostly formed between acquaintances and relations, especially cousins.

"The older people, however, were reluctant to enter the group-union with young people, especially if the latter were single. The mixing of ages in the group-marriage is not approved of. If a married man, on the other hand, has no children, but desires to have some, he is anxious to make a union with a strong single man. The aversion to including bachelors in the marriage-group is primarily based on the absence of reciprocity. The bachelor gains from entering the union, but gives nothing in return.

As a rule, partners in group-marriages are of about the same age.

"The inmates of one and the same camp are seldom willing to enter into a group-marriage, the reason obviously

Partners in group-marriage generally live in different camps.

being that the reciprocal use of wives, which in group-marriage is practised very seldom, is liable to degenerate into complete promiscuity if the members of the group live too close together. However, many exceptions occur to both rules. . . . I have been told that poor people, on entering the group-union, are sometimes so friendly that they live in one tent, and even in the same sleeping-room. . . .

Practically all Chukchee families are united in group-marriage.

"At the present time the unions through group-marriage embrace practically all Chukchee families. Not to be connected with such a union, means to have no friends and good-wishers, and no protectors in case of need; for the members of a marriage-group stand nearer to one another than even relations in the male line. As pointed out above, however, these two ties often coincide.

"In some cases five or six persons enter into a group-marriage, and all enjoy equal marital rights. In other cases a man may have several companions in group-marriage who do not stand in a similar relation to one another. . . .

Group-marriage considered equal to a blood-tie.

"Union through group-marriage is considered equal to a blood tie. The children born in the families of a marriage-union are regarded as cousins, or even as brothers and sisters. They cannot marry each other, which is natural, for they might easily have a common father."<sup>1</sup>

The Chukchee group-marriage is not promiscuity. The members of such groups are usually blood-relations, real or fictitious.

From this account we gather that practically the whole of the Chukchee tribe or nation lives in a state of group-marriage, which is regulated by custom and does not approach to sexual promiscuity. The members of such groups are commonly blood relations, especially second or third cousins, of about the same age; though persons of very unequal ages sometimes live together in a marriage-group.<sup>2</sup> That the partners in these connubial unions are theoretically deemed to be blood relations, even when they are not so in fact, is plainly indicated by the ceremony of smearing themselves with the blood of sacrificial victims in the camps of both the partners; for this is nothing but a form of the widespread blood-covenant whereby two persons are supposed to unite

<sup>1</sup> Waldemar Bogaras, *The Chukchee* (Leyden and New York, 1904-1909), pp. 602-605 (forming vol. vii. of *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*).

<sup>2</sup> Mr. W. Bogaras writes: "In

another camp I saw two neighbors of very unequal ages, whose tents stood side by side, and who were united by a group-marriage" (*op. cit.* p. 603).

themselves artificially by a tie of consanguinity ; and we are expressly told that "union through group-marriage is considered equal to a blood tie." Hence among this people consanguinity is not of itself a bar to marriage, but rather the contrary. "The Chukchee," we are told, "have several methods of securing brides and concluding marriages. One of these is through marriage between relatives, if possible in the same family, or at least in the same camp, or in the neighboring camp, where families of the same blood reside. Most frequent are marriages between cousins." However, marriage between brother and sister or between uncle and niece is considered incestuous.<sup>1</sup> The intention of these group-marriages appears to be mutual protection ; persons who do not belong to any such social union are deemed friendless and unprotected.

Consanguineous marriages among the Chukchees.

The tie of affinity between men who are married to sisters is deemed very strong ; indeed in the olden times it was considered to be even stronger than brotherhood, and there was a proverb that in battle two such men should fight and fall side by side. There is a special name for this relationship ; two men married to two sisters call each other *takalhin*, which means properly "brace-companion."<sup>2</sup>

Close tie between men married to sisters.

It is somewhat remarkable that though Chukchee brothers do not unite in a marriage-group, nevertheless the younger brother regularly marries the widow of his elder brother according to the custom of the levirate. If the deceased left no brothers, the widow passes to one of his cousins. But, in accordance with a rule of which we have met with instances in Australia, Indonesia, and India,<sup>3</sup> it is only a younger brother or a younger cousin who may thus succeed to the place of his dead kinsman ; an elder brother or an elder cousin has no right over the widow of his younger brother or younger cousin.<sup>4</sup>

The levirate among the Chukchees.

As might be anticipated from their marriage system, in

<sup>1</sup> W. Bogaras, *The Chukchee*, p. 576. Mr. Bogaras knows of two cases of incestuous intercourse between father and daughter.

<sup>2</sup> W. Bogaras, *op. cit.* p. 540.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 191, 222, 234,

236, 279, 280, 281, 291, 302, 310, 313, 315. Much more rarely it is the elder brother who marries the widow of his deceased younger brother. See above, pp. 249 *sq.*, 272 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> W. Bogaras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 607 *sq.*

The Chukchees have not the classificatory system of relationship.

which exogamy plays no part, the Chukchees do not possess the classificatory system of relationship. A man applies the same term (*endiw*) to his father's brother and to his mother's brother ; but he applies quite a different term to his father (*elihin*). He applies the same term (*echchai*) to his father's sister and to his mother's sister ; but he applies quite a different term (*ela*) to his mother. He applies the same terms to all his cousins, whether on the paternal or on the maternal side ; but he applies quite different terms to his brothers and sisters.<sup>1</sup>

Amongst the Koryaks there is neither totemism nor exogamy, and marriage is regulated only by degrees of consanguinity or affinity.

The Koryaks who inhabit the country immediately to the south-west of the Chukchees, at the head of the Sea of Okhotsk, are equally without the institutions of totemism and exogamy. Amongst them marriage is regulated, not by an organisation of the community in exogamous clans, but purely by the degrees of relationship or affinity which exist between individuals. A man is forbidden to marry his mother and her sisters, his father's sisters, his own sisters, his cousins, and his nieces, the daughters either of his brother or of his sister. Between all other blood-relations marriages are permitted. Amongst the relations by marriage whom a man is forbidden to take to wife are his stepmother, the sisters of his living wife, the elder sisters of his dead wife, the sisters of his brother's wife, and the widow of his younger brother.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, while he may not marry the sister of his living wife, he is obliged to marry his deceased wife's younger sister, though he is forbidden to marry her elder sister. Similarly a widow is bound to marry her deceased husband's younger brother, but is forbidden to marry his elder brother. Thus among the Koryaks the common custom of the levirate, which obliges a widow to marry her deceased husband's brother, has its counterpart in a custom which obliges a widower to marry his deceased wife's sister ; but in both cases the custom is subject to the condition that the brother or sister who marries the widow or the widower must be younger than the deceased husband or wife.<sup>3</sup>

Marriage with a deceased wife's younger sister.

The levirate.

<sup>1</sup> W. Bogaras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 538 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. Jochelson, *The Koryak* (Leyden and New York, 1908), pp. 736 sq.,

750, 761 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. vi.).

<sup>3</sup> W. Jochelson, *op. cit.* pp. 737, 748 sqq.

The relations between the sexes among the Koryaks are much stricter and, judged by our standard, more moral than among the Chukchees and other neighbouring tribes. Girls are expected to remain chaste before marriage, and the custom is on the whole observed. It is deemed shameful if a girl is found with child before marriage. Young men will not serve for such a frail one. She is sent away into the wilderness to bring forth in pain and sorrow the fruit of her sin; and she kills the poor babe and buries it in the earth or in the snow. In the olden time her family would sometimes make war on the family of her seducer.<sup>1</sup>

Strictness of the relations between the sexes among the Koryaks.

Like the Chukchees, the Koryaks do not employ the classificatory system of relationship. There is one word (*enniw*) for father's brother and mother's brother, but quite a different word (*apa*) for father. There is one word (*itchei*) for father's sister and mother's sister, but quite a different word (*ella*) for mother. There is one word for cousins, whether paternal or maternal, but quite different words for brothers and sisters.<sup>2</sup>

The Koryaks have not got the classificatory system of relationship.

<sup>1</sup> W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, pp. 733-735.

pronunciation of the Koryak words. They convey little meaning to an English reader. My spelling must therefore be understood to represent the sounds only approximately. The same observation applies to my spelling of the Chukchee terms of relationship.

<sup>2</sup> W. Jochelson, *op. cit.* pp. 759 *sq.* I have not reproduced the typographical subtleties by which Mr. Jochelson attempts to mark the exact

## CHAPTER XII

### TOTEMISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

#### § 1. *Totemism among the Herero*

Totemism widely diffused in Africa.

WHEN we pass from Asia to Africa the evidence for the existence of totemism and exogamy again becomes comparatively copious ; for the system is found in vogue among Bantu tribes both of Southern and of Central Africa as well as among some of the pure negroes of the West Coast. We begin with the Herero, Ovaherero, or Damaras as they used to be called, who inhabit German South-West Africa.

The Herero, a Bantu tribe of nomadic herdsmen.

The Herero are a tall finely-built race of nomadic herdsmen belonging to the Bantu stock, who seem to have migrated into their present country from the north and east some hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago.<sup>1</sup> The desert character of the country and its seclusion from the world long combined to preserve the primitive manners of the inhabitants. A scanty and precarious rainfall compels them to shift their dwellings from place to place in order to find pasture for their cattle ; and an arid, absolutely rainless coast of dreary sandhills affords no allurements to the passing mariner to land on the inhospitable shore. From the sea the land rises to the high mountains of the interior in a series of tablelands, separated from each other by great sandstone cliffs. In the hot season the burning tropical

The land of the Herero.

<sup>1</sup> J. Irlé, *Die Herero* (Gütersloh, 1906), pp. 49 *sqq.*, 53 *sqq.* The time when the Herero migrated into their present country has been variously estimated at from one hundred to three hundred years ago. In such a matter certainty is unattainable. Compare

Josaphat Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iv. (1869), pp. 227 *sqq.*; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Oldenburg and Leipsic, n.d.), pp. 142 *sq.*; E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 1 *sqq.*

sun converts these vast plains into a parched wilderness, where springs of water are few and far between, and the scorched grass, crumbling into dust at the touch, affords no nourishment to the languishing cattle. But when the first rains, accompanied by thunderstorms of tremendous violence, have fallen, the whole scene changes as by magic. The wastes are converted into meadows of living green, gay with a profusion of beautiful flowers and fragrant with a wealth of aromatic grasses and herbs; the trees, too, burst into blossom and perfume the air with their sweet scent. Now is the time when the cattle roam at large on the limitless prairies, and beasts of all kinds descend from their summer haunts in the mountains, bringing life and animation where the silence and solitude of death had reigned before. But when the rainy season is over, the colours quickly fade, and the sun-baked plains soon wear again their former hue of melancholy grey. Only the deep glens which intersect the tablelands then afford coolness and shade, and form the best highroads into the interior. The jaded and thirsty traveller who suddenly descends from the desolation and furnace-like heat of the tableland into one of these ravines, where the river murmurs over a pebbly bed between banks of tall reeds, skirting flowery meadows and verdant groves, may well fancy himself transported into an enchanted land.<sup>1</sup>

In their native state the Herero are a purely pastoral people, though round about the mission stations some of them have learned to till the ground. They possess, or used to possess, immense herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats. These are the pride and joy of their hearts, almost their idols. Their riches are measured by their cattle; he who has none is of no account in the tribe. Men of the highest standing count it an honour to tend the kine; the sons of the most powerful chiefs are obliged to lead for a time the life of simple herdsmen. They subsist chiefly on the milk of their herds, which they commonly drink sour. From a motive of superstition they never wash the milk vessels, believing firmly that if they did so the cows would yield no

The flocks  
and herds  
of the  
Herero.

<sup>1</sup> Josaphat Hahn, "Das Land der Herero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iii. (1868),

pp. 195 *sqq.*; J. Irle, *Die Herero* (Gütersloh, 1906), pp. 9 *sqq.*

more milk. Of the flesh they make but little use, for they seldom kill any of their cattle, and never a cow, a calf, or a lamb. Even oxen and wethers are only slaughtered on solemn and festal occasions, such as visits, burials, and the like. Such slaughter is a great event in a village, and young and old flock from far and near to partake of the meat.<sup>1</sup>

The circular huts and villages of the Herero.

Their huts are of a round beehive shape, about ten feet in diameter. The framework consists of stout branches, of which the lower ends are rammed into the ground, while the upper ends are bent together and tied with bark. The intervals between the ribs are stopped with brushwood or long grass, and the whole is coated on the outside with a mixture of cow-dung, blood, and clay. A hole large enough to let a man creep through on all fours serves as a door, and a smaller hole higher up allows the smoke to escape. On the approach of the rainy season the huts are covered with raw hides, which are weighted with great stones to prevent them from being blown away by the wind. A village is composed of a number of these round huts arranged in a circle about the calves' pen as a centre and surrounded by an artificial hedge of thorn-bushes.<sup>2</sup> At night the cattle are driven in through the hedge and take up their quarters in the open space round the calves' pen.<sup>3</sup>

Totemism among the Herero.

A special interest attaches to the Herero because they are the first people we have met with in our survey who undoubtedly combine totemism with a purely pastoral life; hitherto the totemic tribes whom we have encountered have been for the most part either hunters or husbandmen. As

<sup>1</sup> C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1856), p. 230; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa* (London, 1868), i. 325; J. Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* iv. (1869) pp. 244-247; C. G. Büttner, *Das Hinterland von Wal-fischbai und Angra Pequena* (Heidelberg, 1884), pp. 228 sq.; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Oldenburg and Leipsic, n.d.), pp. 158-161; J. Irlé, *Die Herero*, pp. 32 sq., 113.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Galton, *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*<sup>3</sup>

(London, 1890), p. 116; J. Hahn, *op. cit.* iv. (1869) p. 247; H. Schinz, *op. cit.* pp. 155 sqq.; J. Irlé, *Die Herero*, pp. 111 sq. Similarly a Zulu village consists of a number of round beehive huts arranged in a circle about the cattle pen as centre, and sometimes surrounded with a palisade to keep out wild beasts (Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (London, 1904), pp. 12 sq., with plates 4 and 7). This was, perhaps, the original type of the Bantu village.

<sup>3</sup> H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, p. 159.

might have been anticipated, the totemism of the Herero is coloured by the main occupation of their life, the care of the cattle, and it presents besides certain peculiar features. The people are divided into a number of clans arranged on a curious double system, so that every person belongs at once to two different clans, one of which, called an *eanda* (plural *omaanda*), he inherits from his mother, and the other, called an *oruzo* (plural *otuzo*), he inherits from his father. Hence, while the legends which relate the origin of the paternal clans (*otuzo*) refer only to men, the legends which relate the origin of the maternal clans (*omaanda*) relate only to women, each of these maternal clans tracing its descent from a clan-mother. According to some writers the distinction between the two sets of clans is that the maternal clans are social communities and the paternal clans religious communities; but it seems doubtful whether this distinction holds good. Both sets of clans appear to be totemic; at all events, this is suggested not only by their names, but also by the rules and prohibitions, peculiar to itself, which each clan has to observe, especially in regard to diet and costume.<sup>1</sup>

Double system of maternal clans (*omaanda*) and paternal clans (*otuzo*) among the Herero.

There are at present, according to most authorities, eight

<sup>1</sup> My account of the clan system of the Herero has been pieced together from the following sources: C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 221 sq., 222 sq.; Francis Galton, *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*,<sup>3</sup> p. 115; Josaphat Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iv. (1869) pp. 501 sq.; G. Viehe, "Some Customs of the Ovaherero," (*South African Folk-lore Journal*, vol. i. part iii. (Cape Town, 1879) pp. 40 note, 48; H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero* (Leipsc, 1886), s.vv. 'eanda' and 'oruzo,' pp. 7, 195 sq.; H. von François, *Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Magdeburg, n.d.), pp. 171 sqq.; Dannert, "Soziale Verhältnisse der Ovaherero," *Mittheilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, vi. (1888) p. 117; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, pp. 162-165; J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Herero,"

*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv. (1900) pp. 295-298; P. H. Brincker, "Charakter, Sitten und Gebräuche speciell der Bantu Deutsch-Südwestafrikas," *Mittheilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, iii. (1900) Dritte Abteilung, pp. 72 sq.; G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda and Otuzo der Ovaherero," *Mittheilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, pp. 109-117; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, pp. 87-93; Eduard Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 11-19. The fullest accounts are those of Brincker, Schinz, Kohler, Viehe (Berlin, 1902), Irle, and Dannert. Andersson and Hahn make no mention of *otuzo*; Bensen, quoted by Prof. Kohler, says nothing of *omaanda*. Some of these writers perhaps confused the two kinds of clans. Being unable to sift their evidence I content myself with reproducing it.

The  
maternal  
clans  
(*omaanda*).

principal maternal clans (*omaanda*, plural of *eanda*), most of them with their subdivisions or septs. According to the latest authority, however, Mr. E. Dannert, there are only six principal *omaanda*. The members of each of these clans have their own traditions and their own special laws as to food and other matters. For example, they are forbidden to eat cattle or sheep of certain sorts, the sorts being determined by the form, colour, shape of the horns, and so on, of the animal.<sup>1</sup> Thus the people of one clan (*eanda*) will perhaps not eat of the flesh of oxen which are marked with black, white, or red spots; those of another refuse to partake of a hornless sheep; those of a third would not touch the meat of draught oxen. Before a Herero accepts meat which is offered to him, he carefully inquires as to the colour of the animal, whether it had horns, and so forth; and should it prove to be of the forbidden kind, he will probably abstain from it, even though he may be dying of hunger. Some carry their scruples so far as to avoid touching vessels in which such meat has been cooked; even the smoke of the fire by which it was prepared is considered injurious.<sup>2</sup> These clans do not live each by itself; on the contrary, men of all clans are found dwelling together in the different tribes. Yet the members of any one clan, though they may reside in different tribes, form among themselves a social community which plays a great part in matters of inheritance; for property, especially property in cattle, must remain in the same maternal clan (*eanda*).<sup>3</sup>

The names  
of the  
maternal  
clans  
(*omaanda*).

The names of the maternal clans (*omaanda*) are compounded of a prefix *e* (the initial letter of *eanda*), the syllable *kue* (the root of *omukue*, "father-in-law," "son-in-law," "mother-in-law," "daughter-in-law," etc.), and finally a word of various signification, such as *ejuva*, "sun," *ombura*, "rain," and so on. Thus the name of the clan as a whole

<sup>1</sup> C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 221; J. Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iv. (1869) p. 502; H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kuragefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero* (Leipsic, 1886), s.v. 'eanda,' p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, pp.

222 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Ovaherero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, pp. 109 sq., 112; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 89; E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 13.

signifies that the members of it are related by marriage to the object after which they are named. Thus *Ekuejuva* is "the clan which is related by marriage to the sun"; *Ekuenombura*, "the clan which is related by marriage to the rain." When we speak of a person or persons of a clan, we substitute the prefix *omu* (singular) or *ova* (plural) for the prefix *e*, thus:—*Omukuejuva*, "a member of the Sun clan"; *Ovakuejuva*, "members of the Sun clan."<sup>1</sup>

The principal maternal clans (*omaanda*) of the Herero are as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

1. The *Ekuejuva* or Sun (*ujuva*) clan, the name signifying properly "the clan which is related by marriage to the sun."<sup>3</sup> The members of the clan eat no black and white speckled sheep. The clan is divided into four septs, which take their special names from an arrow, scratching, the *omutati* tree, and the pheasant.

2. The *Ekuenombura* or Rain (*ombura*) clan. It is not divided into septs.

3. The *Ekuendjata* clan. Their name is derived by Mr. G. Viehe from *ondata*, "a spring of water." The clan includes two septs called "the Great Heap" and "the Little Heap" respectively.

4. The *Ekuauti* or Shrub (*outi*) clan.

5. The *Ekuatjiti* or Tree (*otjiti*) clan. According to Mr. E. Dannert this is a sept of the preceding clan and takes its name from a strongly aromatic shrub called *okuatjiti*, which the Herero use for rubbing their bodies.

6. The *Ekuahere*, the Marmot or Rock rabbit<sup>4</sup> (*ehere*)

<sup>1</sup> G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Ovaherero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, p. 112. As to the prefixes *omu* and *ova* see H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero*, pp. 136 sq.

<sup>2</sup> C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 221; J. Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iv. (1869) pp. 501 sq.; J. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero*, p. 7; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*,

p. 163; G. Viehe, "Omaanda und Otuzo der Herero," *op. cit.* pp. 111 sq.; J. Irlé, *Die Herero*, pp. 89 sq.; E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, pp. 17 sq.

<sup>3</sup> According to Mr. E. Dannert (*Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 17), the name is derived from a word meaning "heap," not "sun." But the weight or at least the majority of the authorities, including that of the lexicographer Dr. H. Brincker, is against him.

<sup>4</sup> Various described in German as "eine Art Murmeltier" and "Felsenkaninchen."

List of the principal maternal clans (*omaanda*) of the Herero.

clan. According to Mr. E. Dannert, this is a sept of the following clan.

7. The *Ekuendjandje* or Liberal (*ondjandje*) clan. It includes two or three septs which are called after sunset, darkness, and perhaps the rock rabbit.

8. The *Ekuatjivi* clan. Their name, according to Dr. Brincker, is derived from a word meaning "wicked" or "evil"; according to Mr. E. Dannert, it comes from a word meaning "tree." The clan falls into two divisions, one of which takes its special name from a bush (*omungambu*) and the other from the morning (*omuhuka*).

Other maternal clans (*omaanda*) enumerated by Dr. Brincker in his dictionary of the Herero language are:—

9. The *Ekuaorongongo* or Koodoo (*ohorongongo*) clan.

10. The *Ekuesembi* or Chameleon (*esembi*) clan. And we hear of another called *Ekuenanjimi*, said to be so named from an ornament of iron wire (*onguanjimi*) which members of the clan wear.<sup>1</sup>

Several of these maternal clans (*omaanda*) derive their names from the same objects after which some of the paternal clans (*otuzo*) are named; for we shall see immediately that among the paternal clans are some which call themselves after the sun, the koodoo, the chameleon, and liberality. It is possible that some writers have confused the maternal clans (*omaanda*) with the paternal clans (*otuzo*); and indeed C. J. Andersson and Josaphat Hahn speak only of *omaanda* without appearing to know of the existence of the *otuzo*. One of the latest and best authorities on the Herero, Mr. Eduard Dannert, definitely affirms that several writers have confounded the two distinct sets of clans.<sup>2</sup> He himself denies that the maternal clans (*omaanda*) are totemic in character, with definite rules as to wearing the hair, keeping various sorts of cattle, and abstaining from various kinds of food. Such customs, according to him, are characteristic of the paternal clans (*otuzo*), not of the maternal clans (*omaanda*).<sup>3</sup> If he is right, the double system of paternal and maternal clans among the Herero

Some writers have perhaps confused the maternal clans (*omaanda*) with the paternal clans (*otuzo*).

<sup>1</sup> C. J. Büttner, in H. Brincker's *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> E. Dannert, *op. cit.* pp. 13 sqq.

is not so complex and confusing as at first sight it appears to be.

The Herero profess to account for the origin of their maternal clans (*omaanda*) by tales which seem to shed but little light on the subject. Most of these stories turn on two or three sisters who went to the obsequies of their uncle, and of whom the younger was always the more sage and fortunate. For example, the origin of the Sun clan and the Rain clan is set forth in the following anecdote. Once upon a time there were two sisters, whose uncle was dead; and they thought they would go to the funeral. The one said, "It is very hot; let us wait for the rain." But the other had no fear of the heat, and away she went to the funeral. So the one who waited for the rain was called "She who is related by marriage to the rain" (*omukuen-ombura*), and the one who did not fear the noon-day heat was called "She who is related by marriage to the Sun" (*omukuejuva*). That was the origin of the Rain and the Sun clans.<sup>1</sup>

Legends told by the Herero to account for the origin of their maternal clans (*omaanda*).

Again, the origin of the Spring of Water clan (*Ekuendjata*) is explained by the following legend. Once upon a time there were some women and they all went on a journey. And it came to pass that they found a spring of water and sat down by it to drink. But the water did not suffice for them all. So some of them said, "Let us go on." But others said, "Let us dig for water to drink." So some went on, and some stopped behind, and those who stopped behind at the spring (*ondjata*, now pronounced *ondata*) were called *Ovakuendjata*. That is the origin of the Spring of Water clan (*Ekuendjata*).<sup>2</sup>

A tale told to account for the origin of the Shrub or Twig clan and the Tree clan runs thus. There were two sisters, an elder and a younger, and they went to the funeral of their uncle. On the way the younger sister found a sweetly smelling shrub called *okakuatjiti* and plucked its fragrant twigs (*outi*); so she was called Omukuauti. Then the elder sister came and plucked the wood or thick branches (*oviti*,

<sup>1</sup> G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Herero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, p. 113; J. Irle, *Die*

*Herero*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Herero," *op. cit.* pp. 114 sq.; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 91.

singular *otjiti*) of the shrub; so she was called Omukatjiti. That is the origin of the Shrub or Twig clan (*Ekuauti*) and of the Tree clan (*Ekuatjiti*).<sup>1</sup>

The paternal clans (*otuzo*) of the Herero.

The paternal clans (*otuzo*, plural of *oruzo*) are much more numerous than the maternal clans (*omaanda*). More than twenty of them have been recorded, but the list is probably incomplete. The etymology of the word *oruzo* and the meaning of most of the names of these paternal clans are alike obscure. These names regularly begin with *oru* or *oro*, which is the genitive prefix of *oruzo*; for example, *Oroesembi* is the Chameleon clan, the name being compounded of *oro* and *esembi*, "chameleon." When we wish to express the members of a clan we prefix *ovo*, the usual sign of the personal plural; for example, *Ovosembi*, "they of the chameleon." Among these paternal clans are the clans of the sun, the chameleon, the koodoo (a species of antelope), rag, liberality, and a girdle or necklace made out of pieces of the shells of ostrich eggs. The members of each clan (*oruzo*) are bound to observe certain customs in regard to food, the wearing of their hair, and so on. Some may not keep hornless cattle; others may not keep oxen with white backs; others keep neither gray cattle nor gray dogs; some are forbidden to eat tongues, others to eat the leg of an ox, others to eat the small stomach of cattle, others to eat gray oxen, others to eat hornless oxen, others to eat draught oxen, others to eat the shins, shoulder-blades, and blood of cattle, others to eat hares, others to eat the steinbock; some may not drink the milk of cows of certain colours or characterised by horns of a certain shape. When animals of a sort which the custom of his clan forbids him to keep are born in a herd, the owner has to give them away or sell them, sometimes for an old song. The members of one clan will not touch clothes, skins, or anything else that has been put off by other people. Members of the Chameleon clan (*Oro-esembi*) take their name from the chameleon (*esembi*), which they regard as sacred: they call the creature "old grandfather"

Each clan (*oruzo*) observes certain rules as to food, the wearing of their hair, and the kinds of cattle and sheep which they may keep.

The Chameleon clan.

<sup>1</sup> G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Herero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*

zu Berlin, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, pp. 115 sq.; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 92.

and will not kill it. If they find a chameleon, they take it to the sacred hearth (*okuruo*) of the kraal and let it run about there for good luck. They prefer to keep brown and brindled cattle; they keep no grayish sheep and no dun-coloured cattle, nor will they eat the flesh of such animals. Members of the Rag clan (*Oruomakoti*, from *ekoti*, "rag") throw away the tripe of slaughtered cattle; they keep yellow and dun-coloured kine, but no hornless or earless sheep, nor may they eat the flesh of such animals. Members of the Sun clan may only eat and drink while the sun is visible; they keep hornless cattle, and eat none that is of a bluish tinge. The Koodoo clan (*Orojaharongo*, from *ohorongo*, "koodoo") may not eat the koodoo; but they sacrifice the beast and make magic with it, and the horns of the koodoo decorate their graves: they keep no hornless beasts, no beasts with crumpled horns, and no beasts without ears. The Liberals, as we may call the members of the Liberal clan (*Oruanguendjandje*, from *ondjandje*, "liberal"), sacrifice and make magic with wethers that have a growth behind the ear; they neither keep nor eat gray cattle, and the flesh of tongues is also forbidden to them. Members of the Girdle or Necklace (*ombongora*) clan do not eat the blood of sheep nor flesh from the lower part of the animal's front legs; and women of this clan may not eat a sheep's breast. Each paternal clan (*oruzo*) has its badge or scutcheon, which the male members wear on the nape of the neck. It may be, for example, a boar's tusk or a sea-shell.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As to the paternal clans (*otuzo*) of the Herero see G. Viehe, in (*South African Folk-lore Journal*, i. (1879) p. 40 note; *id.* "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Ovaherero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, pp. 109-111; H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero* (Leipsic, 1886), pp. 195 *sq.*; P. H. Brincker, "Charakter, Sitten und Gebräuche speciell der Bantu Deutsch-Südwestafrikas," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, iii. (1900) Dritte Abteilung, p. 73; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Oldenburg and Leipsic, n.d.), pp. 164

*sq.*; H. von François, *Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Magdeburg, n.d.), pp. 172 *sq.*; J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Herero," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv. (1900) pp. 295 *sqq.*; *id.*, "Weiteres über das Recht der Herero," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xix. (1906) pp. 412 *sqq.*; J. Irle, *Die Herero* (Gütersloh, 1906), pp. 87-89; E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 11-16. Our two principal authorities on the subject are Messrs. G. Viehe and E. Dannert. Mr. Irle's account agrees closely with that of Mr. G. Viehe and is perhaps dependent on it.

Rules as to  
marriage in  
the Herero  
clans.

We have unfortunately very little information as to the rules which regulate marriage in the Herero clans, both maternal and paternal. From a passing utterance of one of our authorities we gather that the maternal clans (*omaanda*) are exogamous; husband and wife always belong to different *omaanda*.<sup>1</sup> As to the paternal clans (*otuzo*) one of our authorities definitely affirms that exogamy does not exist, and another says that marriage commonly takes place within the clan.<sup>2</sup> Yet we may doubt whether on this point they are not mistaken. From the statement that a wife at marriage passes into her husband's paternal clan (*oruzo*)<sup>3</sup> we may perhaps surmise that the two always belong to different paternal clans, in other words, that the paternal clans (*otuzo*) like the maternal (*omaanda*) are exogamous. Some writers say that at marriage a wife quits her maternal clan (*eanda*) also for the maternal clan of her husband, though her children belong to her original maternal clan (*eanda*), not to his.<sup>4</sup> But the statement perhaps rests on a confusion with the paternal clan (*oruzo*); for it is positively affirmed by good authorities that no person may quit the maternal clan (*eanda*) which he or she has inherited at birth from the mother.<sup>5</sup> Another hint of the exogamy of the paternal clans (*otuzo*) may possibly be elicited from the following utterance: "A young man who wishes to choose a wife for himself has, in most cases, not a very ample field for his choice, as he is bound by many social circumstances and regulations which it would take too much space to explain here." This tantalising statement of a well-informed missionary, the Rev. G. Viehe, is curtly elucidated by his editor with the remark "*eanda* and perhaps *oruzo*."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dannert, "Soziale Verhältnisse der Ovaherero," *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, vi. (1888) p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Bensen and Meyer, quoted by Prof. J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Herero," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv. (1900) pp. 300 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Ovaherero," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902) Dritte Abteilung, p. 109; J. Irlé, *Die Herero*, p. 87; E. Dannert, *Zum*

*Rechte der Herero*, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero*, p. 7; Meyer, reported by Prof. J. Kohler, in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv. (1900) p. 306; E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 19 (on Meyer's authority).

<sup>5</sup> G. Viehe, "Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Herero," *op. cit.* p. 109; J. Irlé, *Die Herero*, p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> G. Viehe, "Some Customs of the Ovaherero" (*South African Folk-lore Journal*, i. (1879) p. 48. Yet in his own treatise on the Herero clans, to

In the absence of definite information it is impossible to do more than hazard a conjecture as to the origin of this double system of clans. We might suppose that it had arisen through the union of two totemic tribes, one of which had maternal descent of the totem and the other paternal. But, so far as I am aware, there is nothing in the customs of the Herero to confirm this hypothesis, nor do I remember to have met with any instance of such an amalgamation elsewhere. We might also suppose that the twofold system marks an attempt, not fully carried through, to substitute paternal for maternal descent. We have seen that maternal descent appears to have preceded paternal descent among the Western Islanders of Torres Straits.<sup>1</sup> Hence it is not impossible that the Herero are in a state of transition between the two.

Conjecture as to the origin of the double system of clans among the Herero.

Like many other exogamous and totemic peoples, the Herero favour the marriage of cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively; while at the same time they forbid and even regard with horror as incest the marriage of cousins, the children of two brothers or of two sisters. On this subject Mr. Dannert tells us that "marriages between relations are so much preferred that marriages between persons who are not related to each other are a rarity. Again, among relations marriages between cousins are especially preferred, but only between children of a brother and a sister, not between the children of two brothers or of two sisters, because the Herero assert that children of such cousins are weak and die. . . . Indeed such a marriage is not only improper, but is actually regarded as a horror, because the children of two brothers or of two sisters are themselves brothers and sisters according to Herero law, and sexual intercourse between them is viewed as incest and even subjects the culprits to the consequences of the blood-feud."<sup>2</sup> However, Mr. Dannert adds that the custom which directs a man to marry his cousin, the daughter either of his mother's

Cousin marriages among the Herero.

which I have so often referred ("Die Omaanda und Otuzo der Herero"), Mr. Viehe does not vouchsafe a word as to the restrictions on marriage, with which he seems to be well acquainted.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 33 sq. Compare Bensen, quoted by Prof. J. Kohler, "Das Rechte der Herero," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv. (1900) pp. 300 sq.

brother or of his father's sister, is often broken through, but that even then the wife is still looked for among the kinsfolk of her husband.<sup>1</sup>

Group-  
marriage  
among the  
Herero.

The Herero sometimes practise a form of group-marriage, for which the native name is *oupanga*. According to the missionary and lexicographer Dr. Brincker this institution "is a custom of the heathen Herero, consisting in a community of women and property, though the community of property exists only in so far as the *oma-panga* (the members of such a community) may not refuse each other anything. Originally *oupanga* is the right word for 'friendship,' but through the custom of the community of women, which exercises a very corrupting influence on the people, it has acquired a very evil flavour, so that we should be shy of using it in that sense."<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere the same writer tells us that "two men who are each *epanga* to the other bind themselves by mutual presents of cattle and other things to an intimate friendship which makes accessible to every *epanga* the wives of his *epanga*, and on the other hand confers the right to take anything from his herd at pleasure. This evil custom has had as a consequence that the heathen Herero women bear comparatively few children."<sup>3</sup> Again, Mr. Bensen, District Superintendent of Omaruru, informs us that "three men unite together and hold their wives and cattle in common, that is, they use their wives mutually and slaughter their cattle among each other. This they call *oupanga*. The children remain with the father who married the woman who bore the child, even when it can be proved that one of the two other men is its real father."<sup>4</sup>

Mr. E.  
Dannert's  
investiga-  
tion of  
group-  
marriage  
among the  
Herero.

The subject of these group-marriages has lately been studied with care by Mr. E. Dannert. From him we learn that they are concluded by a verbal agreement without any religious or other formalities, and that they may be dissolved

<sup>1</sup> E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero*, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. H. P. Brincker, "Charakter, Sitten und Gebräuche speciell der Bantu Deutsch-Südwestafrikas," *Mit-*

*teilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, iii. (1900) Dritte Abteilung, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Bensen, quoted by Prof. J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Herero," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv. (1900) p. 298. Compare H. von François, *Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, pp. 198 sq.

at any time, which commonly happens through a dispute bred by one of the women concerned. But it is remarkable that among these Herero of South-West Africa, just as among the Chukchees of North-Eastern Asia,<sup>1</sup> brothers do not form an *oupanga* or group-marriage; indeed it is strictly forbidden (*ku zera*) for them to do so. More than that, the male partners in a group-marriage should not be related to each other by blood at all. But on the other hand, provided the husbands are no relations to each other, the wives in such a marriage may be sisters. Further, the children of a group-marriage are not considered to be brothers and sisters to each other. Moreover, according to Mr. E. Dannert, the community of wives does not carry with it a community of goods. The partners may not even ask anything directly of each other; if they wish to do so they must send the request through a messenger, who delivers his message in veiled language and roundabout phrases. However, at a festival it is a point of honour with the host to give his connubial partner the choicest morsel of flesh, and to supply him with the best wether as provision for a journey. If the partnership should afterwards be dissolved, each partner must restore or make good to the other what he has received from him during the continuance of the group-marriage.<sup>2</sup>

Although brothers may not share their wives in their lifetime, surviving brothers inherit them at the death of their relatives; in other words, the Herero observe the custom of the levirate. In this again their practice resembles that of the Chukchees.<sup>3</sup> Among the Herero it is usually the younger brother who inherits the widow of his deceased elder brother, and the intention of the custom, according to Mr. E. Dannert, is to keep the property in the family. For the same reason it is customary for the heir to marry not only the widow but her growing daughters by her first husband, in order to secure to himself the heiresses and with them the enjoyment of their substance.<sup>4</sup>

Lastly, it may be noted that the widespread practice of mutual avoidance between persons related by marriage is

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 349, 351.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, pp. 39-42.

<sup>4</sup> E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, pp. 38 sq.

Avoidance  
between a  
man and his  
betrothed  
wife's  
parents.

observed by the Herero. As soon as a man is betrothed, he and the parents of his future wife must shun each other's company; till the marriage takes place they may neither see nor speak to one another. The bride also is not allowed to shew her face to the bridegroom. If she does so, or if the man openly goes up to her parents, it is regarded on both sides as equivalent to breaking off the match.<sup>1</sup> And after marriage a man and his wife's mother are said to be *omu-henendu*, that is, strangers or unapproachable to each other. They may not eat together, and what the one has the other may not have.<sup>2</sup>

Maternal  
clans  
(*omaanda*)  
among the  
Ovambo.

To the north of Hereroland dwell the Ovambo, who unlike their nomadic kinsmen and herdsmen the Herero lead a settled agricultural life.<sup>3</sup> They are said to be divided into maternal clans (*omaanda*) like the Herero, but apparently no details of their social organisation have been published. "The institution of the *omaanda*," says Mr. Schinz, "is found not only among the Ovaherero, but also among all the Ambo tribes, the Uumbangala and probably also among all other Bantu peoples; it is therefore hardly open to doubt that the origin of this grouping is to be traced back to the time when the Bantu peoples, now scattered over the whole of equatorial Africa, formed a single homogeneous tribe."<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately our knowledge of the social organisation of the Bantu tribes is far too imperfect to allow us to affirm that they are all divided into exogamous totemic clans, whether with maternal or paternal descent. Nevertheless the number of Bantu tribes in which totemism and exogamy are known to coexist suffices to render it probable that these institutions either are or have been at one time universal throughout the peoples of the Bantu stock.

<sup>1</sup> E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> H. Brincker, *Wörterbuch und kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero*, p. 140, s.v. '*omu-henendu*'; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 238. As to the Ovambo see especially H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, pp.

271-322.

<sup>4</sup> H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, p. 164. Compare Josaphat Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iv. (1869) p. 501; Dannert, "Soziale Verhältnisse der Ovaherero," *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, vi. (1888) p. 117.

## § 2. Totemism among the Bechuanas

Another Bantu people who retain the totemic organisation are the numerous and well-known Bechuanas. They form a large nation scattered over an immense area, which stretches from the Orange River on the south to the Zambesi on the north, while it is bounded on the west by the great Kalahari desert, and on the east by the Drakenberg Mountains, which divide the Bechuanas from the Zulus and Swazies.<sup>1</sup> The nation is divided into many tribes, each occupying its own territory, but they all speak the same language with certain minor differences of dialect and cherish substantially the same superstitions and customs. They speak of themselves only by their tribal names and have no one native name for the whole nation, country, or language, though they have adopted the European practice of calling the nation Bechuana and the language Sechuana.<sup>2</sup> The Bechuanas, of whom the Basutos form the eastern branch, are on the whole a peaceable people. The men devote themselves to the chase and to tending the cattle, the women to house-building, the cultivation of the fields, and preparing the food. They raise crops of Caffre corn (*Sorghum caffrum*), maize, sugar-cane, pumpkins, beans, and tobacco. Their huts are circular, but in general do not conform to the common beehive pattern, since they consist of walls built of wattle and clay with conical thatched roofs. However, the huts of the Basutos are of the ordinary beehive shape.<sup>3</sup>

The Bechuanas a pastoral and agricultural people.

<sup>1</sup> G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's* (Breslau, 1872), p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. W. C. Willoughby, "Notes on Totemism of the Becwana," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) p. 295. Mr. Willoughby calls the people Becwana and their language Secwana. I prefer to adhere to the traditional and well-established spelling of the names. For lists of the Bechuana tribes with their territories, see G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 151 *sqq.*; F. Frédoux, "Quelques mots sur les Béchuanas," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris), IV<sup>m</sup> Série, xiv. (1857) pp. 372-375.

<sup>3</sup> G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 176 *sq.*, 183, 187 *sq.*; J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River* (Edinburgh, 1871), p. 500; E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), pp. 125 *sqq.*, 153 *sqq.*, 159 *sqq.* As to the share of the sexes in agriculture Casalis writes: "Among the Basutos, the Bapelis, and the Zulus or Matabeles of Natal, agriculture is looked upon in the most honourable light, and more generally pursued, both sexes devoting themselves to it with equal ardour. The other tribes still leave to the women the task of clearing and sowing the fields" (*The Basutos*, p. 159).

The Bechuana tribes are named after animals, plants, or other things, which members of the tribe regard as sacred.

The Bechuana tribes are commonly named after animals, plants, or other objects, which the members of each tribe hold sacred, regarding them with a high degree of superstitious reverence and fear. These sacred animals or other objects they call their *seboko* (*siboko*) or *seloko*, which means their "glory," or their *sereto*, or their *seano*. We may call them their tribal totems. The majority of the tribes appear to be named after animals, and in such cases no tribesman dares to eat the flesh or to clothe himself in the skin of the creature whose name he bears. They will not even look upon their sacred animals, if they can help it, for fear of some evil befalling them. If the beast is hurtful, as the lion, it may not be killed without great apologies being made to it and its pardon being asked. Purification is necessary after the commission of such a sacrilege. Each tribe is said to dance (*bina* or *lina*) or sing in honour of its totem; hence when you wish to ascertain to what tribe a man belongs, you ask him, "What do you dance?" The tribesmen swear by their totem, and among all the tribes it is a universal custom to apply the name of the totem animal to the chief as a term of respect. For example, when the Bakwena or Crocodile tribe had assembled in council to meet Sir Charles Warren, the assembly shouted "O crocodile man" at each point of their chief's speech. But "up to the present time," says the latest enquirer, the Rev. W. C. Willoughby, "I have failed to find the slightest trace in philology, customs, or folklore, of any sacrificial rite connected with the totem-animals of these tribes." Nor could Mr. Willoughby discover any evidence that the Bechuans believe the totem animal to be their ancestor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> T. Arbousset et F. Daumas, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-est de la Colonie de Bonne-Espérance* (Paris, 1842), pp. 349 sqq., 421 sqq.; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), p. 13; F. Frédoux (Missionnaire à Motito), "Quelques mots sur les Béchuanas," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris), IV<sup>me</sup> Série, xiv. (1857) pp. 376 sq.; E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), pp. 211 sq.; J. Chapman, *Travels in*

*the Interior of South Africa* (London, 1868), i. 46 sq.; J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River* (Edinburgh, 1871), pp. 391 sq.; G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 152-154; E. Holub, *Sieben Jahre in Süd-Afrika* (Vienna, 1881), i. 403, 412, 478; C. R. Conder, "The Present Condition of the Native Tribes in Bechuanaland," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887) pp. 83 sq.; *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, lix. (Lyons,

The following is a list of some of the Bechuana tribes with their totems:—<sup>1</sup>

List of  
Bechuana  
tribes with  
their  
totems.

*Ba-kuena*, "those of the crocodile."

*Ba-tlapi*, "those of the fish."

*Ba-chueneng*, "those of the monkey."

*Ba-nare*, "those of the buffalo."

*Ba-tlou*, "those of the elephant."

*Ba-taung*, "those of the lion."

*Ba-tauana*, "those of the young lions."

*Ba-phiring*, "those of the wolf."

*Ba-nuku*, "those of the porcupine."

*Ba-morara*, "those of the wild vine."

*Bal-letsatsi*, "those of the sun."

*Ba-kuabi*, "those of the wild cat."

*Ba-noga*, "those of the serpent."

*Ba-puti*, "those of the duyker or bluebuck" (a kind of antelope, *Cephalolophus mergens*).

*Ba-mangwato*, totem the duyker or bluebuck.

*Ba-hurutsi*, "those of the baboon."

*Ba-khatli*, "those of the ape."

*Ba-tlokoa*, "those of the ant-eater."

*Ba-rolong*, totem sometimes said to be iron (*tsipi*) and sometimes the hammer (*noto*).

*Ba-tsetse*, "those of the tsetse fly."

*Ba-mogoma*, "those of the garden hoe."

*Ba-hurutshe*, original totems the eland and hartebeest.

*Ba-pedi*, totem the mountain-hare.

*Ba-pula*, "those of the rain."

*Ba-pulana*, "those of the showers."

*Ba-fukeng*, "those of the dew, or mist."

*Ba-tlaru*, "those of the python."

*Ba-piri*, "those of the hyæna."

*Ba-kubuon*, "those of the hippopotamus."

*Ba-haole*, "those of the rhinoceros."

*Ba-kuru*, "those of the corn-cleaners, or corn-shellors."

1887) p. 98; Father Porte, "Une Mission au Bechuanaland," *Missions Catholiques*, xxvi. (Lyons, 1894) p. 165; *id.* "Les reminiscences d'un Missionnaire du Basutoland," *Missions Catholiques*, xxviii. (Lyons, 1896) p. 283; G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. (1901) pp. 404 sq.; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, edited by George McCall Theal (London, 1905), pp. 408 sqq.; Rev. W. C. Willoughby, "Notes on the Totemism of the Becwana," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) pp. 295

sqq. The Bechuana name for a tribal totem is *seboko* according to Arbousset and Daumas, *siboko* according to Dr. Theal, *seloko* according to Father Porte, and *sereto* or *seano* according to the Rev. W. C. Willoughby. Probably *seboko*, *seloko*, and *sereto* are only different ways of representing the same sounds.

<sup>1</sup> For the authorities, see the writers cited in the preceding note. The chief lists are those of Arbousset and Daumas, Frédoux, Casalis, Fritsche, Stow, and Willoughby.

The  
Crocodile  
tribe.

Men of the *Ba-kuena* or Crocodile tribe say that the crocodile is one of themselves, their master, their father, and they make an incision in the ears of their cattle to imitate the mouth of a crocodile. They revere the animal, they sing of it, and they swear by it.<sup>1</sup> Yet if they happen to go near a crocodile, they spit on the ground and indicate its presence by saying *Boleo ki bo*, "There is sin." They imagine that the mere sight of it causes inflammation of the eyes. And if a man of the Crocodile tribe has the misfortune to be bitten by a crocodile or even to have been splashed with water by the reptile's tail, he is banished the tribe. Livingstone met with one of these exiles living in another tribe. The man would not tell him the cause of his exile, lest the explorer should regard him with the same disgust which his fellow-tribesmen felt for him.<sup>2</sup> However, the crocodile is revered by all the Bechuana tribes, whether it is their totem or not. They commonly believe that if a man wounds a crocodile, he will suffer so long as the reptile suffers, and that if it dies he will die also. They will not even look upon the reptile if they can help it, for fear of some evil befalling them.<sup>3</sup>

The  
Porcupine  
tribe.

Men of the *Ba-nuku* (*Ba-nokou*) or Porcupine tribe are distressed if any one has hurt a porcupine. If the animal has been killed, they religiously collect its quills, spit on them, and rub their eyebrows with them, saying, "They have killed our brother, our master, one of ourselves, him whom we sing." They would fear to die if they touched its flesh; yet they deem it wholesome for an infant to insert into its joints certain portions of the stomach of a porcupine, mingled with the juices of plants which are believed to possess some occult virtue. The rest of the medicine is given by the mother to her child to drink.<sup>4</sup>

Members of the *Bataung* or Lion tribe are very loth

<sup>1</sup> Arbousset et Daumas, *Voyage d'Exploration*, p. 422; E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 255; C. R. Conder, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887) p. 84; Father Porte, "Les reminiscences d'un Missionnaire du Basutoland,"

*Missions Catholiques*, xxviii. (1896) p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. W. C. Willoughby, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) p. 300; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, i. 46 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Arbousset et Daumas, *Voyage d'Exploration*, pp. 349 sq.

to kill a lion, fearing to lose their sight were they to look at the dead beast. If they do kill a lion, they are careful to rub their eyes with its skin in order to prevent the imaginary danger. They would not eat its flesh, as do the members of other tribes; for how could they eat their grandfather (*mogolu*)? And whereas in other tribes powerful chiefs are wont to flaunt lion-skins on their shoulders as a royal mantle, no man of the Lion tribe would dare to wear a lion's skin.<sup>1</sup>

The Lion  
tribe.

Members of the *Ba-nare* or Buffalo tribe not only will not themselves kill the buffalo or eat its flesh or make use of any part of the animal; they will not even lend their spears to other people to cut its flesh or their needles to sew its hide.<sup>2</sup>

The  
Buffalo  
tribe.

People who have the hare for their totem bore the ears of their children, both boys and girls, at the age of twelve years. But if a mother has lost several children in infancy, she will be afraid to wait so long and will pierce the new baby's ears before she takes it outside of the house.<sup>3</sup>

The Hare  
tribe.

When the sun rises in a clouded sky, members of the *Ba-letsatsi* or Sun tribe say that he is afflicting their heart. All the food of the previous day is then given to matrons or old women, who alone may touch it or give of it to the young children whom they nurse. The people go down in a body to the river to wash their bodies. Every one throws into the water a stone taken from his hearth, which he replaces by one picked up in the bed of the stream. On returning to the village after this ablution the chief kindles a fire in his hut, and his subjects come and get fire for themselves from his. Then follows a general dance, accompanied by a monotonous chant, on the public place of the village. In this dance he who has lost his father lifts his left hand towards the sky; he who has lost his mother lifts his right hand; and orphans who have lost both their parents, raise neither their right nor their left hand, but cross both on their

The Sun  
tribe.

<sup>1</sup> Arbousset et Daumas, *Voyage of South Africa*, i. 47.  
*d'Exploration*, pp. 423 sq.

<sup>3</sup> W. C. Willoughby, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior* (1905) pp. 299 sq.

breast.<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this ceremony is not quite clear, but perhaps it is intended to disperse the clouds which hide the sun, the fire in the hut of the Sun chief being somehow supposed to renew the fire of his celestial brother.

The Iron  
tribe and  
the  
Garden-  
hoe tribe.

Members of a tribe which has iron for its totem will not work the metal.<sup>2</sup> Members of the *Ba-mogoma* or Garden-hoe tribe are allowed to employ the hoe in cultivating their gardens, but they would deem it profanation to use it for any other purpose, and it would be a very serious matter were they to strike a dog with it.<sup>3</sup>

The  
duyker or  
bluebuck  
tribe.

An old man of the *Ba-mangwato* tribe, who have the duyker or bluebuck (a kind of antelope) for their totem, told Mr. Willoughby that many years ago, in a time of famine, the tribesmen ate some duykers which they found in their game pits, but that they were careful to protect themselves from harm by rubbing the meat with certain medicines. In those days, if a man of the duyker totem happened to kill a duyker in his game trap, he would slip a noose over its neck at the end of a long stick and drag the beast home to be eaten by people of another totem; but he would not himself eat or even touch it. Another man of the duyker totem told Mr. Willoughby that when his son was a baby they took him to the home of his maternal grandfather, who venerated another totem. The grandmother one cold day thoughtlessly wrapped the child in a duyker skin, and the consequence was that the child's head was covered with sores, which they could not heal till a medicine-man applied the fur of a duyker to them.<sup>4</sup> Thus the totem supplies a homœopathic remedy: it can heal the injury which it inflicts.<sup>5</sup> Though the duyker or bluebuck (*puti*) is the sacred animal of the *Ba-mangwato*, yet to look upon it was a calamity to the hunter or to women going to the gardens. And members of the tribe may not tread on the skin of the animal. A *Ba-mangwato*

<sup>1</sup> Arrousset et Daumas, *Voyage d'Exploration*, pp. 350 sq.

<sup>2</sup> F. Frédoux, "Quelques mots sur les Béchuanas," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris), IV<sup>me</sup> Série, xiv. (1857) p. 377.

<sup>3</sup> W. C. Willoughby, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) p. 299.

<sup>4</sup> W. C. Willoughby, *op. cit.* p. 298.

<sup>5</sup> Compare above, vol. i. p. 22.

chief has been seen performing most undignified antics, springing from side to side in order to avoid treading on the skin of a duyker in a missionary's house.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the Bechuana tribes have a subsidiary totem in addition to their principal totem. Thus the *Ba-hurutshe*, who appear to be a stock embracing several tribes, had originally two totems, the eland and the hartebeest. They would not touch the hartebeest, but the only part of the eland which they held sacred was the *leshilo*, which they described as the fat around the heart, and one section of the tribe, while retaining the old totems, thought it right to eat even this. They distinguished between the two totems by saying, *Pino ke kyama sereto ke phofhu*, that is, "The dance is to the hartebeest; the veneration is for the eland." A small section of the tribe, called the *Bomakgane* section, venerate the wild boar as a subsidiary totem, without neglecting the old tribal totems, the eland and the hartebeest. They say that once, when their chief was childless, a medicine-man whose totem was the wild boar gave the chief some medicine, assuring him that a son would be born to him and ordering that the son and all his descendants should venerate the wild boar. Hence the section of the tribe adopted the wild boar as a subsidiary totem.<sup>2</sup> Another section of the same *Ba-hurutshe* tribe has abandoned its old totems the eland and the hartebeest and has adopted the baboon instead. They say that a chief of the tribe once captured a young baboon and tamed it, but his son, in playing with the animal, allowed it to escape. The father was angry and beat his son, who retaliated by seceding with a section of the tribe; and the seceders adopted the baboon as their totem.<sup>3</sup> According to Mr. Willoughby, the *Ba-kuena* or Crocodile tribe is also an offshoot of the *Ba-hurutshe*, and have in their turn given rise to the *Ba-mangwato* tribe, whose totem is the duyker or bluebuck. To explain why they venerate the duyker, the *Ba-mangwato* say that their original ancestor, hard pressed by his foes, took refuge in a thicket, and that

<sup>1</sup> J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River* (Edinburgh, 1871), pp. 391 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. C. Willoughby, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) pp. 299, 301.

<sup>3</sup> W. C. Willoughby, *op. cit.* pp. 299, 300 sq.

The subsidiary totems seem to have arisen through subdivision of a tribe.

The Bechuanas all hate the chameleon and the lizard, because they associate them with the origin of death.

a duyster saved him by springing from the thicket and so diverting the attention of his enemies.<sup>1</sup> The *Ba-tlaru* or Python tribe is sometimes called the *Ba-mothlo-a-re*, "the men of the Wild Olive," because their great ancestor Mo-tlaru ("he of the python") and his followers erected their huts under spreading olive trees.<sup>2</sup> These facts point to the conclusion that subsidiary totems sometimes arise through the subdivision of a tribe; a new community so formed may either adopt an entirely new totem or, retaining its old one, may add a subsidiary totem to distinguish it from other branches of the same totemic stock.

While each Bechuana tribe as a rule reveres one or more species of animal, all of them are at one in regarding two harmless reptiles, the chameleon and the lizard, with a violent antipathy, because in their opinion these creatures brought death into the world and all our woe. The way in which they did so was this. In the beginning God made up his mind that when men died they should come to life again, and he sent the chameleon to convey the glad tidings to the first Bechuanas. But while the reptile was crawling to deliver its message, God changed his mind and sent the lizard post haste after the chameleon to say that now he had thought better of it men were to die outright and be done with it. The bearer of this gloomy intelligence out-

<sup>1</sup> W. C. Willoughby, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) pp. 295, 299, 300. As to the relation of the Ba-hurutse, the Bakuena, and the Ba-mangwato, see also J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, pp. 356 sq.: "The precedence as to rank among the tribes in North Bechuana-land is taken by the Bahurutse. The first-fruits of a new harvest must be first partaken of by Moilwe, the present chief of that tribe. For another chief to *loma*, without waiting to hear that his superior had done so, would be a public insult and a cause for war. But in recent times such transgressions have been numerous, for the Bahurutse are not now a powerful tribe. The Bangwaketse, the Bakwena, and the Bamangwato were originally one people.

Tradition retains a glimmering of the circumstances of their separation. The Bakwena included the Bamangwato when they separated from the Bangwaketse; but afterwards a subdivision took place, the Bamangwato being the younger or minor party. We have already seen that afterwards the Bamangwato again divided, the minor party being now the Batowana, at present residing at Lake Ngami." This successive subdivision of the tribes, with the consequent rise of new totems, is instructive. On the history of the Bahurutse, Bakuena, and Bamangwato tribes, see G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, pp. 518 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> G. W. Stow, *The Native Tribes of South Africa*, p. 528.

stripped the laggard chameleon ; so that when the gospel messenger at last came panting in with tidings of a joyful resurrection, nobody would believe him, and both reptiles were knocked on the head out of hand, the lizard for coming in first with bad news and the chameleon for coming in second with good. That is why all the Bechuanas hate both these reptiles to this very day.<sup>1</sup>

The Bawenda are a Bantu people who inhabit the rugged but fertile mountain country between the Levuvu and Limpopo rivers in the northern part of the Transvaal. They keep cattle and practise agriculture, raising crops of sweet potatoes and maize ; in the old days they smelted iron and fashioned the metal into all the tools and weapons they needed. To secure them against attack their villages are hidden away in thick underwood or perched in places difficult of access on the steep sides of the mountains. Narrow slippery footpaths lead with many turns and windings up hill and down dale, through high grass and dense brushwood, to a collection of round huts with thatched roofs encircled by rich vegetation and shaded by tall trees, among the boughs of which a noisy troop of monkeys may be jabbering and disporting themselves.<sup>2</sup> Each district has its special god, and the gods of some districts are animals. For example, one district reveres a large snake, and another the mountain-monkey. Where the mountain-monkeys are the gods, they are not molested and so become very tame, often indeed coming down from their mountains and paying visits to people in the village.<sup>3</sup> These district deities in animal shape are probably totems.

The Makalakas inhabit a high, healthy and fruitful region, which forms the watershed between the valleys of the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers. They are reported to be the most skilful cultivators of the soil in the whole of Bechuana-land.<sup>4</sup> From the following account it would seem that they share the totemic system of the Bechuanas : "The Makalakas have the same prejudices with regard to the

<sup>1</sup> J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, i. 47. Compare E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> R. Wessmann, *The Bawenda of*

*the Spelonken* (London, 1908), pp. 9 sq., 11 sq., 14 sq., 21-23, 28 sq., 73.

<sup>3</sup> R. Wessmann, *op. cit.* p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, pp. 149, 298.

The Bawenda and their animal gods or totems.

The Makalakas and their totems.

flesh of certain animals that other tribes have. One man starved himself for a whole day because it was his *motupo*, as they call it, not to eat the water-buck; another, because he worshipped sheep, and could not eat the flesh. The Makalakas generally *biena* (a superstitious reverence) the *ewhobo* (meerkat). The Mashapatani *biena* the *shoko* or baboon; others worship the crocodile, and other animals and reptiles, which they will not defile themselves by touching."<sup>1</sup>

Thus the Bechuana tribes are totemic, but it does not appear that they are exogamous.

The foregoing evidence suffices to prove that the Bechuana tribes are totemic; for the *seboka* of each tribe is clearly its totem. Whether the tribes are also exogamous is not stated by the authorities I have consulted. From their silence it is natural to infer that the tribes do not observe the rule of exogamy, in other words, that a man is free to marry a woman of his own tribe. Such an inference, however, is at the best precarious, and it becomes doubly precarious when we consider how many other branches of the Bantu stock combine totemism with exogamy. Yet if the Bechuana tribes are, as they appear to be, communities each inhabiting its own territory to the exclusion of other tribes, it is probable enough that the rule of exogamy does not apply to them; since the exogamous system generally rests on a basis of septs or clans interfused with each other in the same territory, rather than on tribes which occupy each a country of its own. However, in the absence of positive evidence the question of the exogamy of the Bechuana tribes must remain in suspense.

Bechuana regard for consanguinity.

With regard to the marriage of near kin, we are told that "the Bechuanas and the Caffres acknowledge and respect the same degrees of consanguinity as we do. They do not reckon relationship beyond the degree of second cousin. Marriages between brothers and sisters, uncles and nieces, nephews and aunts, are disapproved of. Those between cousins frequently take place, but there are some tribes that condemn them as incestuous."<sup>2</sup> The writer unfortunately does not discriminate between the different cousins who may or may not marry each other. If we may

Cousin marriages.

<sup>1</sup> J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa* (London, 1868), ii. 284.

<sup>2</sup> E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 191.

judge by analogy, it is probable that the children of a brother and a sister are allowed, while the children of two brothers or two sisters are forbidden, to marry each other.

On the question whether, if the parents are of different tribes, the children belong to the tribe of the father or to that of the mother, our authorities are again silent; but from their silence we may in this case infer with more confidence that the children belong to the tribe of the father and not to that of the mother. For in the descent of property the rule of primogeniture is strictly observed by the Bechuanas; a man's heir is his eldest son, who inherits everything and gives to his brothers and sisters only what he chooses to leave to them. Women inherit nothing. Even in his father's lifetime the eldest son enjoys many advantages. He bears the title of "son-lord," while his younger brothers are called "son-servants," and his father dares to do nothing of any importance without consulting him and asking his consent.<sup>1</sup> All this is patriarchal; yet a possible trace of mother-kin survives in the rights which in some Bechuana tribes the maternal uncle has over his nephews and nieces. Thus among the Basutos the maternal uncle is understood to replace the mother, whose sex keeps her in a state of dependence. This is a counterbalance to the authority of the father and of the eldest son, especially in polygamous families, where rivalry is generally keen. It is the special duty of the maternal uncle to protect his sister's child and to purify it by means of sacrifices. When the rite of circumcision is performed, he presents his nephew with a javelin and a heifer; and he also defrays in part the expenses of the young man's marriage. In return he is entitled to a share of the spoil taken by his nephews in war, of the game they kill, and of the cattle that come into the family at the marriage settlement of his nieces. It often happens that the maternal uncle fills the office of prime minister and regent at the chief's court.<sup>2</sup>

Wives are bought from their parents with a price which varies according to the tribe from five to twenty-five or thirty head of cattle.<sup>3</sup> The death of her husband does not

Children probably belong to the tribe of their father.

Trace of mother-kin in the rights and duties of a man with regard to his sister's children.

Wives obtained by purchase.

<sup>1</sup> E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, pp. 179, 187, 190.

<sup>2</sup> E. Casalis, *op. cit.* pp. 179, 180 sq.

<sup>3</sup> E. Casalis, *op. cit.* pp. 181 sq.

The  
levirate.

release the widow from the rights which his family have acquired over her by purchase. She falls by law to one of his brothers or to the next of kin. The children of this second union bear the name of her first husband and are understood to belong to him, and to inherit his possessions; they have very small claim to the succession of their real father. But the obligation on the widow to remain in the family even although she has already-borne children to the deceased seems to shew that the purchase of which she was the object is the chief obstacle to her liberation.<sup>1</sup> Here as elsewhere the brother of the deceased inherits the widow, not in virtue of a former system of polyandry, but because she has been bought and paid for by her husband's family and passes to his heir with the rest of the inheritance.

### § 3. Totemism among the Ama-Xosa and Ama-Zulu

Little evidence of totemism in the eastern branch of the Bantu family in South Africa, the Ama-Xosa and the Ama-Zulu.

While the evidence for totemism, if not for exogamy, is ample among the western and the central branches of the Bantu family in South Africa, namely, the Herero and the Bechuanas, it is very scanty for the eastern branch of the family, the Ama-Xosa and Ama-Zulu, who inhabit the south-eastern coasts of Africa from Cape Colony to Delagoa Bay.<sup>2</sup> Indeed so meagre is the evidence that we may even doubt whether these Eastern Bantus have totemism at all. However, the following passages at least suggest that the Zulus, like many other branches of the Bantu stock, are or have at one time been divided into totemic clans. The Englishman Farewell, who resided for some time among the Zulus in the early part of the nineteenth century, is the authority for the statement that among them "it is prohibited in many families to eat certain animals' flesh, such as in some beef, in others elephant's, in others hippo-

<sup>1</sup> E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> The Ama-Xosa occupy the southern part of this territory as far north as the Bashee River. Beyond that river northward extend the tribes who may be grouped together under the general name of Ama-Zulu. Properly speaking the Zulus were a comparatively unimportant tribe till the despot Chaka, in

the early part of the nineteenth century, raised them to a position of power and made them the terror of all the tribes from the Am-Xosa to Delagoa Bay. See J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (London, 1857), pp. iii. sq.; G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 6 sqq., 119 sqq.

potamus'. It is said, that provided any family transgress this rule, and eat the forbidden flesh, their teeth will drop out, which is termed *motupo*. The forbidden flesh to all the royal family is the hearts of animals. All children must follow the *motupo* of their father, which causes much difference in families."<sup>1</sup> Here it should be observed that the Zulu word *motupo*, which expresses the family prohibition, is identical with the Makalaka word which designates the totemic taboo.<sup>2</sup> Further, the Scotchman David Leslie, who lived among the Zulus later on in the nineteenth century, tells us that "the whole Zulu nation, as at present constituted, is broken up into little tribes, the remnants of those conquered by Chaka. Each tribe has its *Esebongo* or name of thanks; for instance, one tribe is called Emtetwa, or scolders; another Niaow, or foot; another Zungu, or weariness; and when a chief makes a present of anything to one of his people, they will say, 'Yes, father; yes, Zungu'; or 'Yes, Emtetwa,' as the case may be. Each of these tribes has its peculiar habits and customs; for instance, one, Mat-e-enja (dog's spittle) will not eat goat-flesh, because they always leave a goat on the grave of their dead. When any one dies they bury him, and over his grave they spread out his mat, blankets, etc., and on the latter they place a goat, then go away and leave it. They say the goat never deserts the spot, but grazes about, and on the fourth day dies. If they eat any part of a goat unawares, they are seized with epilepsy and die. Even the young children in the kraal, who are too young to know anything of this, when a piece of goat-flesh is given to them, will not eat it, but carry it in their hands for a little, and then throw it away; and, be it remembered, that meat is their greatest dainty."<sup>3</sup> Again, with regard particularly to the Ama-Xosa we read that "the superstitious prejudices against eating certain foods are most widely spread, yet these also will be observed by one tribe, while another will disregard them, without it being possible to discover any

The *motupo* or totemic taboo.

One Zulu tribe will not eat goat's flesh.

Superstitious prejudices against certain foods among the Ama-Xosa.

<sup>1</sup> Captain W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar* (London, 1833), ii. p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup> David Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*, Second Edition (Edinburgh, 1875), p. 146.

Abhorrence  
of fish.

reason for the different practice. As a general rule it may be assumed that all the Bantu peoples of South Africa abhor the use of fish as food; they call fish 'water-serpents' and are careful not even to touch them. Many also reject pork as an article of diet, though this abstinence is neither so universal nor so fanatic as the rejection of fish; further, the particular tribes display peculiar prejudices in regard to many other animals, whether in refusing to eat or even to kill them."<sup>1</sup>

Rule of  
exogamy  
among the  
Zulus and  
other  
Eastern  
Bantus : no  
man may  
marry a  
woman  
who bears  
the same  
family  
name as  
himself.

Further, the Zulus and other Eastern Bantus observe a rule of exogamy, for no man may marry a woman who bears the same family name (*isibongo*) as himself, even though no blood relationship can be traced between them.<sup>2</sup> For example, Amanywabe is a family name among the Zulus, the Pondos, the Tembus and many other tribes. The people who bear this family name in the different tribes cannot trace any relationship with each other, yet no marriage between them is permitted. Moreover, they have ceremonies peculiar to themselves. Thus, for example, the customs observed at the birth of a child are exactly the same in every part of the country among people of the same family title, though they may never have heard of each other, while neighbours of the same clan, but of different family titles, practise customs altogether dissimilar. In addition to the exogamy of the family name it is a rule with the Eastern Bantus that no man may marry a woman related to him by blood on the father's side, however remote the relationship may be. Some tribes, as the Pondos, Tembus, and Xosas, extend the same prohibition to all women related by blood on the mother's side also. Children take the family title of their father, and are thus free to marry persons of the same family title as their mother, provided that no blood relationship can be traced between them.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> F. Speckmann, *Die Hermannsburg Mission in Afrika* (Hermannsburg, 1876), pp. 134; G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. (1901) pp. 430 sq. The family or praise name, *isibongo* or *isibonga*, is to be distinguished from

the *i-gama* or individual name bestowed on a person soon after birth. The latter (the *i-gama*) is the more sacred of the two. See J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, pp. 219-222.

<sup>3</sup> G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. 430 sq. Compare J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of*

Similarly, among the Matabele, who are an offshoot of the Zulus, persons who have the same family name may not marry each other ; but this relationship is reckoned only in the male line.<sup>1</sup>

"Every man of a coast tribe regarded himself as the protector of those females whom we call his cousins, second cousins, third cousins, and so forth, on the father's side ; while some had a similar feeling towards the same relatives on the mother's side as well, and classified them all as sisters. Immorality with one of them would have been considered incestuous, something horrible, something unutterably disgraceful. Of old it was punished by the death of the male, and even now a heavy fine is inflicted upon him, while the guilt of the female must be atoned by a sacrifice performed with due ceremony by the tribal priest, or it is believed a curse will rest upon her and her issue. . . . In contrast to this prohibition the native of the interior almost as a rule married the daughter of his father's brother, in order, as he said, to keep property from being lost to his family. This custom more than anything else created a disgust and contempt for them by the people of the coast, who term such intermarriages the union of dogs, and attribute to them the insanity and idiocy which in recent times has become prevalent among the inland tribes."<sup>2</sup> Speaking of unions which the Bantu regard as incestuous, another writer observes that they "are not punishable by

Difference of custom in regard to the marriage of cousins between the tribes of the coast and the tribes of the interior.

*Natal and the Zulu Country*, pp. 45 sq. ; F. Speckmann, *Die Hermannsburger Mission in Afrika*, pp. 134 sq.

<sup>1</sup> L. Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 158. As to the descent of the Matabele from the Zulus, see L. Declé, *op. cit.* pp. 150 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. 431, 432. In a note Dr. Theal tells us that among the Hlubis and others, commonly called Fingos, a man may marry the daughter of his mother's brother and other relatives on that side, but not on his father's side. The expression, a cousin "on the father's side," is ambiguous, because it includes the chil-

dren of a father's sister as well as the children of a father's brother, and these two sets of cousins in the estimation of many peoples stand on quite a different footing from each other. By cousins on the father's side Dr. McCall Theal seems to mean the children of a father's brother. The expression, a cousin "on the mother's side," which Dr. McCall Theal employs, is equally ambiguous, because it includes the children of a mother's brother as well as of a mother's sister, and these two sets of cousins in the estimation of many peoples stand on quite a different footing. By cousins on the mother's side Dr. McCall Theal perhaps means especially the children of a mother's sister.

Dread of consanguineous marriages.

Kafir law ; but they have a far more powerful preventative in their superstitious fears, which teach them to dread that some supernatural evil will befall the parties committing such acts ; they lose caste, as it were, and are considered in the light of sorcerers : hence such crimes are seldom committed. Consanguineous marriages are prohibited by custom rather than by law ; and if the parties are not too nearly related, and resolutely persist in their determination to marry, and if the man is prepared to pay pretty dearly for his wife, they generally succeed in gaining their point. Such cases are, however, very unfrequent. Relationship by *affinity* merely, and not by *blood*, presents no obstacle to marriage, and a man may even marry two sisters at the same time.”<sup>1</sup> Indeed such marriages with two sisters at the same time are common among the Zulus<sup>2</sup> as they are among many other peoples. “Incestuous marriages,” says another writer, “are dissolved, and a heavy penalty inflicted on the man. Any relationship which may be traced to whatever distance is considered as coming within the bounds of consanguinity ; and intercourse is punished, whether it be by marriage, or by carnal connection without marriage. To marry two sisters is not considered incestuous ; but to marry the descendants of a man’s ancestors is considered incest.”<sup>3</sup>

Marriage with two sisters simultaneously.

The levirate.

The Zulus, Swazies, and Pondos practise the custom of the levirate ; that is, the widow is married by the brother of her deceased husband, and the children she has by him are reckoned not to their real father but to his dead brother. Among the Fingoes it is the younger brother who weds his elder brother’s widow. The custom of the levirate is not observed by the Tembus and Gaikas.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Warner’s notes, in Col. Maclean’s *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (Cape Town, 1866), pp. 60 sq.

<sup>2</sup> F. Speckmann, *Die Hermannsbürger Mission in Afrika* (Hermannsburg, 1876), p. 135. Compare J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Brownlee’s notes, in Col. Maclean’s *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, p. 112 ; compare *ibid.* p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, pp. 46, 86 ; Col. Maclean, *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (Cape Town, 1866), p. 159 ; Rev. J. Macdonald, “Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890), p. 272 ; Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (London, 1904), pp. 226 sq.

Among the Eastern Bantu the same ceremonial avoidance of relations by marriage, and especially of a mother-in-law, is practised which we have already met with among many other exogamous and totemic peoples. Custom requires that a man should "be ashamed of" his wife's mother, that is to say, he must studiously shun her society. He may not enter the same hut with her, and if by chance they meet on a path, one or other turns aside, she perhaps hiding behind a bush, while he screens his face with a shield. If they cannot thus avoid each other, and the mother-in-law has nothing else to cover herself with, she will tie a wisp of grass round her head as a token of ceremonial avoidance. All correspondence between the two has to be carried on either through a third party or by shouting to each other at a distance with some barrier, such as the kraal fence, interposed between them. They may not even pronounce each other's proper name (*i-gama*).<sup>1</sup> Similarly, a woman is cut off from all social intercourse with her husband's father and all his male relations in the ascending line. She may not enjoy their company nor be in the same hut with them; she is supposed not even to look at them. Further, she is debarred from pronouncing their names even mentally. Nay, more than that, she may not pronounce the emphatic syllable of their names even when it occurs in other words; in such cases she is bound either to substitute a different syllable or to employ an entirely different word. Hence this custom has given rise to an almost distinct language among the women. The tabooed syllable is the one which immediately follows the prefix of the proper name.<sup>2</sup>

Rules of avoidance between a man and his wife's mother and between a woman and her husband's father.

<sup>1</sup> L. Alberti, *De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika* (Amsterdam, 1810), p. 136; J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 46; David Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*, Second Edition (Edinburgh, 1875), pp. 141, 172; Mr. Warner's notes, in Maclean's *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, p. 93; Rev. J. Macdonald, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890) p. 273; *id.*, *Light in Africa* (London, 1890), pp. 163 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Warner's notes, in Maclean's

*Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, p. 92. Compare Rev. J. Macdonald, *ll. cc.*; David Leslie, *op. cit.* pp. 141 sq., 172 sq.; L. Alberti, *De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika*, p. 136. The ceremonial avoidance of the names of relations is called *hlonipa*. It applies to the personal name (*i-gama*), but not to the family or praise name (*isibongo* or *isibonga*). See J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, pp. 221 sq.; and for more details *The Golden Bough*,<sup>2</sup> i. 413 sq.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Ama-Zulus.

The Ama-Zulus possess the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *u-ma-ma*, "my mother," to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. He applies the same term *u-ba-ba*, "my father," to his father, to the husbands of his mother's sisters, and, curiously enough, to his father's sisters. A man calls his first cousin, the son of his father's brother, *unfo natu*, "my (own) brother." He calls his brother's wife his wife, and she calls her husband's brothers her husbands. But the form of the system seems to present many anomalies or deviations from the primitive pattern.<sup>1</sup>

The classificatory system of relationship among the Barongo of Delagoa Bay.

Another Bantu people of South Africa who possess the classificatory system of relationship are the Barongo of Delagoa Bay. Their customs and beliefs have been recorded with praiseworthy diligence by the Swiss missionary Mr. H. A. Junod.<sup>2</sup> From his account it does not appear that the Barongo now practise either totemism or exogamy, but their classificatory system of relationship raises a presumption that at one time or other they must have been divided into exogamous classes. In the generation above his own a man applies the same term *tatana*, "father," to his father, to his father's brothers, to the husbands of his mother's sisters, and to the brothers of the husbands of his mother's sisters. Further—and this is one of the peculiarities of the Barongo system—a man applies the term *tatana*, "father," to certain of his first cousins, namely, to the sons of his father's sisters. Hence it often happens that a Barongo "father" is younger than his own son. Yet the Barongo are not so mad as to think that the father begat his son before he (the father) was born; they merely use the term "father" in a sense which does not at all imply the physical act of procreation; and unless we in like manner can rid our minds of that implication, it is in vain for us to wrestle with the complexities of the classificatory system. Again, in the generation above his own a man

<sup>1</sup> See L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 463 *sqq.*, with the Tables, pp. 523 *sqq.* (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii.,

Washington, 1871).

<sup>2</sup> Henri A. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga, Étude ethnographique sur les indigènes de la Baie de Delagoa* (Neuchâtel, 1898).

applies the same term *mamana*, "mother," to his mother, to all his father's other wives (for the Barongo, like other Bantu peoples, are polygamous), and to his mother's sisters. But while he calls his father's brother his father, and his mother's sister his mother, he by no means regards his mother's brother as his father nor his mother's brother's wife as his mother. Far from it, the relation in which he stands to his mother's brother (*maloumé*) is a very free and easy one, reminding us of the high and mighty manner in which in Fiji a sister's son (*vasu*) comports himself towards his unfortunate maternal uncle. In fact, he may do what he likes to his mother's brother, who on his side stands in terror of his nephew, being bound to humour him in all his whims and caprices. Nor is this all. The relation in which the nephew (*moupsyana*) stands to his uncle's wife is, if possible, still more free and easy. He calls her his wife (*nsati*), and she calls him her husband (*nouna*), and the two are at liberty to act accordingly. When the nephew honours his maternal uncle with a visit, he regularly repairs to the hut of that one of his uncle's wives who most takes his fancy, and there deposits a mat in the hut. The reason, according to Mr. Junod, why the nephew is free to treat his maternal uncle's wives so cavalierly is simply that when the uncle dies, he (the nephew) steps into the dead man's shoes by marrying the widows in a batch; so that he only anticipates his rights by the familiarities which he takes with them in his uncle's lifetime.

Privileges of a man in respect of his maternal uncle and his maternal uncle's wife.

In his own generation a man applies the term *bamakwabo* (plural of *makwabo*), "brothers and sisters," to his brothers and sisters and also to all his cousins german even to the fifth and sixth generation. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term *nouana*, "son" or "daughter," to his sons and daughters and to his nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of his brothers. And similarly in the generation below her own a woman applies the same term *nouana*, "son" or "daughter," to her sons and daughters and to her nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of her sisters. Further, as usually happens under the classificatory system of relationship, grand-uncles and grand-aunts are called grandfathers and grandmothers (*kokouana*), and grand-

Cousins confounded with brothers and sisters; nephews and nieces confounded with sons and daughters.

nephews and grand-nieces are called grandsons and granddaughters (*ntoukoulou*).<sup>1</sup>

Marriage  
of cousins  
forbidden.

The marriage of cousins, even in the fourth, sixth, eighth and tenth degrees, is prohibited among the Barongo; indeed two persons are forbidden to marry each other if it can be shewn that they have a single common ancestor, however remote. The prohibition is particularly stringent when the relationship is traced through males; it is sometimes relaxed after four generations when the relationship is traced through women. In such cases the husband has to pay a sum in addition to the customary bride-price for the purpose, as they say, of "killing the scruples" (*dlaya chilongo*), after which the tie of consanguinity is supposed to be severed. Yet the rule which thus bars the marriage of cousins among common people is totally disregarded in the marriage of chiefs.<sup>2</sup>

Rules of  
avoidance  
between  
relations by  
marriage  
among the  
Barongo.

Amongst the Barongo we find the custom of ceremonial avoidance observed between persons who are related by marriage. Such persons are called *bakonouana* to each other, and they cannot even pronounce the word without a feeling of discomfort, almost of fear. Yet curiously enough among them the woman whom a man is bound to shun most strictly is not his wife's mother but his sister-in-law, the wife of his wife's brother. If a man meets the wife of his wife's brother on a path, he must at once make way for her. He dare not eat out of the same dish with her. He speaks to her with embarrassment, and if he approaches her hut, he will not enter but will crouch at the door, and greet his formidable sister-in-law in a trembling voice.<sup>3</sup>

#### § 4. *A Theory of Bantu Totemism*

According  
to Dr.  
Theal the  
reverence  
of the  
Bantus for

Before leaving this part of our subject, it is proper to call attention to an explanation which has been given of Bantu totemism by Dr. Theal, the eminent historian of South Africa. According to him the reverence of the

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga, Étude ethnographique sur les indigènes de la Baie de Delagoa* (Neuchatel, 1898), pp. 72-83.

<sup>2</sup> H. A. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, pp. 84-86.

<sup>3</sup> H. A. Junod, *op. cit.* pp. 73, 79-81.

Bantus for their totemic animals rests on a belief that the souls of their dead are lodged in the creatures; in other words, totemism with them is only one form of the worship of ancestors. He says: "The Bantu believed that the spirits of the dead visited their friends and descendants in the form of animals. Each tribe regarded some particular animal as the one selected by the ghosts of its kindred, and therefore looked upon it as sacred. The lion was thus held in veneration by one tribe, the crocodile by another, the python by a third, the bluebuck by a fourth, and so on. When a division of a tribe took place, each section retained the same ancestral animal, and thus a simple method is afforded of ascertaining the wide dispersion of various communities of former times. For instance, at the present day a species of snake is held by people as far south as the mouth of the Fish river and by others near the Zambesi to be the form in which their dead appear. This belief caused even such destructive animals as the lion and the crocodile to be protected from harm in certain parts of the country. It was not indeed believed that every lion or every crocodile was a disguised spirit, but then any one might be, and so none were molested unless under peculiar circumstances, when it was clearly apparent that the animal was an aggressor and therefore not related to the tribe. Even then, if it could be driven away it was not killed. A Xosa of the present time will leave his hut if an ancestral snake enters it, permitting the reptile to keep possession, and will shudder at the thought of any one hurting it. The animal thus respected by one tribe was, however, disregarded and killed without scruple by all others. The great majority of the people of the interior have now lost the ancient belief, but they still hold in veneration the animal that their ancestors regarded as a possible embodied spirit. Most of them take their tribal titles from it, thus the Bakwena are the crocodiles, the Bataung the lions, the Baphuti the little blue antelopes. Each terms the animal whose name it bears its *siboko*, and not only will not kill it or eat its flesh, but will not touch its skin or come in contact with it in any way if that can be avoided." <sup>1</sup>

their sacred  
or totemic  
animals  
rests on a  
belief that  
the souls  
of their  
dead trans-  
migrate  
into these  
creatures.

<sup>1</sup> G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. 404 sq.

It is true that the Zulus and other Caffre tribes believe the dead to be reincarnated in serpents, but this is not in itself a proof of totemism.

On this it is to be observed that while it is true the Zulus and other Caffre tribes believe the dead to be reincarnated in serpents,<sup>1</sup> there is no evidence that the revered serpents are their totems. The belief in the transmigration of human souls at death into the bodies of snakes is too widespread to be accepted as of itself a proof of totemism. And Dr. Theal admits that the Bantus of the interior, by whom he appears to mean the Bechuanas, have lost the belief that their dead ancestors are in their totemic animals. But what evidence is there that they ever had such a belief? I do not remember to have met with any. The title of "father" or "grandfather" or "brother" bestowed on a totemic animal is not a proof that the soul of a dead kinsman is believed to be in the beast, since such titles are bestowed on totemic animals by people who entertain no such belief.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, then, Dr. Theal's explanation of Bantu totemism, though he does not use the term, appears to be an inference of his own from the facts rather than to rest on definite statements of the Bantu themselves. The inference is, indeed, a perfectly legitimate one, but it is not conclusive so long as it lacks positive native testimony.

Other Bantu tribes believe that the souls of the dead transmigrate into lions, hippopotamuses, and other kinds of animals.

At the same time in favour of Dr. Theal's view it deserves to be remembered that some Bantu peoples believe in the transmigration of their dead into other animals than serpents. Thus the Banyai on the lower Zambesi think that the souls of their dead chiefs enter into lions and hyænas, and therefore they never kill these creatures, so that the country swarms with them. When they meet a lion or hyæna, they salute it in their customary fashion by clapping their hands.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the Makanga in the angle between the Shire and Zambesi rivers refrain from killing lions, because they believe that the spirits of deceased chiefs are lodged in them.<sup>4</sup> The Barotse, a people akin to the Zulus<sup>5</sup> in the upper valley of the Zambesi, imagine that the souls

<sup>1</sup> See especially Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, part ii. pp. 140-144, 196-200, 208-212; and for more evidence of this belief in Africa and elsewhere, see my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), pp. 73 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 423, 448 sq.,

456 sq., 490, 495 sq., 528.

<sup>3</sup> D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 615.

<sup>4</sup> A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa* (London, 1906), p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 466.

of chiefs transmigrate into hippopotamuses.<sup>1</sup> Some tribes on the upper Zambesi suppose that every man transmigrates at death into an animal, and that he can choose in his lifetime the particular creature into which his soul shall pass when it has shuffled off the human frame. In order to partake of the animal's nature he swallows maggots bred in its putrid carcase and imitates the voice and movements of the living brute, whether it be a lion, a panther, a jackal, a crocodile, a hippopotamus, a boa-constrictor, or what not.<sup>2</sup>

Of certain Caffres, apparently also on the upper Zambesi, we are told that they judge of the sort of animal into which a man will transmigrate at death by the likeness which he bore to it in his life. Thus the soul of a big burly man with prominent teeth will pass into an elephant; a strong man with a big head and a long beard will be a lion; an ugly fellow with thick lips and a large mouth will be a hyæna; a long lanky man with bright eyes will be a *nhiaco*, serpent. All these animals accordingly they deem sacred and inviolable.<sup>3</sup> Another tribe of Caffres at the foot of

Theory that the souls of the dead transmigrate into the animals which they resembled in their life.

Mount Caroeira, in the upper valley of the Zambesi, think that the souls of the departed come back in the guinea-fowl that perch on the thick-foliaged trees under whose shadow their kinsfolk lie buried.<sup>4</sup> The Ababua in the upper valley of the Congo fancy that after death their spirits will dwell in the bodies of leopards or gorillas or hippopotamuses; every man chooses one or other of these beasts for his future abode, and the creature of his choice he henceforth deems sacred and will not eat its flesh.<sup>5</sup> Some of the Congo peoples who hold this faith conform to the habits of their chosen animal in their lifetime; and when the chosen animal is a leopard or a crocodile, the practices of the leopard-men or the crocodile-men are horrible. Many tribes in the northern parts of the Congo basin hold that the souls of great chiefs always transmigrate into the bodies of

Some tribes of the Congo think that people can choose the animals into which their souls will transmigrate at death.

<sup>1</sup> L. Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> A. Bertrand, *The Kingdom of the Barotsi, Upper Zambezia* (London, 1899), p. 277, quoting the account of the French missionary M. Coillard.

<sup>3</sup> Father Courtois, "Scenes de la vie Cafre," *Missions Catholiques*, xv.

(Lyons, 1883) p. 593.

<sup>4</sup> Father Courtois, "A travers le haut Zambèze," *Missions Catholiques*, xvi. (Lyons, 1884) p. 299.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Halkin, *Quelques peuplades du district de l'Uelé*, i. (Liège, 1907) p. 102.

Amongst the Bahima the belief in transmigration exists along with totemism, but is quite independent of it.

There seems to be no sufficient ground for connecting the totemism of the Bantu with their belief in metempsychosis.

gazelles, hippopotamuses, or leopards.<sup>1</sup> The Bahima, a pastoral people of Ankole, between Uganda and the Congo Free State, believe that their dead kings turn into lions, their queens into leopards, and their princes and princesses into snakes. There are three belts of forests where the bodies of kings, queens, and princes and princesses are deposited, and where the wonderful transformation into the appropriate animals is supposed to take place. In each of these forests there is a temple with priests, who attend to the worship of the sacred animals, be they lions, leopards, or snakes. The ghosts of commoners have no special abode but wander about near the villages.<sup>2</sup> This last case is particularly instructive because, as we shall see, the Bahima have totemism; yet their belief in the transmigration of kings, queens, and princes into wild beasts seems to have no relation to their totemic system, since none of the animals into which the royal and noble dead transmigrate are found in the list of their totems.<sup>3</sup> Similarly in regard to the southern Bantu tribes, with whom we are concerned in this chapter, there appears to be no sufficient ground for connecting their totemism with their belief in metempsychosis.

### § 5. *Hints of Totemism among the Bushmen and Hottentots*

No clear evidence that the Bushmen and Hottentots had totemism and exogamy.

With respect to the two other native races of South Africa, the Bushmen and the Hottentots, who probably occupied the whole of the continent from the fifteenth degree of south latitude to the Cape of Good Hope till they were gradually reduced in numbers and circumscribed in territory by the tide of Bantu invasion from the north,<sup>4</sup> there is no clear proof or even indication that either of them was organised on a basis of totemism and exogamy. Of the Bushmen whom he met with on the Zouga River Livingstone tells us that "the animal they refrain from

<sup>1</sup> *Notes analytiques sur les collections ethnographiques du Musée du Congo*, i. (Brussels, 1902-1906) p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Ankole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 101 sq.; Major J. A. Meldon,

"Notes on the Bahima of Ankole," *Journal of the African Society*, No. xxii. (January 1907) pp. 151-153.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 536.

<sup>4</sup> J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 467.

eating is the goat, which fact, taken in connection with the superstitious dread which exists in every tribe towards a particular animal, is significant of their feelings to the only animals they could have domesticated in their desert home.”<sup>1</sup> Similarly Mackenzie writes that “the Madenassana Bushmen *bina* the common goat; that is to say, it is their sacred animal, as the *kwena* or alligator is to the Bakwena. Now just as it would be hateful and unlucky to the Bakwena to meet or gaze upon the alligator, so the common goat is the object of ‘religious’ aversion to these Bushmen; and to look upon it would be to render the man for the time impure, as well as to cause him undefined uneasiness.”<sup>2</sup> But this only proves that the Bushmen revered or dreaded, for the two sentiments are near akin in the minds of many savages, the common goat; and such a feeling for a single species of animal does not constitute totemism. If it could be shewn that other tribes of Bushmen entertained a like reverence or dread for other species of animals, this would certainly raise a presumption of totemism; but apparently Livingstone did not mean to affirm this; the other tribes he speaks of may have been the Bechuanas, with whose tribal totemism he was acquainted.

Superstitious respect of the Bushmen for the goat.

As to the Hottentots we learn that on the banks of the Kei-Garib River some hordes of Koranas, a branch of the Hottentot race, bore the names of Right Hands, Left Hands, Sorcerers, Springbucks, Scorpions, Asses, Hippopotamuses, and Tall Ones; and that further to the west, on the middle course of the Orange River, were tribes of Koranas, who rejoiced in the titles of Bush Folk, Cats, Narrow Cheeks, Tailors, and Tanners.<sup>3</sup> But such tribal names are not in themselves any proof of totemism.

Hordes of Koranas named after animals, etc.

<sup>1</sup> D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 165.

*the Orange River*, p. 135 note.

<sup>2</sup> J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of*

<sup>3</sup> G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 367.

## CHAPTER XIII

### TOTEMISM IN EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

#### § 1. *Totemism in Central Angoniland*

Scenery of  
British  
Central  
Africa  
or the  
Nyasaland  
Protectorate.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA or the Nyasaland Protectorate comprises that vast region of Central Africa which lies embedded among the great lakes, bounded on the east by Lake Nyasa and extending to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika on the north. The country consists in large measure of high plateaux reached by toilsome and precipitous ascents of several thousand feet, from the sharp edge of which you look back and down on a yawning gulf, where the far-spreading landscape stretches away, league upon league, into the dim distance or the deep indigo-blue waters of the lake shimmer in the sun. The surface of these plateaux is a rolling grass land variegated by swelling downs and granite mountains and watered by small streams and lakes. There is but little of those sweltering jungles and matted luxuriant forests which a European mind naturally associates with the scenery of the tropics. Indeed the air of these high uplands is cool and bracing; in clear weather the sky is of a beautiful pale blue; and the wild flowers, such as the violets, the buttercups, the forget-me-nots, and the anemones, which bespangle the short grass might almost beguile an Englishman into imagining himself at home.<sup>1</sup>

The population of the Nyasaland Protectorate includes

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Natives of British Central Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 4 *sqq.*, 35 *sq.*; A. Werner, *The* (London, 1906), pp. 8 *sqq.*

many tribes belonging to different stocks and speaking different languages, but they are all members of the great Bantu family. Of the various stocks the Nyanja-speaking peoples are the most numerous and important. They include many tribes, amongst whom are the Amananja, the Ambo, the Anyanja, and the Achewa. The Angoni, who give their name to Central Angoniland, a district of the Protectorate lying at the south-west end of Lake Nyasa, are a Zulu people, who having rebelled against the despot Chaka were defeated by him and fled northward, crossing the Zambesi in 1825 and settling in the country to the west of Lake Nyasa. They have intermarried with other tribes, particularly with the Achewa, so that they are now a mixed race; but the northern Angoni still speak the Zulu language, though with some dialectical modifications. At present the Angoni are not so much a separate people as a ruling caste dwelling in the midst of British Central African tribes whom their ancestors conquered.<sup>1</sup> The natives of British Central Africa live chiefly by agriculture. The chase is a subsidiary pursuit, and except among the Wankonde, at the north end of Lake Nyasa, the keeping of cattle is an accident or an appanage of chieftainship. Among the principal crops raised by the natives are maize, millet, rice, beans, sweet potatoes, yams, pumpkins, and tobacco. The arts of weaving, pottery, and basketry are practised by the people, and they are acquainted with the working of iron and copper. Their houses are for the most part circular in shape with walls of wattle and daub and thatched roofs.<sup>2</sup>

The native population belongs to the Bantu family.

The Angoni, a people of Zulu descent.

Arts and industries of the natives.

The Nyanja-speaking natives of Central Angoniland are divided into exogamous and totemic clans, some with descent in the male and others in the female line. Generally children take their clan from their father, but in some cases from their mother. The name of the clan

Exogamous and totemic clans among the natives of Central Angoniland.

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 389-392; A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa* (London, 1906), pp. 24 sqq., 208 sqq., 278 sqq.; R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*

(London, 1907), p. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, pp. 424 sqq., 430 sqq., 435 sq., 453 sqq., 457 sqq.; A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa*, pp. 176 sqq.

is nearly always that of an animal, but sometimes it is that of a plant or other thing.<sup>1</sup> The following are some of the animal names of clans :—<sup>2</sup>

*Ngaluwe*, bush-pig.  
*Ngondo*, hartebeest.  
*Nsamba*, fish.  
*Mabvu*, wasp.  
*Nkoma*, coney.  
*Duwe*, zebra.  
*Pofu*, eland.  
*Nyati*, buffalo.  
*Nyuchi*, bee.  
*Soko*, baboon.

Among the names of clans derived from plants or inanimate things are the following :—<sup>3</sup>

*Gumbo*, water-melon.  
*Manda*, mushroom.  
*Manzi*, water.  
*Mvulu*, rain.  
*Minga*, thorn.  
*Churu*, ant-hill.

Obsolete  
 words  
 among the  
 clan names.

Among the clan names are many old words, which are no longer used in common speech to designate the objects they formerly denoted. For instance, the old word for a zebra was *duwe*, which is still the name of the Zebra clan, but the modern word for a zebra is *mbidzi*. The old word for an eland was *pofu*, which is still the name of the Eland clan, but the modern word for an eland is *nchefu*. Again, the old word for a baboon was *soko*, which is still the name of the Baboon clan, but the modern word for a baboon is *nyani*.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that in these and similar cases the old names may have been disused and new ones substituted out of respect to the sacred animals; and a like cause may perhaps explain seeming discrepancies in other totemic tribes, among whom the clan not unfrequently bears a different name from that of its totem.

<sup>1</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *op. cit.* p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *op. cit.* p. 177.

<sup>4</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *op. cit.* p. 176.

The natives of Central Angoniland generally shew a regard for the animal, plant, or thing which gives its name to their clan ; in short, they respect their totems. A person may not kill, eat, or destroy his totem ; and if it is an animal, he may not wear its skin. For example, a man of the Elephant clan was not supposed to benefit, even indirectly, by the barter of an elephant's tusks, though he might give the calico, beads, or whatever he got for them to his wives and friends. The taboo on eating the flesh of the totem animal is called *kusala*. If a person violates the taboo by eating, whether knowingly or not, of the meat, it is believed that his body will break out in spots, which is called *kuwenga*. The remedy for this eruption of the skin is to bathe the body in a decoction made from a bone of the animal, the eating of which caused the malady.<sup>1</sup> Thus here again the totem furnishes a homœopathic remedy by healing the harm it did.<sup>2</sup>

Respect shown by the natives of Angoniland for their totems.

Some of the tabooed objects or totems are not whole animals but only parts of them. Thus there is a clan called *Moyo* which means "life" or "heart"; and its tabooed object or totem is the heart of a goat. Again, there is another clan called *Mpumulo*, which means "nose," and the members of it may not eat the face and nose of an ox or cow.<sup>3</sup> Such totems I have called split totems.<sup>4</sup>

Split totems.

It is polite to address a person by his or her clan name ; indeed in addressing a woman it is the clan name which is always used. But certain clan names of chiefs might not be spoken after dusk ; any one who wished to address a chief in the dark had to use some other and common name, such as *Piri*, the clan of the Hills. Among some of the clan names borne by chiefs are the following :—

Clan names of chiefs with their tabooed objects or totems.

*Maseko* (a Zulu word). This was the clan name of the Angoni chiefs who settled in what is now Dedza district. *Maseko* in Chingoni (the Angoni language) means a pebble, also a kind of bird ; but the tabooed

<sup>1</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 174 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 10.

objects, in other words the totems, of the clan are fish and elephant's flesh, fowls, and rhinoceros' flesh.

*Jere* (a Zulu word, meaning a bangle). The tabooed object or totem of the clan is fish.

*Njobvu*, the elephant, the name of the Elephant clan. The tabooed object is elephant's flesh.

*Piri* (a word of Achewa origin), the Hill clan. The tabooed object or totem of the clan is the baboon. The Achewa have a legend that all their people formerly bore this clan name of *Piri*, till their chieftainess Nyangu called them all together and, in order to prevent the evils of close interbreeding, gave each family a new name, which was to descend to the children and children's children. In this tribe (the Achewa) children belong to the clan of their mother, not of their father. The reason alleged for the practice is that in the far past the chiefs were women, and so their children took their clan names from their mothers to mark their royal descent. This legend of the origin of totem clans is interesting, because, like similar Australian traditions, it points to the deliberate institution of exogamy as a means to prevent the marriage of near kin.<sup>1</sup>

Achewa legend that exogamy was instituted to prevent close interbreeding.

Belief of the Angoni and Achewa in the transmigration of souls.

Both the Angoni and the Achewa believe in reincarnation. Some say that after death they turn into the thing from which they take their name, that is, into their totem, as their fathers and kinsfolk did before them; others affirm that they turn into other animals, not into their totems.<sup>2</sup> Thus their theory partly confirms and partly disagrees with Dr. Theal's view that Bantu totemism rests on a belief in the transmigration of the souls of the dead into their totem animals.<sup>3</sup> Connected with this belief in metempsychosis is a certain dance called *Zinyau*, which is danced to songs with a weird cadence all over the Angoniland plateau. It is always danced after a funeral on a moonless night or before the moon is up. The dancers are members of a secret society disguised as various animals. Women are allowed to be present at it. The intention of the spectacle seems to be to make the people think that the dancers

Dance of men disguised as animals.

<sup>1</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 175 sq., 177.

<sup>2</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *op. cit.* p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 388 sqq.

are real animals, and that one of them is the dead man risen from the grave and reincarnated in animal shape. The secret society which furnishes the performers for this dance has a cryptic language and a password with a countersign. Candidates for admission to it in old days had to undergo a variety of ordeals, some of them revolting, some of them cruel, which sometimes ended fatally. Amongst other things the novice was set up on very high stilts. Intruders on the society were instantly killed.<sup>1</sup>

No man may marry a woman who bears his own clan name, though she may be of another race and live in a distant country, for all members of the same clan are in the relation of brother and sister. In other words, the totem clans are strictly exogamous. The rule of exogamy appears to hold good among all the tribes, whether they trace descent in the male or in the female line. On the other hand, the rule of taboo as applied to the totem is seemingly unknown or ignored among others.<sup>2</sup> Among the Achewa, as we have seen, children take their clan from their mother, not from their father; and the same rule of exogamy with maternal descent is observed by the Yaos, another tribe of British Central Africa.<sup>3</sup> In this tribe the chieftainship as well as the clan descends in the female line; a chief is succeeded, not by his son, but by his sister's son.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the Angoni apparently trace descent and transmit the chieftainship in the male line, following in these respects the Zulu custom.<sup>5</sup> First cousins may marry each other provided that they are the children respectively of a brother and a sister, because in that case their totems will be different. For example, a man of the Zebra clan has a son and daughter who are both necessarily Zebras. The Zebra son marries a woman of another clan, but his children will be Zebras like himself, since among the Angoni the clan descends in the male line. But the children of his Zebra

Rule of exogamy.

Maternal and paternal descent.

Rules as to the marriage of first cousins.

<sup>1</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 178 sq.

<sup>2</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *op. cit.* pp. 177, 202.

<sup>3</sup> A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 471; A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> A. Werner, *op. cit.* pp. 253, 258; R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 188 sq.

sister will not be Zebras, since she must marry a man of another clan, say the Eland clan, and her children will take their father's clan, not hers; if the father is an Eland, the children will be Elands too. Thus the Zebra brother and sister will have respectively Zebra and Eland children, and these first cousins will be free to marry each other, since they belong to two different totem clans. But first cousins who are children of two brothers may not marry each other, because they are necessarily of the same totem clan. For example, two Zebra brothers have a son and daughter respectively, but these first cousins may not marry each other because they are both Zebras like their fathers. First cousins who are children of two sisters may marry each other provided that their mothers married men of different clans, for in that case the two cousins will have different totems. For example, if two Zebra sisters marry two Eland men, their children, who are first cousins, will all be Elands and therefore cannot marry each other, since they have all the same totem. But if one Zebra sister marries an Eland man, and the other Zebra sister marries an Elephant man, then the children of the two sisters will be Elands and Elephants respectively, and these first cousins may marry each other, since their totems are different. On the other hand, in tribes with exogamy and female descent, first cousins, the children of two sisters, may never marry each other because they must always be of the same totem; but first cousins, the children of two brothers, may marry each other provided that their fathers married women of different clans, for in that case the two cousins will have different totems. First cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, are as free to marry under a system of exogamy with female descent as under a system of exogamy with male descent, because in both cases the cousins have necessarily different totems.<sup>1</sup>

A man's social position with regard to his wife's mother changes immediately after his marriage. The two avoid each other on every occasion, and should they meet by

Mutual avoidance of a man and his wife's mother.

<sup>1</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, p. 202. Compare A. Werner, *The*

*Natives of British Central Africa*, pp. 252 sq.

chance they cover their faces and run away from each other. "All this," we are told, "is from some sense of shame and modesty which hardly finds a counterpart among civilized nations, and has, of course, nothing to do with the fact that the son-in-law has to perform various menial acts of service for his wife's mother and relations."<sup>1</sup> Among the Anyanja and Yaos it is the universal custom for a man at marriage to go and build a house at his bride's home. The practice no doubt is connected with the rule that in these tribes the children belong to their mother's kin, not to their father's. "One of the new husband's first duties is to hoe a garden for his mother-in-law, though he is bound by the rules of propriety to avoid her to a certain extent. He must not eat in her presence nor see her eat, and there are various other restrictions, all of which come to an end when he has brought her the first grandchild, with a present. The same rules apply also to the father-in-law, and to the maternal uncles of both; while the wife has to observe them with regard to her husband's parents, and *their* uncles."<sup>2</sup>

These tribes appear to possess the classificatory system of relationship; for we are told that a man applies the name of father not only to his real father but to all his father's brothers; and that similarly he applies the name of mother not only to his real mother but to all his mother's sisters. Further, there is no single word for "brother" or "sister" in general, but there are distinct words for "elder brother" and "younger brother," and similarly for "elder sister" and "younger sister." There is a word which means "sister" when used by a brother, and "brother" when used by a sister, but which is never applied to a person of the same sex as the speaker.<sup>3</sup> All these are marks of the classificatory system of relationship.

Traces of the classificatory system of relationship.

<sup>1</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, p. 204. The Wankonde in British Central Africa "have that curious custom by which a man is practically forbidden to speak to or even look at his mother-in-law. This also obtains amongst the A-nyanja to some extent; yet here the

son-in-law has to hoe his mother-in-law's garden and assist her in many other ways" (Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 415).

<sup>2</sup> A. Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> A. Werner, *op. cit.* p. 254.

§ 2. Totemism among the Wagogo, Wahehe, and Waheia of German East Africa

The Wagogo and their totemic clans.

The Wagogo are a Bantu-speaking people of mixed blood who inhabit the Iramba tableland in German East Africa to the south of Kilima Njaro.<sup>1</sup> They both till the ground and keep cattle.<sup>2</sup> They are divided into totemic clans. The following is a list of their clans with their totems (*muziro*), which they may not eat or use.<sup>3</sup>

Clans.	Totems ( <i>muziro</i> ).
1. Wanyagowe	<i>Muhanga</i> , an animal about as large as a hog, which lives chiefly on white ants. It sleeps in a hole underground in the daytime.
2. Wanyang'anga	<i>Mbala</i> , bush buck.
3. Wanyacipegu .	<i>Fumbu</i> , a certain part of the stomach.
4. Wanyagatwa .	<i>Ng'hanu</i> , civet cat, and <i>mbala</i> .
5. Wasewando .	<i>Mbala</i> .
6. Wamunyanzoka .	Things killed by snakes.
7. Wambuga .	Sheep with short tail.
8. Wasenhyina .	<i>Cisunha</i> , a very tiny red bird, and <i>Nhyenesi</i> , a bird said to warn of danger.
9. Watemekwira	<i>Muhanga</i> .
10. Wakando .	<i>Fumbu</i> .
11. Wamusukuma .	<i>Mbata</i> , roan antelope.
12. Waseng'ongo .	To carry a spear which is concave on both sides.
13. Wanyang'hwalo .	<i>Ng'hwahe</i> , a kind of wild vegetable.
14. Wamunyambwa .	Red clothes.
15. Wamunyatoma .	" "
16. Wasembuce .	<i>Muhanga</i> .
17. Wegongo	<i>Nhongolo</i> , eland.
18. Wamunyiranga .	<i>Cisira</i> , a kind of squirrel.
19. Wamunyanguluwe .	<i>Mbala</i> , or a spotted animal of any kind.
20. Wamunyang'hali .	<i>Wamusitakwendwa</i> , a tree which they do not use for building or firewood.
21. Wamunyangduli .	<i>Nhongolo</i> .
22. Wanyeguruwi	<i>Ngubi</i> , pig.

<sup>1</sup> J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 464; F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 49 sq., 767 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. H. Cole, "Notes on the

Wagogo of German East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 336 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. H. Cole, *op. cit.* pp. 305 sq.

Clans.	Totems ( <i>muziro</i> ).
23. Wanyagundu .	Red clothes.
24. Wanyelangali .	<i>Nziriri</i> , an animal something like a badger.
25. Wasigani .	Premature calf.
26. Wang'halunga .	<i>Ng'halu</i> , a small bulb resembling an onion.
27. Wamusitakwendwa .	Tree of this name which they do not use for building or firewood (see above, No. 20).
28. Wamunyachuma .	Red copper wire.
29. Wanyamhumbwa .	<i>Machikwang'hala</i> , a bird which makes a peculiar noise in flying.
30. Wabalagudi .	<i>Naagulagu</i> , a bulb which is used in anointing and for stomach-ache.
31. Waseyingwe .	<i>Cituwa</i> , entrails of an animal.
32. Wamunyaciri .	<i>Itoga</i> , liver.
33. Wasehaba .	<i>Cipehema</i> , end of breast-bone.

The Wagogo think that if a person kills or eats the animal which is the totem of his clan, he thereby endangers his relations, but not himself. Thus, when they see a child suffering from scabs on its head, they say at once that the child's father has eaten his totem (*muziro*) and that is why his child has scabs (*mapere*).<sup>1</sup>

We are not informed whether the Wagogo clans are exogamous, nor whether they are inherited in the paternal or the maternal line. A widow usually marries a brother or other relation of her deceased husband. She may indeed refuse to do so, but such refusals are rare. A man may not look at his mother-in-law, but he may speak to her at a distance. The same restrictions apply to a woman in respect to her father-in-law.<sup>2</sup>

"At time of circumcision," says Mr. Cole, "abusive language is very much indulged in, and the women especially lose all sense of modesty, and the country becomes a mighty bedlam."<sup>3</sup> This brief statement seems to indicate that a period of sexual licence, if not of promiscuity, accompanies the operation of circumcision among the Wagogo, just as it used to do among the Fijians.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rev. H. Cole, "Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. H. Cole, *op. cit.* p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. H. Cole, *op. cit.* p. 338.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 145 *sqq.*

Two sets of totems, the *muziro* and the *mulongo*.

As a Wagogo clan has its *muziro* (forbidden thing), so each Wagogo family has its *mulongo* (forbidden thing), which is transmitted from the father to his children. The wife may have a different *mulongo* from that of her husband, but her children do not inherit it. The *mulongo* is apparently forbidden only after marriage. To eat the *mulongo* involves the loss of hair and teeth; to eat the *muziro* is said to cause the skin to fall off.<sup>1</sup> From this account it would seem that the Wagogo have, like the Herero, a double set of totems, one set (*muziro*) being appropriated to the clans and the other set (*mulongo*) to the families. The latter are hereditary in the male line. But details of the system are wanting.

The Wahehe of German East Africa.

The Wahehe inhabit the district of Iringa in German East Africa, to the south of the Ruaha River. They are a tall, slim, well-built people; the features of the men are regular and expressive, the faces of the women are comely. Their country is a beautiful mountain land, with a cool, often cold climate, where the cutting winds oblige the natives to go warmly clad. Though they raise crops of maize, sweet potatoes, and beans, the country is not well adapted to agriculture. On the other hand, it lends itself admirably to pasture; for the rugged mountains abound in clear, cold, rushing streams and fine waterfalls, which keep the grass on their banks lush and green throughout the year. Hence the Wahehe are above all a tribe of herdsmen; all their pride and ambition are in their herds. No man will willingly part with a single head of cattle, and even in time of famine he will rather go with an empty stomach than diminish the number of his beloved herds by slaughter. The houses of the Wahehe are built of stakes coated with clay. They are square in shape with perpendicular walls and flat roofs. As a rule each family occupies its own house.<sup>2</sup>

The totems of the Wahehe are always animals or parts of animals.

The Wahehe have totems which descend in the male line, the children taking their totem from their father. But their totemism is not combined with exogamy; a man is free

<sup>1</sup> Rev. H. Cole, "Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological In-*

*stitute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> E. Nigmann, *Die Wahehe* (Berlin, 1908), pp. v. 1, 3.

to marry a woman of the same totem as himself. If a wife's totem differs from that of her husband, she retains it after her marriage. At present a whole district will often have, with insignificant exceptions, the same totem. A totem is called *msiro* or *mundzilo*, though the commoner expression for it is *muiko*. It always consists in, or carries with it, the prohibition to eat a certain food, and this prohibition is strictly observed. The forbidden food is always an animal, very often only a particular part of an animal. The punishment for eating the tabooed flesh is supposed to be a lingering and painful sickness inflicted on the delinquent by the ancestral spirits. Scab and other skin diseases are often attributed by the sufferer himself to some unwitting violation of the totemic taboo. In such a case he hastens to consult the medicine-man or magician (*mlagussi*) and to offer an expiatory sacrifice. Even children observe the totemic taboo from their earliest years. Yet, though a man may not eat, he may freely hunt and kill his totem animal. Among the tabooed foods or totems of the Wahehe are the guinea-fowl, an unborn calf, sheep's head, the heart and kidneys of all animals, and two species of gazelle (*mato* and *funo*). The heart and kidneys of all animals are a very common totem. Sometimes a family has two totems, and if one of them is very inconvenient, they may rid themselves of it by an appropriate ceremony. For example, there was a rich cattle-owner who had for his totems a species of gazelle (*funo*) and an unborn calf. The latter proving inconvenient, he swallowed a certain medicine, seasoned an unborn calf with the same, and ate it. As he survived the ordeal, his family renounced the unborn calf as a totem, but kept the gazelle.<sup>1</sup>

Ill effects of eating the totemic animal.

A family may have two totems, but may rid itself of one.

Amongst the Wahehe the marriage of cousins who are the children of two brothers or two sisters is not allowed; but there is no objection to the marriage of two cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively.<sup>2</sup> The Wahehe practise polygamy. Even the poorest man, we are told, has at least two wives, while the rich have twenty or even fifty. Such customs seem to point to a large numerical

Cousin marriages among the Wahehe.

Polygamy.

<sup>1</sup> E. Nigmann, *Die Wahehe* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 42 sq.

<sup>2</sup> E. Nigmann, *op. cit.* p. 60.

majority of women over men. Wives are purchased from their fathers, the price of a bride varying from two hoes to four head of cattle according to the rank of the family.<sup>1</sup> On a man's death the bulk of his property goes to his eldest son. Wives with no children or with children under age are inherited by the grown son or, if there is none, by the brother of the deceased. But a man never thus takes to wife his own mother or her sisters. The principal wife is regularly inherited by the full brother or, if there is no full brother, by the half brother of the deceased.<sup>2</sup>

The  
levirate.

Totemism  
among the  
Waheia.

Another totemic tribe of German East Africa are the Waheia, a Bantu people who inhabit Bukoba, on the western side of the great Victoria Nyanza Lake. They are divided into exogamous clans called *kabila*, each with a particular kind of animal for its totem. One clan has for its totem the lizard, another the long-tailed monkey. No man may marry a woman of his own clan, and he may not kill or eat any part of his totem animal. If he kills or eats the animal, he is supposed to suffer from an eruption of the skin.<sup>3</sup> Thus the totemism of the Waheia appears, so far as we can judge from the brief report of it, to be of the normal pattern.

Exoga-  
mous clans  
among  
the Yao,  
Makua,  
and  
Makonde.

Lastly, it may be noted that several Bantu tribes of German East Africa, such as the Yao, the Makua, and the Makonde, are known to be divided into exogamous clans with descent in the maternal line, though they appear not to practise totemism. Among the Yao the system is decadent, but among the Makua and Makonde it is still in full bloom, and in these two tribes some of the clans are named after animals or plants on which the members of the clan are said to have especially subsisted. Among the Makonde the clans are very numerous; the names of fifty-two of them have been recorded. The name for an exogamous clan in the language of the Yao is *lukosyo* (plural *makosyo*), in the language of the Makua it is

<sup>1</sup> E. Nigmann, *Die Wahehe* (Berlin, 1908), p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> E. Nigmann, *op. cit.* p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kohler, "Das Banturecht in

Ostafrika," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xv. (1902) pp. 2, 3, referring to Lieutenant Richter, in *Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, xii. 83, 84.

*nihimmu*, in the language of the Makonde it is *litaua*.<sup>1</sup> All these tribes live chiefly by agriculture, though they do not neglect the chase.<sup>2</sup>

### § 3. *Exogamy and the Classificatory System of Relationship among the Masai*

Among the savages of eastern equatorial Africa the redoubted Masai are probably the most famous, their remarkable military organisation and fighting propensities having long rendered them the terror of their neighbours, and secured their predominance in the wide, often bare and arid plains over which these warlike herdsmen roam with their flocks and herds, once enormous in number but now sadly thinned by the cattle plague. Their present country extends from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it both in British and German territory. Neither in language nor in appearance do the Masai belong to the Bantu family. They are tall slender, lithe men, with features which have not much of the negro in them and which sometimes approach to the European type. It is believed that the race has been formed by a cross between the Nilotic negroes and the Hamitic peoples of the Galla and Somali family, who blended with each other long ago and dwelt apart somewhere in the mountains or tablelands which stretch eastward from the White Nile to the Karamojo country. From this cradleland of their race some cause unknown, whether the pressure of tribes from the north, or intertribal warfare, or famine consequent on drought, seems to have driven the Masai eastward and southward to the country between the great extinct volcano of Mount Elgon and the shores of Lake Rudolph. Here a division took place within the tribe. One branch betook themselves to agriculture; the other and more powerful branch continued, or reverted to, a purely pastoral life, and raiding their neighbours in all directions not only acquired vast

The Masai and their country.

They seem to be a blend of Nilotic negroes with the Galla-Somali stock.

<sup>1</sup> K. Weule, *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse meiner ethnographischer Forschungsreise in den Südosten Deutsch-*

*Ostafrikas* (Berlin, 1908), 59 sq., 66 sq., 104 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> K. Weule, *op. cit.* p. 37.

herds of cattle but pushed southward and made themselves lords of equatorial Africa from Ugogo and the Unyamwezi country eastward to within a hundred miles of the Indian Ocean.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamy and the classificatory system among the Masai.

Though the Masai apparently are not a totemic people, they practise exogamy and possess the classificatory system of relationship. A brief notice of these institutions will therefore not be out of place in this work.

Clans and exogamous subclans among the Masai.

The Masai are divided into four clans named *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Meñgana*, *Il-Mokesen*, and *Il-Molelyan*. These clans are not exogamous, but they are divided into subclans which are exogamous. For example, the *Il-Aiser* clan contains, among others, the subclans *In-gidoñgi* and *Il-Parkeneti*. A man of the *In-gidoñgi* subclan may not marry a daughter of an *In-gidoñgi* man; but he may marry the daughter of an *Il-Parkeneti* man; that is, he may not marry a woman of his own subclan, but he is free to marry a woman of his own clan provided that she belongs to a different subclan. Further, he is at liberty to marry a woman of any clan other than his own; for instance, an *Il-Aiser* man may marry the daughter of a man of the *Il-Meñgana* clan, or of the *Il-Mokesen* clan, or of the *Il-Molelyan* clan. Members of the various subclans are usually to be found in all the districts and subdistricts into which the territory of the Masai is divided. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations. In all the subdistricts a man enjoys the same marital rights which he has in his own subdistrict.<sup>2</sup>

From the foregoing statement it will be seen that among

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, Second Edition (London, 1904), ii. 796 *sqq.*; A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore* (Oxford, 1905), pp. iii., xi. *sqq.* The other principal authorities on the Masai are Joseph Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (London, 1895), pp. 403 *sqq.*; Oscar Baumann, *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 156 *sqq.*; S. L. Hinde and H. Hinde, *The Last of the Masai* (London, 1901); M. Merker, *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904).

<sup>2</sup> For this information I am indebted

to the courtesy of Mr. A. C. Hollis, who has very kindly placed at my disposal the results of his careful enquiries into the Masai system of relationship. These results will soon, I hope, be published entire in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. Meantime for some of the facts mentioned in the text I may refer readers to Mr. Hollis's book *The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 260 *sq.*, 303. As to the clans and subclans of the Masai with their rule of exogamy see also M. Merker, *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 16 *sqq.*

the Masai descent is reckoned in the male line; children belong to the clan of their father. Thus the Masai have the system of father-kin. Yet a trace of the system of mother-kin seems to survive in the remarkable rights which a man enjoys over his sister's children, who under a system of mother-kin would be his natural heirs. "A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do so. . . . If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-apu* and *ol-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused." <sup>1</sup>

Traces of mother-kin among the Masai.

Reciprocal rights of the maternal uncle and his sister's sons over each other.

While the sexual relations of the Masai, judged by our standard, are very loose in some respects, they are exceedingly strict in others. "First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ol-le-'sõtwa* (or *en-e-'sõtwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise, though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always con-

First and second cousins forbidden to marry each other; of third cousins some are allowed and others forbidden to marry each other.

<sup>1</sup> From Mr. A. C. Hollis's unpublished papers.

tingent on the two parties not belonging to the same subclan. The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his sweetheart (*e-sanja*) a girl of the same subclan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le'sõtwa* and *en-e'sõtwa*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-group<sup>1</sup> if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his subclan.

Punish-  
ments for  
incest  
among the  
Masai.

"If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own subclan, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-group, he is punished by the members of his age-group. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-group, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-group. Unless he pays the elders two oxen, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey-wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die. If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to 'kill the relationship' (*a-ar eng-anyit*)."<sup>2</sup>

Continen-  
ce observed  
by the  
Masai in  
making  
poison and  
brewing  
honey-  
wine.

Like many other savages the Masai on certain occasions observe strict continence from purely superstitious motives. One of these occasions is the making of poison. During the eight days that a man is making poison he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 A.M. and not return till 7 P.M., when he must rub clay on his body; he may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he

<sup>1</sup> As to the age-groups of the Masai see below, pp. 412 *sqq.* As to the relationship denoted by *ol-le'sõtwa* and

*en-e'sõtwa*, see below, pp. 416 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> From Mr. A. C. Hollis's unpublished papers.

must sleep alone. Perhaps some civilised reader may jump to the conclusion that this isolation of the poison-maker is a sage precaution, a sort of quarantine, designed to obviate the risk of his inadvertently infecting some of his friends with the venom. If any of my readers has made that jump, I must beg him to retrace his step. Such an inference, like most attempts to rationalise superstition, only betrays an incapacity in the civilised mind to place itself at the point of view of the savage. The motive which induces the Masai poison-maker to keep aloof from his fellows is not any regard for them ; far from it, what he fears is not that the poison would hurt them, but that they would hurt the poison ; he believes that were he to break any of these rules the poison would have no effect. This is not a matter of inference ; it is the avowed belief of the Masai. In like manner strict continence must be observed by the persons who are brewing honey-wine ; and in this case there can be no question of infection. A man and a woman are chosen to brew the honey-wine, and it is considered essential that both of them should be chaste for two days before they begin to brew and for the whole of the six days that the brewing lasts. A hut is set apart for them and they occupy it till the wine is ready for drinking ; but they are strictly forbidden to sleep together. When the wine is made, they are paid and go their ways. The Masai think that if the couple were to break the rule of continence while the wine is brewing, not only would the wine be undrinkable but the bees which made the honey would fly away.<sup>1</sup> We shall in vain attempt to understand the marriage customs of savages if we do not allow for the element of superstition in them. The savage attributes to the relations of the sexes with each other a certain mysterious influence, a magical virtue, which the civilised man has long ceased to associate with such processes and which he finds it hard even in imagination to comprehend. Yet some of these superstitions, incomprehensible though they may be to us, probably lie at the root of many customs which we still strictly observe without being able to assign any valid reason for doing so.

The savage attributes a certain mysterious influence or magical virtue to sexual relations.

<sup>1</sup> From Mr. A. C. Hollis's unpublished papers.

Mutual  
avoidance  
of a man  
and his  
wife's  
mother.

Among the Masai, as among so many savages, a man and his wife's mother must mutually avoid each other. If a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut, she must retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, while he remains in the outer compartment. Thus separated they may converse with each other. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani le-anyit* and *e-sindani e-anyit*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *e-sindani*). When a man dies, his full brother may not marry the widow, but she may be taken to wife by his half-brother, the son of the same father but not of the same mother. Indeed the only person who is allowed to marry a widow is one of her deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. However, it often happens that widows never marry again but dwell with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of his nephews and nieces.<sup>1</sup>

The  
levirate.

Age-groups  
or age-  
grades  
among the  
Masai.

Reference has been made to the age-groups or age-grades, as they are now commonly called, into which the Masai are divided. These are determined by the times at which boys and girls are circumcised. The account which the people themselves give of the custom runs thus:—"The Masai have what they call ages (*l-porori*, singular *ol poror* or *ol boror*). Children are not all circumcised together; they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (*i.e.* until they reach the age of puberty). Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the right-hand circumcision, and that is one age. The younger ones wait and are circumcised later. They also become members of this age. When the next circumcision festivals are held, those circumcised belong to what is called the left-hand circumcision, and that is the next age. The younger ones wait as before, and when they are circumcised they likewise join this age. Now, two ages are considered equivalent to one generation. Each age has three divisions, first, those known as 'The big ostrich feathers,'

<sup>1</sup> From Mr. A. C. Hollis's unpublished papers.

secondly, those called 'The helpers,' and thirdly, those known as 'Our fleet runners.'"<sup>1</sup>

To make this account more explicit it should be said that when leave is granted by the medicine-man (*ol oiboni*) to hold the circumcision festivals, one feast is held in every subdistrict every year for four years in succession, and all those circumcised during these four years belong to the right-hand circumcision. An interval of about three and a half years then intervenes before another festival is held. All youths circumcised during the next four years belong to the left-hand circumcision. Boys as a rule are circumcised between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. Orphans and the children of poor parents often wait until they are twenty.<sup>2</sup>

Thus four circumcision ceremonies are performed in every seven and a half years, and all persons circumcised at any time during such a period constitute an age-group or age-grade (*ol poror* or *ol boror*); hence the period which constitutes an age-grade is seven and a half years. Further, two successive age-grades are known respectively as "the right-hand circumcision" and "the left-hand circumcision" and together form a generation. Each of these two age-grades has to observe certain rules, which forbid the pronunciation of certain words and the eating of certain foods. Thus persons of "the right-hand circumcision" may eat neither the heads nor the tails of slaughtered cattle; they may not call a fold for goats *eng an en dare*, they must call it *e merata en dare*; they may not call a head *ol okuṅgu*, they must call it *ol ogunja*; they may not call a tail *ol gorom*, they must call it *en aisuba*. Persons of "the left-hand circumcision" may not eat pumpkins and cucumbers; and they may not call arrow-poison *e sajét*, they must call it *en duerai*. To do or say anything in the presence of one who is forbidden by custom to say or do it is an insult which often provokes retaliation on the spot.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore* (Oxford, 1895), pp. 261 sq. Compare M. Merker, *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 70 sq., who gives *ol borör* as the Masai expression for an age-group or age-grade.

*Ol poror* is the form given by Mr. A. C. Hollis.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, p. 262 note<sup>1</sup>; M. Merker, *Die Masai*, pp. 60 sq.

<sup>3</sup> M. Merker, *op. cit.* p. 71.

The military organisation of the Masai rests on the division of the males into age-grades.

Cohabitation of the warriors with unmarried girls.

Diet of the warriors.

They may not eat milk and flesh on the same day for fear of injuring the cows.

On this institution of age-grades rests the military organisation of the Masai. At circumcision a youth enters the army as a recruit (*ol barnoti*, plural *il barnot*); after passing into the next age-grade he becomes a full warrior (*ol murani* or *ol morani*, plural *il muran* or *il moran*). All the men who have been circumcised about the same time, and who therefore belong to the same age-grade, are known by a distinctive name, such as "the White Swords" or "the Invincibles." If a man was circumcised at the age of fifteen, he will have completed his terms of service as a recruit and as a warrior at the age of thirty, since two age-grades together make up a period of fifteen years. In former days a man might not marry until he had served his time as a soldier, that is, until he was about thirty years of age; but meanwhile he was free to cohabit, and did habitually cohabit, with young unmarried girls in a separate kraal, where the warriors and the girls lived together. After circumcision warriors plait their hair and subsist entirely on the flesh, blood, and milk of their cattle, varied with honey and sugar-cane. Game and all kinds of corn are forbidden to them; they may not smoke nor touch intoxicants. Moreover, they will not eat milk and flesh on the same day. Their custom is to eat nothing but milk for some days and then nothing but flesh and blood for some days more. But before they pass from one diet to the other, they take a strong purgative to make sure that no trace of the former food remains in their stomach; so scrupulous are they not to bring milk into contact with flesh and blood. This custom they observe from a superstitious fear that such a contact would injure the udders of the cows from which the milk was drawn and would diminish their supply of milk. At marriage a man is freed from all restrictions on his diet; he may now eat vegetable food, drink honey-wine, and snuff tobacco. He becomes an elder (*ol moruo*, plural *il moruak*), retires from the standing army, and passes into the reserve.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, pp. xvi. 302; M. Merker, *Die Masai*, pp. 66 sq., 73 sqq., 82 sqq.; Oscar Baumann, *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 161 sq.; Joseph Thomson,

*Through Masai Land* (London, 1885), pp. 426 sqq.; S. L. Hinde and H. Hinde, *The Last of the Masai* (London, 1901), pp. 55, 56 sqq., 66 sqq., 72 sqq. As to the diet of the warriors and elders, see J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land*,

Further, membership of an age-grade carries with it certain rights of hospitality, which any member is entitled to claim from his fellows in other villages. Thus we are told, in the words of the Masai themselves, that "when a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for instance, to the Aimer age, he must not enter the hut of one of the Kishumu age, as he does not belong to this age. He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aimer age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife. Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of these, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered. A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die."<sup>1</sup>

Rights of hospitality which members of an age-grade are entitled to claim from their fellows.

From this native account we gather, first, that in a village or kraal the huts of people of the same age-grade are grouped together; and, second, that men of the same age-grade have a right to share each other's wives, in fact that something like sexual communism prevails between men and women of the same age-group. This latter inference is confirmed by what we learn both of the sexual privileges and of the sexual disabilities which an age-grade entails upon its members. On the one hand we have seen that a man is severely punished by members of his own age-grade if he has sexual intercourse with any of their daughters; and that he is fined or solemnly cursed by members of his father's age-grade if he commits adultery with one of their wives.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, men are free to cohabit with women, married or unmarried, of their own age-grade. On

Sexual privileges and disabilities attaching to the age-grades.

pp. 429-431, 443; P. Reichard, *Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 287 sq.; O. Baumann, *l.c.*; M. Merker, *Die Masai*, pp. 32 sq.; A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, p. xvi. Of these writers Captain Merker is the only one who explains why the Masai will not bring milk and flesh into contact with each

other. On this subject see further my paper "Folklore in the Old Testament," in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 151 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, pp. 287 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 410.

this subject the Masai themselves say :—" No warrior or boy may commit adultery with a woman of his father's age. If he does so, and it becomes known, he is cursed. Should he be cursed, he pays two oxen (one in lieu of honey-wine), and he prays the elders to remove the curse. The elders eat the ox when they drink their honey-wine. But this is not the case if a man commits adultery or fornication with a woman or girl of his own age. This is not an offence."<sup>1</sup> "From this it will be seen," says Mr. Hollis, "that the Masai are polyandrous as well as polygamous. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase, and a woman may cohabit with any man belonging to her husband's age."<sup>2</sup> This seems equivalent to saying that sexual communism, or something very like it, prevails between all the men of one age-grade and all the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject no doubt to the rule of exogamy which forbids a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own subclan. In other words, the Masai appear to live in a state of group-marriage based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades and restricted by the exogamy of the subclans.

The Masai seem to live in a state of group-marriage regulated by the age-groups and the exogamy of the subclans.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Masai.

With such a social organisation the Masai naturally possess the classificatory system of relationship. Their terms of relationship differ accordingly as the relative is spoken of indirectly or addressed directly. For example, "my father" referred to indirectly is *menye*, but addressed directly he is *papa*. "My mother" referred to indirectly is *ngoto*, but addressed directly she is *yeiyo*. In the generation above his own a man applies the same term "my father" (*menye* or *papa*) to his father and to his father's brothers; and he applies the same term "my mother" (*ngoto* or *yeiyo*) to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his mother's brothers. In his own generation he applies the same terms *ol-alashe*, "brother," and *eng-anashe*, "sister," indirectly to his brothers and sisters and to his cousins, the sons and daughters of his father's brothers. On the other hand, he does not, as by analogy we should expect, apply the terms "brother" and "sister" to his first cousins, the sons

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 312, note<sup>1</sup>.

and daughters of his mother's sisters ; he calls them indirectly *ol-le-'sōtwa* or *en-e-'sōtwa* according as they are male or female ; and he has different terms again, as we might have anticipated, for his other first cousins, the children either of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers. A husband applies different terms to his wife and to his wife's sisters ; and a wife applies different terms to her husband and to her husband's brothers. In the generation below his own a man applies the same terms *ol-ayōni*, *en-gerai* indirectly to his sons and to his brothers' sons ; and he applies the same terms *en-dito*, *en-gerai* indirectly to his daughters and to his brothers' daughters.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 4. Totemism among the Taveta

The Taveta or Wa-taveta are a mixed race of Hamitic and Bantu stock, who number between three and four thousand souls, and inhabit the rich and fertile district of Taveta at the foot of the great snow-clad Kilima Njaro, the highest mountain in Africa. Through the country winds the Lumi River, its banks covered with luxuriant forests of gigantic trees festooned with creepers, while in the glades of the forest appear a few picturesque huts surrounded by a grove of bananas or by a field of corn and sweet potatoes.<sup>2</sup> All land in the Taveta forests belongs to the inhabitants, each member of a family owning a portion. No stranger may cultivate a patch of ground without the owner's leave. The plains are considered no man's land. Dread of the Masai formerly prevented the Taveta from settling there.<sup>3</sup>

The Taveta and their country.

All the Taveta respect the ground-hornbill (*mudide*, in Kiswahili *ndite*), a large black bird with red gills and white markings on its wings. It is believed that anybody who kills one of these birds will be struck down by a mysterious disease which will carry him off in a few days.<sup>4</sup> But being revered

The Taveta respect the ground-hornbill.

<sup>1</sup> From Mr. Hollis's unpublished papers, which he has very kindly placed at my disposal.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Hollis, "Notes on the History and Customs of the People of Taveta, East Africa," *Journal of the African Society*, No. I. (October 1901) p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Hollis, in *Journal of the African Society*, No. I. p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 103 sq. Mr. Hollis writes to me (27th May 1908) that the sacred bird is the ground-hornbill, not the turkey-buzzard as he stated in the paper referred to. With regard to the

Totemic families of the Taveta.

by the whole people the ground-hornbill cannot properly be described as a totem. However, the Taveta are divided into four clans, each of which is subdivided into a number of totemic families. The following is a list of the families with their sacred objects, which we may call their totems:—<sup>1</sup>

Family.	Totem.
Muinjari-wa-Kakuku	None.
Shomi	Grant's gazelle ( <i>Gazella granti</i> ; native Kitaveta name <i>datari</i> ).
Moserengi	
Muinjari-wa-Mesera	Impala antelope ( <i>Aepyceros melampus</i> ; native name <i>sarigha</i> ).
Ndighiri-wa-Mbele	
Ndighiri-wa-Mkamati	Vegetable called in Kitaveta <i>mnabu</i> , in Kiswahili <i>mnavu</i> .
Suiya	
Chokawa	Spleen of any animal.
Mborio	
Mrambeni	
Ngumba	
Kwisu-wa-Ugweno	
Kwisu-wa-Uru	A small kind of pigeon called in Kitaveta <i>kihunguru</i> .
Dakama	
Manyi	Portion of the stomach of any animal (in Kitaveta <i>kita-shira</i> ).
Mbale	
Somandzi-wa-Reta	
Muru	
Somandzi-wa-Kahe	
Somandzi-wa-Kiruvani	Mushroom.
Somandzi-wa-Umba	
	A monkey ( <i>Cercopithecus-viridis-griseo</i> ; in Kitaveta <i>ngima</i> , in Kiswahili <i>kima</i> ).
	A tree called <i>mringaringa</i> much employed for the purpose of making beehives or honey-barrels.

The sub-families or subclans of the Taveta are exogamous.

In regard to rules of marriage Mr. A. C. Hollis informs me<sup>2</sup> that the totemic families or clans, as he would now call them, of the Taveta are not exogamous, but that the

ground-hornbills of Africa we are told that since the days of Bruce there are few African travellers who have not met with and described these birds, whose large size and fearless habits render them conspicuous as they walk or run on the ground or perch on trees when they are disturbed. The

genus is found from Abyssinia to Natal. See Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of Birds* (London, 1893-1896), pp. 433 sq.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, in *Journal of the African Society*, No. I. pp. 98, 104.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter dated Nairobi, East Africa Protectorate, June 15th, 1909.

subfamilies or subclans are so ; that is, a man may marry a woman of his own totemic family or clan, provided that she does not belong to the same subfamily or subclan as himself. Thus, for example, a Taveta man of the Somandzi-wa-Kahe family or clan may marry a woman of that clan, provided that they do not both belong, say, to the Mnene-wa-Somandzi subfamily or subclan. Again, a man and woman of the Kwisu-wa-Ugweno family or clan may marry each other, provided that they do not both belong to the same subdivision of it. In these respects the marriage rules of the Taveta agree with those of the Masai.<sup>1</sup>

When a man dies, his possessions are divided among his sons, the eldest receiving the lion's share, and his wives go to live with his eldest surviving brother, or, if there is no brother, with the eldest surviving cousin (father's brother's son). A woman inherits nothing.<sup>2</sup>

Like the Masai, the Taveta are divided into age-grades. Each "age" (*irika*, in Kiswahili *hirimu*) is a period of fifteen years and has a special name. The government of the country is entrusted for periods of about fifteen years to the men of one of these age-grades, at whose head are four middle-aged chiefs. It is said that the members of a particular age-grade come into power whenever they can kidnap the daughter of one of the ruling chiefs or one of his contemporaries. In this they are aided by the elders of the former age-grade, who went out of power some fifteen years before, when the reigning age-grade came in ; for these deposed elders are glad to treat the rulers for the time being as those rulers once treated them. In olden times the reigning chiefs and their fellows never suffered themselves to be ousted without a battle-royal, and it was with some difficulty and danger that the younger men seized the reins of government. Formerly it was a matter of no small consequence to belong to the reigning age-grade, for two-thirds of the spoils of war and of the duty (*hongo*) leviable on all caravans passing through the country were appropriated by the chiefs and their contemporaries, while the rest went to the witch-doctors and the other old men.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 408.

*African Society*, No. I. p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Hollis, in *Journal of the*

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 104-106.

## § 5. Totemism among the A-kamba

Country  
of the  
A-kamba.

The A-kamba or Wakamba are a Bantu tribe in the British East Africa Protectorate. They occupy a triangular stretch of country some ninety miles wide from east to west by a hundred and fifty miles long from north to south. Roughly speaking, their territory is bounded on the west by the Uganda Railway from Mutito Andei to Kiu stations and thence northward by a line running as far as the eastern slopes of Mount Donyo Sapuk; on the north it is bounded by the Tana river and from the junction of the Thika and Tana by a line running east as far as the northern end of the Mumoni range and onward to  $38^{\circ} 30'$  East Longitude; while on the east the boundary runs south along that meridian as far as  $2^{\circ} 30'$  South Latitude.

Mr. C. W.  
Hobley's  
researches  
among the  
A-kamba.

The tribe, which is said to be probably the purest Bantu race in British East Africa, has lately been studied with care by the Administrator, Mr. C. W. Hobley. He has collected a large amount of unpublished information on the tribe, and generously allows me to draw on his manuscript materials. The following account of the social and totemic system of the A-kamba is accordingly based on his researches.<sup>1</sup>

Mode of  
life of the  
A-kamba.

The people call themselves in the plural A-Kamba (singular Mu-Kamba), though they are more generally known as Wakamba (with the Kiswahili prefix Wa—meaning "people"). I shall retain their own form of the name. They are a sturdy race of husbandmen, who raise a large variety of crops, including sorghum, eleusine grain, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, yams, beans, manioc, pumpkins, and bananas. They also keep cattle, sheep, goats, and bees; they are skilful at working iron and copper wire into bracelets, necklaces, and so forth; and they make pottery without the use of the wheel. Their houses are of the common circular type with walls about four feet high and a conical roof. They kindle fire by twirling a piece of hard wood on a

<sup>1</sup> For an earlier account of the A-kamba or Wakamba, see J. M. Hildebrandt, "Ethnographische Notizen über

Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x. (1878) pp. 347 sqq.

piece of soft wood, using dry leaves as tinder. In war the only weapons they carry are bows and arrows, swords and clubs; unlike the southern Bantu tribes they do not employ spears and shields. They are very good shots with the bow; nearly all their arrows are envenomed with a poison made from the *muvai* tree and the poison gland of the scorpion.

The A-kamba are divided into a large number of exogamous clans, some at least of which appear to be totemic. Two classes of clans are distinguished, namely the original clans and the subdivisions of them. For example, Mu-tui is an original clan and there are three subdivisions of it, namely Mu-Sii, Mu-Mui, and Mwa-Ithangwa. Originally members of these subdivisions were not allowed to marry each other, though curiously enough they might marry back into the original stock. Thus a Mu-Sii might not marry a Mu-Mui, but either of them might marry a Mu-Tui. But this custom is not rigorously enforced nowadays; for they say that the numbers of each clan are becoming so great that the intermarriages in question are no longer regarded as a serious offence. A man may marry more than one wife from one clan or subdivision of a clan, but he may not marry two sisters. The widespread custom of providing a visitor with a temporary wife prevails among the A-kamba; but the woman thus lent to a guest must not be a member of his own clan. The totemic prohibitions recorded by Mr. Hobley are few in number. Thus, among the clans (*mbai*) of the Kitui district, the Ngutu have the liver of animals for their totem (*uthuku*); another, the Ndewa, is prohibited from killing a species of kite (*mbungu*). Among the clans (*mbai*) of the Mumoni district, the Ba-Nzi are forbidden to eat the lungs and the Ba-Lema to eat the liver of any animal; one half of the Ba-Mutongoi may not eat pig's flesh, and several clans are debarred from eating the flesh of the bush-buck. This bush-buck (called by them *ndoya* or *ndwaya*) is one of the principal totems of the A-kamba. Members of the Eombi clan are particularly strict in observing the taboo. It is said that some hunters once broke out into dreadful sores in consequence of killing a bush-buck; so they tabooed the animal for the future. People who have the bush-buck for their totem may not

Exogamous clans among the A-kamba.

Totemic taboos among the A-kamba.

Prohibition to keep a tame animal of the totemic species.

keep a tame animal of the species in their village; they are forbidden to touch a bush-buck or even to wear pieces of its skin. Members of the Asi clan are very strict observers of their own particular taboo, which is the prohibition to eat liver. Were an Asi man to eat liver, it is believed that his eyes would weep continually afterwards. Women have to observe the totemic taboos equally with the men, and in addition they may never eat the tongue or heart of an animal. A married man is forbidden to eat the totem animal of his wife's clan, and so are his children.

A man may not eat his wife's totem.

Birds and beasts of omen among the A-kamba.

Apart from their totemic animals the A-kamba regard other birds and beasts with superstitious respect or fear and draw omens from their appearance. Thus there is a small kind of woodpecker with a red head called *ngoma komi*, which the A-kamba will not kill. If it calls out on the left side of a traveller, it is a good omen and may lead the lucky man to a dead elephant. If it sings out on the traveller's right side, the omen is not good; but if it calls out ahead of the wayfarer, he may count on being attacked by a lion or a rhinoceros. If a hyæna or jackal crosses your path from left to right, it is auspicious; but if it crosses the path from right to left, it is inauspicious. The ground-hornbill (*ndundu*) is a bird of ill omen. If it perches on a tree near a village so as to overlook the village and utters its deep bass booming note, some one in the village is sure to sicken and die within a few days; so people place broken cooking-pots in the trees near a village to frighten away the birds. These examples shew, what should be obvious without them, that totemic peoples entertain superstitious beliefs in regard to animals other than their totems and draw omens from them; which should be a warning against rashly inferring that a beast or bird of augury must necessarily be a totem. The truth is that totemism is only one of a multitude of forms in which superstitions touching animals and plants have crystallised.

Story of the chameleon, the frog, and the thrush, how the

The A-kamba have also a great wealth of folk-tales, in which birds and beasts play conspicuous parts without having anything to do with totemism. One of them is clearly akin to the Bechuana story of the origin of death.<sup>1</sup> Once on a

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 376 *sq.*

time, so say the A-kamba, God (*Engai*) sent out the chameleon, a frog, and a bird called *itoroko*, which is a kind of thrush with a black head and a buff breast (*Cossypha irnolacus*). The three were charged by God to find people who died one day and came to life again the next. So off they set, the chameleon leading the way, for in those days he was a very important person indeed. They came to some people lying like dead; so the chameleon went up to them and said softly *Niwe, niwe, niwe*. That annoyed the thrush, and he asked the chameleon testily what he was making that noise for. The chameleon answered, "I am only calling the people who go forward and then come back." He said that the dead could come back to life, but the thrush derided the idea. Sure enough, however, in response to the call of the chameleon the dead people opened their eyes and listened to him. But here the thrush cut in and told them that dead they were and dead they must remain. Then away he flew, and though the chameleon preached to the corpses, telling them he had come from God to resuscitate them, and that they were not to believe the lies of that shallow sceptic the thrush, nevertheless the corpses obstinately refused to budge. So the chameleon returned to God and reported to him what had happened, and how when he preached the resurrection to the dead corpses the thrush had roared him down, so that the corpses could not hear a word he said. God then cross-questioned the thrush, who said that the chameleon so bungled his message that he felt it his imperative duty to interrupt him. The confiding deity believed the thrush and being very angry with the chameleon he degraded him from his high estate and made him walk so slow, lurching to and fro before every step he takes. But God promoted the thrush to the office of wakening mankind from their slumber every morning, which he does punctually at 2 A.M., two hours before the note of any other bird is heard in the tropical forest.

Every married woman among the A-kamba is thought to have two husbands, the one corporeal and the other spiritual. Her fertility is believed to depend on the attentions of her spiritual husband, who is the spirit of one

chameleon preached the resurrection to some corpses, and they refused to believe him.

Spiritual husbands among the A-kamba.

of her ancestors; and if she does not bear children, a ceremony is performed to propitiate the spiritual spouse.<sup>1</sup>

Mutual avoidance of a man and his wife's mother.

Among the A-kamba, as among so many exogamous peoples, a man has to avoid his mother-in-law. If they meet in the road, they both hide their faces and pass by in the bush on opposite sides of the road. Were a wife to hear that her husband had stopped and spoken to her mother in the road, she would leave him. When a man has business to discuss with his wife's mother, he goes to her hut at night and she will talk to him from behind a partition.<sup>2</sup> However, the A-kamba have a way of ridding themselves of this burdensome restriction. A man who wishes to do so, gives due notice of his intention, and then on a certain day the people of the neighbourhood assemble at the village where his mother-in-law lives. There they dance and feast at his expense, and he also formally presents a blanket both to his father-in-law and to his mother-in-law. After that he may communicate freely with his wife's mother.

Between the age of puberty and her marriage a girl must avoid her own father.

Between the age of puberty and the time of her marriage a girl has in like manner to avoid her own father. If they meet in the road, she hides while he passes; nor may she ever go and sit near him in the village until the day comes when he tells her that she is betrothed to a certain man. After her marriage she does not avoid her father in any way. This prohibition of ordinary social intercourse between a father and his daughter so long as the girl is mature and unmarried can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as a precaution designed to prevent an improper intimacy between the two. The rule therefore confirms the like interpretation of all similar rules of avoidance between relatives of different sexes.<sup>3</sup>

### § 6. *Totemism among the Mweru*<sup>4</sup>

The Mweru are a very large tribe of the British East Africa Protectorate, inhabiting the northern and north-

<sup>1</sup> This interesting information as to spiritual husbands among the A-kamba I derive from a letter of Mr. C. W. Hobley to me. The letter is dated Nairobi, British East Africa, 21st June 1909.

<sup>2</sup> The rule of avoidance of a wife's mother has also been recorded for the A-kamba by Mr. L. Declé (*Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 490).

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 77 sqq., 188 sq.

<sup>4</sup> For the following account of

eastern slopes of Mount Kenia and the Jombeni range. They are not pure A-Kikuyu, but appear to have a strong strain of Masai blood. They are divided into exogamous and totemic clans called *mwiria*. No man may marry a woman of his own clan, but must seek a wife in another. The members of each clan have a distinctive badge or pattern, which they mark on their honey-pots; they have other marks for their cattle, which are made on the ears and flanks of the beasts. Each clan has its totem called *netiri* or "the forbidden thing." When the totem is an edible object, a youth may not eat it until he is adult and has been initiated. His father makes medicine and performs a certain ceremony in which the youth has to take part. The young man can then eat his totem without suffering any ill effects from so doing. The following is a list of Mweru clans with their totems, so far as these are known:—

The Mweru are divided into exogamous and totemic clans (*mwiria*).

A man may eat his totem after initiation.

List of Mweru clans and totems.

Clan ( <i>mwiria</i> ).	Totem ( <i>netiri</i> ).
1. Ntwaita (in the Mweru language <i>ku-ita</i> means "to cut")	The twine with which their <i>vyondo</i> or baskets are made.
2. Athanya . . . . .	
3. Njaru . . . . .	White cattle.
4. Nthia . . . . .	Speckled or mottled cattle.
5. Ntuni . . . . .	Red cattle.
6. Amakui . . . . .	A plant called <i>mukui</i> which has an edible root.
7. Athinga . . . . .	Giraffe.
8. Antuanthama ( <i>antu</i> in the Mweru language means "people")	Mpala.
9. Singamburi . . . . .	Goats.
10. Antwa mwakia ("the greedy people")	Neotragus ( <i>dik-dik</i> ).
11. Angilo . . . . .	Black cattle.
12. Mwianda ( <i>anda</i> is the Mweru word for "louse")	Lice.
13. Amatu ( <i>matu</i> in Mweru means "ears")	Francolin, a kind of partridge (in Swahili, <i>Kiringende</i> ).

Mweru totemism I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. C. W. Hobley, who

has very courteously placed his unpublished materials at my disposal.

Tradition-  
ary origin  
of the  
Ntowitzai  
clan.

The first of these clans, the Ntowitzai, is the dominant one. There is a legend to explain the origin of the name, which is supposed to come from a verb *ku-ita*, "to cut." The clan say that once when they were hard pressed by their enemies, who penned them in on the banks of a river, their medicine-man (*laibon*) by his magic art opened a passage for them through the waters, which, after they had passed over on dry land, closed up again behind them, thus presenting an impassable barrier to their pursuers.

### § 7. Totemism among the Suk, Maragwetta, and Kamasia

The district  
of Baringo  
and its  
people.

The tribes which inhabit the large district of Baringo in the British East Africa Protectorate have recently been investigated by the Hon. K. R. Dundas, and he has discovered the existence of totemism and exogamy in several of them. Through the kindness of Mr. A. C. Hollis I am allowed to extract from Mr. Dundas's unpublished papers the following account of the people and their social system.<sup>1</sup>

The  
pastoral,  
nomadic  
tribes of  
the plains,  
and the  
agricul-  
tural tribes  
of the hills.

The district of Baringo stretches from Lake Rudolph on the north to Lake Hannington on the south, and from the eastern wall of the Great Rift Valley on the east to the Kamasia Hills, the Elgeyo Escarpment, and the Tirkwel River on the west. Little Lake Hannington, which terminates the Baringo district on the south, might appropriately be called the Lake of the Flamingoes, for these beautiful birds haunt the margin of the lake and its submerged banks by countless thousands, seeming in places to tinge its blue-green surface with a flush of rosy pink.<sup>2</sup> The population of the district falls naturally into two classes, the pastoral, nomadic tribes of the plains, and the agricultural tribes of the hills. To the nomad herdsmen of the plains belong the Suk and Turkana; to the husbandmen of the hills belong the Kamasia, Chebleng, Ndo, and Hill Suk. The two branches of the Suk are essentially the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dundas's account of the tribes of the Baringo district will probably be published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, Second Edition (London, 1904), i. 13 sqq.

same tribe, the Suk of the plains being an overflow from the hills, whence indeed their numbers are being daily recruited. Yet the population of the plains is thin and sparse. For the country is a desert of barren rocks or drifting sands, where lines of palm trees, dotted here and there, mark afar off the courses of the wadies or dry river-beds. In these lowlands the heat during the day is so intense that the natives rarely venture out except in the cool of the morning or of the evening. All the hill tribes build their villages on terraces high up the hillside to escape the swarms of mosquitoes which infest the low country during the rains. The only crops raised by these highlanders are eleusine and millet; the country is subject to long spells of severe drought, and when their crops fail, the natives of the more arid and barren regions in the north are often hard put to it, having to eke out a miserable subsistence for months together on roots, berries, rats, and mice, with an occasional windfall of an elephant to fill their shrunken bellies. Naturally they make the most of such water as they have and are expert in the art of irrigation.

The villages and crops of the hill tribes.

The Suk or Bawgott, as they call themselves, are a tall, well-built people, slim and lithe, light of foot and nimble runners. Like most East African tribes they are a mixed race. They all speak dialects of one language which is closely akin to the Nandi tongue. The pastoral Suk, who number about three thousand all told, seem to have begun to migrate into the Baringo district in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Suk tribe is divided into exogamous and totemic clans (*orten*, singular *oro*) with paternal descent; in other words, each clan has its totem, no man may marry a woman of his own clan, and children take their clan and their totem from their father, not from their mother. The following is an incomplete list of the Suk clans with their totems:—

The Suk are divided into exogamous and totemic clans with paternal descent.

## SUK CLANS AND TOTEMS

Clan.	Totem.	Clan.	Totem.
Kagorondor . .	frog	Chebarsitch . .	lion
Kaborai . . .	"	Araboin . . .	God or rain ( <i>ellat</i> )
Chepbai . . .	"	Kibbesetim . .	" "
Chemmergwan .	buffalo	Chibbekapturu	hyæna
Sangei . . . .	"	Legen . . . .	"
Chebokuo . . .	"	Chebajigwa . .	bee
Kajonyir . . .	"	Turgoll . . . .	zebra
Moiyoi . . . .	"	Orror . . . . .	ant-eater
Kachemmergaw .	baboon	Sopan . . . . .	elephant
Kagiserr . . .	sun	Chepbau . . . .	hyrax
Saniak . . . .	kite	Chemam . . . .	{ a tree from which the
Kachigawk . .	"	Terem . . . . .	{ Suk get oil
Chibberwongo .	lion		{ ?

The levirate among the Suk.

Amongst the Suk a widow passes into the possession of a brother of her late husband ; if there is no brother, she belongs to the clan of the deceased.

The Maragwetta and Ndo are divided into totemic clans.

Chebleng is the name given to a number of tribes who occupy the western wall of the Elgeyo Valley, and of these tribes the most northerly are the Maragwetta. Beyond them, still further to the north, are the Ndo, and beyond them again the Hill Suk. The Maragwetta and Ndo resemble the Suk in their manners and customs, and like the Suk they are divided into totemic clans, but we are not told whether the clans are exogamous. Each clan occupies a separate geographical district. The following is a list of Maragwetta clans with their totems and districts :—

## MARAGWETTA CLANS AND TOTEMS

Clan.	Totem.	District.
1. Tallai . . .	<i>kogai</i> , the crow	Beya
2. Oreon . . .		Kaksegai
3. Sirichon . .	<i>seran</i> , the dik-dik, a small antelope	Katut
4. Kamugo . .	<i>kogai</i> , the crow	Kabioso
5. Tallai . . .	<i>kogai</i> , the crow	Bogorror

South of these districts are five more, each with its own totemic clan, but these have not been visited by our informant, the Hon. K. R. Dundas.

The following is a list of Ndo clans with their totems and districts :—

NDO CLANS AND TOTEMS

Clan.	Totem.	District.
1. Saban . . . . .	the elephant	Sibo
2. Tallai or Tulin . . . . .	the crow and jackal	Kapsagat
3. Kapsegom . . . . .	<i>sirere</i> , the kite	Kaksegom
4. Tallai . . . . .	<i>kogai</i> , the crow	Kapsekerr
5. Tallai . . . . .	" "	Kamarein
6. Kapsegom . . . . .	<i>sirere</i> , the kite	Kauwau
7. Tallai and Legen . . . . .	crow and frog	Mareich
8. Chepbogamwoi . . . . .	the buffalo	Kabell

The Maragwetta are very nearly related to the Elgeyo, who are allied to the Nandi. The Ndo appear to be a mixture of Maragwetta and Suk, with perhaps a slight infusion of Masai or Samburu blood. On passing from the Hill Suk to the Maragwetta and Ndo a traveller is at once struck by the higher civilisation of the two latter tribes, whose houses, in contrast to those of the Suk, are exceedingly well built and collected in villages, which are arranged in terraces, one above the other, on the hillside, giving an impression of cleanliness and order. This superiority is probably due in great measure to the more favourable natural conditions under which they live ; for their country is fertile and well watered, so that whereas the Suk hover on the verge of starvation, the Maragwetta and Ndo are comparatively rich ; famine is hardly known among them, and every year they sell the surplus stock of their grain and tobacco to other tribes.

Perhaps the most numerous of all the hill tribes in Baringo are the Kamasia, who occupy the range of hills named after them. They form a very large and powerful tribe, divided into many geographical districts and many totemic clans. Mr. Dundas was unable to obtain a full list

Superiority of the Maragwetta and Ndo to the Suk.

The Kamasia tribe is divided into many totemic clans.

of their totemic clans ; but the following lists contain the clans in two districts, the Kapteberewa and the Nderois :—

## KAMASIA CLANS (KAPTEBEREWA DISTRICT)

Clan.	Totem.	Clan.	Totem.
1. Kapkeruwa	the sun ( <i>sot</i> )	8. Kapsonok	the sun ( <i>sot</i> )
2. Kaptogongo	” ”	9. Kapartaber	” ”
3. Kamengo	” ”	10. Kapkolumon	” ”
4. Kapchessoito	” ”	11. Tallai	the leopard
5. Kapitalangwa	” ”	12. Kawbil	the porcupine ( <i>sabet</i> )
6. Kameiwan	” ”	13. Tungaw	the hyæna ( <i>chesin</i> )
7. Kaperchino	” ”	14. Kirimos	” ”

Marriage rules of the Kamasia clans ; only two clans are exogamous.

In this list the number of clans which have the sun for their totem is remarkable. Mr. Dundas understood from the Kamasia that members of all these Sun clans were free to intermarry with each other and even to marry wives of their own clans ; indeed that the only two exogamous clans in the list are the Kawbil and Tungaw.

## KAMASIA CLANS (NDEROIS DISTRICT)

Clan.	Totem.	Clan.	Totem.
1. Kimoi	the buffalo	4. Sot	the sun
2. Mogeï	the bee	5. Kimwan	the guinea-fowl
3. Tallai	the frog	6. Terriki	the elephant

The Turkana are divided into exogamous clans, which seem not to be totemic.

Another people of the Baringo district investigated by Mr. Dundas are the Turkana. It is commonly supposed that the Suk and Turkana are closely related to each other ; but beyond a superficial resemblance due to tall stature and a common infusion of Samburu blood, Mr. Dundas failed to discover any real similarity between the two. Indeed the differences between them are many and striking. Thus whereas the Suk are very slender, the Turkana are big-limbed and heavily built ; whereas the Suk speak a peculiarly soft

language, a dialect of Nandi, the Turkana speech, which closely resembles the Masai, is deep, hoarse, and guttural; whereas the Suk circumcise both sexes, the Turkana circumcise neither; whereas the Suk are very truthful and honest, the Turkana are very untruthful and dishonest, so that a traveller in their country has to keep a sharp look-out, for they will steal everything they can lay hands on. Lastly, although the Turkana are divided into exogamous clans, these clans, unlike those of the Suk, appear not to be totemic; at least after much questioning Mr. Dundas entirely failed to find any form of totemism among them. Each sex is divided into three age-grades. The first age-grade of the males is that of the young boy (*nidue*); the second is that of the warrior (*egile*); and the third is that of the old man (*kasikou*). The corresponding age-grades of the women are called *apesur*, *aberu*, and *agemat*. The generations of warriors are called *asavanissia*. Each generation, as it attains the warrior's age, is given a distinctive name. Apparently a new age is created about every four or five years.

Age-grades  
among the  
Turkana.

### § 8. Totemism among the Nandi<sup>1</sup>

The Nandi are a tribe of mixed blood, who apparently combine elements of the Bantu, the Nile negro, the Masai, and the pigmies, with perhaps a dash of the Galla. Some of the men are tall with features almost of the so-called Caucasian type; others are dwarfish with protruding cheek-bones and low foreheads. Until 1905 they inhabited the whole of the highlands known as the Nandi plateau in the British East Africa Protectorate, extending from Mount Elgon on the north to the Nyando valley on the south, and being bounded by Kavirondo on the west and the Elgeyo escarpment on the east. The country has an

The Nandi,  
a mixed  
race.

The Nandi  
country.

<sup>1</sup> The Nandi are the subject of a valuable monograph by Mr. A. C. Hollis (*The Nandi, their Language and Folk-lore*, Oxford, 1909), on which I have freely drawn. See also C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda, an Ethnological Survey* (London, 1902),

pp. 10 *sqq.*, 36 *sqq.*; *id.* "Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) pp. 325 *sqq.*; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, Second Edition (London, 1904), ii. 853 *sqq.*

altitude of from six to seven or even ten thousand feet above the sea; the soil is magnificent, but a great part of the land is covered with dense forest, the rainfall is very heavy, and fogs blot out the landscape for days together. The nights, too, at such an elevation are bitterly cold. Yet the scenery has much that reminds an Englishman or Scotchman of his native land. Here are swelling green downs crested with woodland as in Sussex or Surrey, roaring burns of brown water tumbling over grey rocks, forests of gaunt junipers that look at a little distance like the pines and firs of Scotland, meadows full of forget-me-nots and clover, and ferny hollows spangled with buttercups, daisies, and violets. In clear weather you may see far off, from some breezy height or at the end of a forest glade, the silvery gulfs and ghostly mountains of the Victoria Nyanza, dim and faint as dreams.<sup>1</sup>

Habits of  
life of the  
Nandi.

In the year 1905 the Nandi, having made themselves obnoxious by attacks on the Uganda Railway and on peaceful natives, were removed from their native highlands and placed in a reserve somewhat to the north of the escarpment which bears their name.<sup>2</sup> They keep cattle and raise large crops of eleusine grain and millet; they also cultivate beans, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and tobacco. The men clear the bush for plantations and help to sow the seed and to harvest some of the crops; the rest of the agricultural work is done by the women. Most of the fields are allowed to lie fallow every fourth or fifth year. Cattle-herding is the chief occupation of the men and the big boys. They breed cattle, sheep, and goats. Formerly their herds were enormous.<sup>3</sup> The Nandi do not live in villages. Every man has his own hut or huts near his fields of eleusine grain and millet. The huts are circular, built of wattle and mud, with walls about four feet high and conical roofs of grass.<sup>4</sup> Certain women of the tribe make unglazed, but ornamented, pottery in huts built specially for the purpose.<sup>5</sup> Iron is smelted and forged by Uasin Gishu Masai, who live among the Nandi.<sup>6</sup>

Their  
houses.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1908), p. 1; C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 12; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, Second Edition (London, 1904), i. 28 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 17-20.

<sup>4</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 36.

The Nandi are divided into totemic clans (*oret*, plural *ortinuek*) which are not, however, exogamous; a man may freely marry a wife of his own clan. Each clan is subdivided into families named after the ancestors who are supposed to have been the first to settle in the Nandi country. For instance, the Kamarapa family of the Kipiegen clan are descended from one Marapa, and the Kapkipkech family of the Sokom clan are descended from one Kipkech. These families, as distinguished from the clans, observe the rule of exogamy; in other words, no man may marry a woman of the same family as himself.<sup>1</sup>

The following is a list of the Nandi clans with their totems:—<sup>2</sup>

Principal Name of Clan ( <i>oret</i> ).	Other Names (used by Women only).	Totem or Sacred Animal ( <i>tiondo</i> ).
1. Kipoiis	Mende Kerus	( <i>Leluot</i> ) jackal ( <i>Solopchot</i> ) cockroach
2. Kipkoiitim	Kâpongen Kiram-gel	( <i>Peliot</i> ) elephant ( <i>Nyiritiet</i> ) chameleon
3. Kipamwi	Ŋgemwiyo Kipketoi	( <i>Cheptirgichet</i> ) duiker
4. Kipkenda	Maiimi Maram-goŋg Ram-dolil Kuchwa Kami-pei	( <i>Segemyat</i> ) bee ( <i>Mororochet</i> ) frog
5. Kipkōkōs	Kâpsegoi	( <i>Chepkōkōsiot</i> ) buzzard
6. Kipiegen	Ingoke Katamwa Kipwalei	( <i>Moset</i> ) baboon ( <i>Muriot</i> ) house rat
7. Talai <sup>3</sup>	Kipya-kut Tule-kut Kimapelameo	( <i>Ŋgetundo</i> ) lion
8. Toiyoi	Moriso	( <i>Pirechet</i> ) soldier ant ( <i>Robta</i> ) rain
9. Kipsirgoi	Pale-kut Kâpil Malet-kam	( <i>Toret</i> ) bush pig
10. Sokom	Kâpyupe	( <i>Chepsiriret</i> ) hawk

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 4-6. We are not told whether the clans and families descend in the male or the female line.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The medicine-men, or *Orkoiik* (equivalent to the Masai '*L-oibonok*'), all belong to this clan.

Principal Name of Clan ( <i>oret</i> ).	Other Names (used by Women only).	Totem or Sacred Animal ( <i>tiondo</i> ).
11. Moi	Rarewa Kâparit-kisapony Partatukasôs	( <i>Koñgonyot</i> ) crested crane ( <i>Soet</i> ) buffalo
12. Kiptopke	Tuitokoch	( <i>Chereret</i> ) monkey ( <i>Cercopithecus griseo-viridis</i> )
13. Kâmwaïke	Kipongoi	( <i>Taiyuet</i> ) partridge
14. Tungo	Korapor Pale-pêt	( <i>Kimaketyet</i> ) hyæna
15. Kipaa	Koros	( <i>Erenet</i> ) snake
16. Kipasiso	Kâpcher-Mwamweche Kipkôyo	( <i>Koroiyeyet</i> ) Colobus monkey ( <i>Asista</i> ) sun
17. Chemur	Kâparakok	( <i>Puñguñgwet</i> ) mole ( <i>Kiptuset</i> ) wild cat

Respect  
shewn  
for the  
totemic  
animals.

In former times the killing of the sacred animal, or totem, was strictly forbidden, and any breach of this law was severely punished, the offender being either put to death or driven out of his clan and his cattle confiscated. Nowadays the custom is less rigorously enforced; it is still considered wrong to kill the sacred animal, but if its life is taken, an apology to the creature seems to be thought a sufficient reparation. Thus a man of the Elephant clan told Mr. Hollis that he had shot an elephant, his sacred animal, because it had good tusks; and when the beast lay dead on the ground, he went up to it and said, "So sorry, old fellow, I thought you were a rhinoceros." He sold the tusks to the Swahili, gave the elders a present, and the matter was hushed up. Children, however, are taught to respect the totem of their clan, and if a child were to kill or hurt his totem he would be severely beaten.<sup>1</sup>

Power of  
Bee men  
over bees.

Men of the Bee clan seem able to control bees. Once when Mr. Hollis and his carriers had been put to flight by a swarm of bees, leaving their baggage behind them, a man of the Bee clan, practically naked, went boldly among the angry insects, led them back to their nest, and returned scathless.<sup>2</sup>

Besides respecting their sacred animals, the members of

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 6 sq.

the various clans are bound to do or to abstain from doing certain things. The following is a list of the several prohibitions and peculiarities.<sup>1</sup>

Taboos  
observed  
by the  
clans.

*Clan*—Kipoiis. *Totems*—jackal and cockroach

No man of this clan may take as his first wife a woman who has previously conceived; but if he has himself got her with child, then he may take her as a junior wife. The people of this clan may hunt, but may not make traps; they may not build their huts near a road; and they may not wear the skins of any wild animals except the hyrax. They may not intermarry with the Talai clan.

The  
Kipoiis  
clan.

*Clan*—Kipkoitim. *Totems*—elephant and chameleon

The members of this clan do not as a rule hunt, but they may eat all kinds of game; yet they are forbidden to wear garments made from the skins of any wild animal except the hyrax. Under no circumstances may they marry a girl who has already conceived.

The  
Kipkoitim  
clan.

*Clan*—Kipamwi. *Totem*—duiker

The members of this clan are great hunters and live largely by the chase. But they may not eat the flesh of the duiker or of the rhinoceros. None of them may plant millet, or settle in Lumbwa, or have any intercourse whatever with the smiths. They may not even build their huts near those of the smiths, nor buy their weapons directly from them, nor allow their goats to meet the goats of the smiths on the road. They are forbidden to intermarry with the Tungo clan.

The  
Kipamwi  
clan.

*Clan*—Kipkenda. *Totems*—bee and frog

No person of this clan may go to Kavirondo or to Kamasia. They may not hunt, make traps, or dig game pits; but they are free to eat all kinds of meat and wear the skins of any wild animals except the duiker. At a

The  
Kipkenda  
clan.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 8-11.

marriage a goat must always be slaughtered when the bride is fetched home. Members of this clan may not intermarry with the Kiptopke clan.

*Clan*—Kipkōkōs. *Totem*—buzzard

The  
Kipkōkōs  
clan.

The members of this clan are forbidden to settle in Nyangori and in Kavirondo; they may not hunt and they may not wear the skins of any wild animals except the hyrax, but they may eat the flesh of all game except the rhinoceros and the zebra. They are forbidden to marry a girl who has already conceived, and they may not intermarry with the Tungo clan.

*Clan*—Kipiegen. *Totems*—baboon and house rat

The  
Kipiegen  
clan.

No member of this clan may settle in Lumbwa, or eat zebra meat, or hunt, or dig pits, or make traps, or wear the skin of any wild animal except the hyrax. They may not bleed oxen or gather honey during the rains, and they may not marry as a first wife a girl who has already conceived. But a man of the clan is allowed to take as a junior wife a girl whom either he or one of his brothers has gotten with child. Members of this clan may not intermarry with either the Kiptopke or the Tungo clan.

*Clan*—Talai. *Totem*—lion

The Talai  
clan.

Members of the Lion clan may not wear a head-dress of lion-skin nor eat the meat of an animal which has been killed by a lion. They may not settle in Nyangori or Kamasia; in battle they may only fight on the right flank; they may strike nobody on the head; and they may only bleed oxen in the morning. All children of this clan wear a necklace made of pieces of gourd, and during the circumcision festival the boys wear a necklace of beads made out of ostrich egg-shells. Members of the clan may not see the bull-roarer or the friction drums which are sounded at circumcision.<sup>1</sup> A man of this clan may not marry a girl

<sup>1</sup> As to the ceremonies observed by the Nandi at circumcision, see A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 52 sqq. As to the bull-roarer and friction drums, see *id.* p. 40.

who has already conceived, nor may he intermarry with the Tungo, Kipois, and Sokom clans.

*Clan*—Toiyoi. *Totems*—soldier ant and rain

If soldier ants enter the house of a member of this clan, they are requested to leave, but they are not driven out; on the contrary, the people themselves vacate the house, if necessary, until the ants have passed on. During a heavy thunderstorm members of the clan seize an axe, rub it in the ashes of the fire, and then throw it outside of the hut, exclaiming, "Thunder, be silent in our town" (*Toiyoi, sis kain-nyo*). The intention of throwing out the axe is probably to wound or at least frighten the spirit of the thunder and so drive him away. Similar means of putting an end to a thunderstorm have been adopted by savages and peasants in Europe and elsewhere both in ancient and modern times. Thus in Upper India it is still a very common practice to throw out axes and knives to scare the thunder demon;<sup>1</sup> and a cook's chopper deposited outside the house with the blade upwards is equally effective to keep off hail.<sup>2</sup> So, too, in a storm South Slavonian peasants carry out sharp-edged tools into the farmyard, in order that the witches may hurt themselves on them and stop the hail.<sup>3</sup> Italian peasants of the Romagna adopt the like means to keep the hail from their crops and vines.<sup>4</sup> During a thunderstorm some savages of New Britain stick a spear with its point upwards at the door of the hut. This, they think, will prevent the lightning from striking the hut, because he, the lightning, will fear to hurt himself on the point of the spear.<sup>5</sup> So, when the Indians of Canada were asked by the Jesuit missionaries why they planted their swords in the ground with the point upwards, they replied that the spirit of thunder was shrewd, and that if he saw the naked blades he

The Toiyoi clan.

Ceremony performed by the Toiyoi clan to stop thunder.

Similar modes of stopping thunderstorms are practised by other peoples.

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1906), i. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *North Indian Notes and Queries*, i. 13, § 81 (April 1891).

<sup>3</sup> F. S. Krauss, *Volks Glaube und*

*religiöser Brauch der Südslaven* (Münster i. W. 1890), pp. 118 sq.

<sup>4</sup> M. Placucci, *Usi e Pregiudizj dei Contadini della Romagna* (Palermo, 1885), pp. 135 sq.

<sup>5</sup> R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 197.

would not come near the huts.<sup>1</sup> The Esthonians in Russia fasten scythes, edge upward, over the doors of their cottages in order that the demons, fleeing before the thundering god, may cut their feet on them if they try to seek shelter in the house. Sometimes for a like purpose the Esthonians take all the edged tools in the house and throw them out into the yard. It is said that, when the storm is over, gouts of blood are often found on the scythes and knives, showing that the demons have been wounded by them.<sup>2</sup> During a thunderstorm the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula run out of their houses and brandish their poles and weapons to drive away the demons.<sup>3</sup> In antiquity the Thracians used to shoot arrows at thunder and lightning and to threaten the god.<sup>4</sup> But to return to the Nandi.

Taboos  
observed  
by the  
Toiyoi  
clan.

No member of the Toiyoi clan may build in or near a forest, or wear the skin of any wild beast but the hyrax, or settle in Kamasia, Elgeyo, or Lumbwa. They prefer to elope with the girl of their choice rather than to marry her in the usual way; and they are glad if their daughters conceive before marriage, counting it a sign that as wives they will be prolific. But they may not themselves marry a girl who has already conceived. No child of the clan is named till it is six or seven years of age. The women generally wear brass instead of iron-wire ornaments.

*Clan*—Kipsirgoi. *Totem*—bush pig

The  
Kipsirgoi  
clan.

The members of this clan are mainly hunters; but they may not kill a beast which has been wounded by a member of another clan. Also they may not touch a donkey nor allow one to graze near their herds. For his first wife a man of this clan must always choose a girl who has already conceived; and if necessary he must capture her and arrange about the purchase-money with her parents afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> *Relations des Jésuites*, 1637, p. 53 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858).

<sup>2</sup> Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten* (St. Petersburg, 1854),

p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Lieut.-Col. James Low, "The Sakai," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, iv. (Singapore, 1850), p. 430.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus iv. 94.

*Clan*—Sokom. *Totem*—hawk

The members of this clan may not settle in Kavirondo or Lumbwa; they may not eat the flesh or wear the skin of the duiker, but with that exception they may eat any kind of meat and wear the skin of any wild animal: they must always live apart and build their huts away from those of other people; and they must make their own fire by the friction of fire-sticks. They may not intermarry with the Tungo, Kiptopke, and Talai clans.

*Clan*—Moi. *Totem*—crested crane and buffalo

The people of this clan are not allowed to settle in Kamasia or raid in Kavirondo. They may not build in or near a forest, nor take small boys prisoners to adopt them, nor wear a garment made of the skin of a duiker or a bush-buck. Their first wife must be a woman who has never borne a child. When they shift their kraals or break down their huts, they must choose a site to the east of their former abode. Three days before a circumcision festival begins, the members of this clan perform a special ceremony called *kireku leget*. The cattle of this clan are not branded like most Nandi cattle, but ear-marked.

*Clan*—Kiptopke. *Totem*—monkey (*Cercopithecus griseo-viridis*)

This clan may not dig pits for game nor make traps, and their cattle may not pass the night outside of their own kraal. Members of the clan may not intermarry with the Kipkenda and Sokom clans.

*Clan*—Kámwaïke. *Totem*—partridge

No member of this clan may settle in Nyangori or marry a girl who has already conceived. The clan is forbidden to intermarry with the Kipaa and Tungo clans.

*Clan*—Tungo. *Totem*—hyæna

This clan is held in high esteem, and one of their number is chosen as a judge or umpire in all disputes.

It falls to them to close the roads against the attack of an enemy and to form the rear-guard in a retreat. No man of this clan may elope with a girl if her parents refuse their consent, and he may not ask for a bride till the girl has performed a ceremony called *kâpkiyai*. The marriage price for a girl of the clan is less than for the girls of any other clan, being only one ox and five goats. When a hyæna howls at night, the women of the clan do not flick their ox-hide covers till it stops, as do the women of all the other clans; and when the corpse of a man of the clan is thrown out in the usual way for the hyænas and they do not devour it at once, the body may not be turned over on its other side like the bodies of other people.<sup>1</sup> The clan does not intermarry with the Kipamwi, Kipkōkōs, Kipiegen, Talai, Sokom, and Kâmwaïke clans.

*Clan*—Kipaa. *Totems*—snake and Colobus monkey

The Kipaa  
clan.

Members of this clan may not hunt or make traps, and they may wear the skin of no wild animal except the hyrax. They may only bleed their cattle in the morning during the rains, and they may not intermarry with the Kâmwaïke clan. Whenever it is possible, a member of this clan is engaged to plant the *korosiot* sticks, which are planted in a circle near the back entrance of the bridegroom's hut at marriage.<sup>2</sup>

*Clan*—Kipasiso. *Totems*—sun and mole

The  
Kipasiso  
clan.

People of this clan may not catch rain water in vessels or use it for cooking. If a goat sniffs at their grain or walks over it when it is spread out to dry or ripen, they may not use it except for feeding unnamed children. With them the ceremony of naming a child is not performed till the child is six or seven years old. When people of the clan make porridge, they must first of all sprinkle a little spring water on the fire. They may drink milk one day after eating game.

The  
Chemur  
clan.

There is another clan called Chemur, which has the wild

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 7, 11, 70 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 11, 62 sq.

cat for its totem ; but its taboos and peculiarities are not known.

All the names of the Nandi clans, as well as the names applied to them by women, have meanings, but the meanings of many of them are obscure.<sup>1</sup> However, some of the names of the clans are clearly derived from their totems. Thus the Kipkōkōs clan takes its name from its totem the buzzard (*chepkōkōs*); the Kipasiso clan takes its name from its totem the sun (*asis*); and the Kipaa clan takes its feminine name Koros from its totem the Colobus monkey (*koroiit*). The name of the Toiyoi clan means "thunder" (*toiyoi*); and we have seen that members of this clan perform a ceremony to stop a thunderstorm.<sup>2</sup> Hence we may conjecture that thunder as well as rain is, or used to be, one of their totems, and that like the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia they claim the power of controlling their totem by magic. The Kipamwi clan has for its totem the duiker, and the animal is sometimes called by the same name (*kipamwi*). Kami-pei, one of the women's names for the Kipkenda clan, means "those who eat water"; and the name is appropriate, since one of the totems of the clan is the frog. Pali-pet, one of the women's names for the Tungo clan, means "those who go to bed in the morning," and clearly alludes to the nocturnal rambles of the hyæna, which is one of the totems of the clan. The name of the Moi clan means "calf," and doubtless refers to the buffalo, which is one of the totems of the clan. Again, Rarewa is one of the women's names for the same clan, and it means "heifer." With these examples before us we may guess that many of the other names for the Nandi clans are derived from their totems, though their meanings are now obscure.

While one of the Nandi clans has for its totem the hyæna, all the Nandi, like most tribes of East Africa, hold that animal in respect or fear, apparently because it devours corpses and may thus be supposed to be physically akin to the living as well as to the dead, since it has absorbed the flesh and blood of their kinsmen. The Nandi expose

The names of some of the Nandi clans are derived from their totems.

The hyæna is held in respect or fear by all the Nandi, whether it is their totem or not.

<sup>1</sup> For the following remarks on the names of the Nandi clans I am indebted to a letter of Mr. A. C. Hollis (dated 3rd September, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 437.

The Nandi  
expose  
their dead  
to the  
hyænas.

the bodies of their dead near their huts in order that they may be eaten by the hyænas. The relations who lay the corpses on the ground call to the animals to come and eat them ; and if on the second day after the death they find that the body has not been touched by the brutes, they kill a goat and place the flesh on and near the corpse, in the hope of attracting the attention of the hyænas.<sup>1</sup> Hence naturally enough the Nandi imagine that hyænas hold communication with the spirits of the dead and can talk like human beings. When several children in one family have died, the parents place the next newly born babe for a few minutes in a path along which hyænas are known to walk ; for they hope that these brutes will intercede with the spirits of the dead, and that the child may live. They will not molest a hyæna prowling round their houses, though they will not hesitate to kill or wound him on unappropriated land. Nobody dares to imitate the cry of a hyæna under pain of being banished from the tribe or of being refused a husband or wife in marriage. If a child so far forgets itself as to mimic the howl of a hyæna, he may not enter the hut till a goat has been slaughtered and the excrement rubbed on him, no doubt as a form of purification ; after that he is soundly thrashed. While a hyæna howls at night, all Nandi women, except those of the Tungo clan, flick their ox-hide coverlets till the melancholy sound dies away in the darkness. If the droppings of a hyæna are found on a plantation, the corn is deemed unfit for use until the field has been purified by a person from Kamasia, who receives a goat for his pains.<sup>2</sup> These Nandi superstitions about the hyæna are another instance of the respect in which among a totemic people an animal may be held by persons who have not got it for their totem. I call attention to such superstitions for the sake of warning my readers against the common error of hastily concluding that any animal which a savage treats with a superstitious regard must needs be his totem.

Punish-  
ment for  
imitating  
the cry of  
a hyæna.

The same association with the dead probably explains the widespread veneration in which the hyæna is held by the Wanika of East Africa. Thus we are told that "the

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 70 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 7.

greatest funeral ceremonies held by the Wanika are those which they get up on the death of hyænas. They regard that animal with the most singular superstition. They look upon it as one of their ancestors, or in some way associated with their origin and destiny. The death of the hyæna is the occasion of universal mourning. The *mahanga* (wake) held over a chief is as nothing compared to that over the hyæna. One tribe only laments the former, but all tribes unite to give importance to the obsequies of the latter."<sup>1</sup> It is true that the Wanika do not, like the Nandi, regularly expose their dead to be devoured by hyænas; on the contrary, they bury them in deep, well-dug graves. But the bodies of the friendless, of criminals, and of other exceptional persons, are thrown into the woods or among the rocks to be the prey of prowling hyænas.<sup>2</sup> This custom may have sufficed to ensure to the animal the place which it occupies in the religion of the Wanika. Certainly the universality of the respect in which the foul animal is held by the Wanika nation proves that it cannot be a totem; for a totem is regularly the sacred animal of a section of a people, not of the whole.

The whole Wanika people mourn the death of a hyæna; but the animal is not their totem.

Amongst the Nandi on a man's death his sons inherit his flocks and herds, the bulk of the property going to the eldest son of the principal wife. When an unmarried warrior or a man with no sons dies, his brothers inherit his property. If he has no brothers, his step-brothers are his heirs, and failing them his paternal cousins succeed.<sup>3</sup> Thus the Nandi have father-kin in the matter of inheritance. Yet a trace of mother-kin survives among them in the position of influence and authority which the maternal uncle occupies in the family. An understanding exists between a boy and his mother's brother such as exists between no other relations. When a boy is in disgrace, his mother's brother is asked to intervene on his behalf. The nephew may not be circumcised, or have his teeth extracted, or have the lobes of his ears pierced, without the leave of his maternal uncle. It is always usual for warriors to give their maternal uncle a cow after a raid in

Rules of inheritance among the Nandi.

Trace of mother-kin in the power of the maternal uncle over his sister's son.

<sup>1</sup> Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Charles New, *op. cit.* pp. 121, 122.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 72 sq.

return for the kindness he shewed them in childhood. The most terrible thing that can happen to a Nandi is to displease his maternal uncle. If he does so, the uncle formally curses his nephew by scratching his shin till the blood flows, rubbing in ashes, and saying, "The child of our child! May this blood eat thee, for we gave life to thy mother that she might bear thee." It is believed that a nephew so cursed will die in a few days unless by a present of cattle he can persuade his uncle to remove the curse.<sup>1</sup>

The  
levirate.

Among the Nandi a widow nominally becomes the property of either the next elder or next younger brother of her late husband; but often she lives in her old home with one of her sons or goes to reside with her father or a brother.<sup>2</sup>

Unclean-  
ness of the  
manslayer.

A Nandi who has killed a member of his own clan is regarded as unclean for the rest of his life, unless he can kill two other Nandi of a different clan and can pay the fine himself. He may never again enter any cattle-kraal except his own, and whenever he wishes to enter a hut he must strike the earth twice with a rhinoceros-horn club before he crosses the threshold.<sup>3</sup>

The  
classifi-  
catory  
system of  
relation-  
ship among  
the Nandi.

The Nandi possess the classificatory system of relationship. Thus a person of any age or sex applies the same term of address to his or her father, to his or her father's brothers, and to the husbands of his or her mother's sisters. He or she applies the same term of address to his or her mother, to his or her mother's sisters, and to the wives of his or her father's brothers. Referring indirectly to his brothers and sisters, and to his first cousins the children either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters, he applies the same term *tupchet* to them all. A man refers to his own sons and daughters by the same term *lakwet* by which he refers to the sons and daughters of his brothers.<sup>4</sup> The terms of relationship differ according as the relation is addressed directly or referred to indirectly; and in some cases the terms of address differ according to the age and sex of the speaker. Thus a father is referred to as *kwanda* or *kwaniŋ*, but addressed as *papa* by a boy, as *apoioyo* by a

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 92 sq.

man, and as *pakwa* by a girl or woman. A mother is referred to as *kamet* or *kametit*, but addressed as *korket* by a man and as *eiyo* by a boy, girl, or woman.<sup>1</sup>

While the Nandi people are divided genealogically into clans and families, they are also divided socially, like the Masai, the Taveta, and the Turkana, into what are now called age-grades, which are determined, as the name implies, not by the descent but by the age of their members. As such age-grades are common in savage communities and appear to have been instrumental in building up the classificatory system of relationship,<sup>2</sup> which in turn is intimately bound up with exogamy, they deserve to be noticed in this book. Among the Nandi the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders; and the female sex is divided into girls and married women. The first stage for both sexes continues till circumcision, which is performed both on boys and girls. Roughly speaking, the ceremony of circumcision is performed about the age of puberty. It may take place between the ages of ten and twenty, but most commonly it is performed on boys between fifteen and nineteen. A festival of circumcision for boys is celebrated about every seven and a half years and lasts for a couple of years. All boys who are circumcised at the same time are said to belong to the same age or cycle (*ipinda*).<sup>3</sup> There are seven ages in all, which make up a total of about fifty-three years. They always bear one of the following names and succeed each other in the following order:—

Age-grades  
among the  
Nandi.

The seven  
ages.

*Maina* (small children, who will be circumcised about 1915).

*Nyonge* (boys between 10 and 20; their circumcision festival began in 1907).

*Kinnyike* (men between 18 and 28, circumcised about 1900).

*Káplelach* (men between 26 and 36, circumcised about 1892).

*Kipkoiimet* (men between 34 and 44, circumcised about 1885).

*Sowe* (men between 42 and 52, circumcised about 1877).

*Juma* (men between 50 and 60, circumcised about 1870).

In each age or cycle there are three subdivisions called

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 92 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 179 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp.

11 sq., 52 sqq. Since the Nandi were removed to their reserve (see above, p. 432), they have so far altered the custom that boys are now circumcised every year or so, like girls.

fires (*mat*, plural *mostinuek*), probably because the members of each subdivision associate round their own fires, and do not allow the members of the other subdivisions to join them.<sup>1</sup>

Ceremony of transferring the guardianship of the country from the men of one age-grade to another.

About every seven and a half years the guardianship of the country is solemnly transferred from the men of one age, now grown old, to the men of the age immediately succeeding them. The ceremony at which the transference takes place is one of the most important in the Nandi annals. The last was performed about 1904, the next will take place about 1911. All the adult male population, so far as possible, gather at a certain spot; but no married warrior may attend, nor may he or his wife leave their houses while the ceremony is being performed. The Chief Medicine Man (*Orkoiyot*) must be present; and the ceremony opens with the sacrifice of a white bullock, which is purchased by the young warriors for the occasion. After the meat has been eaten by the old men, each of the young men makes a small ring out of the hide, and puts it on one of the fingers of his right hand. A circle is then formed round the Chief Medicine Man, who stands near a stool, about which is heaped cow dung studded with the fruit of the *lapotuet* shrub (*Solanum campylanthum*). All the old men and the members of the age immediately preceding the one in power stand up, whilst the warriors who are going to receive the control of the country sit down. On a sign from the Chief Medicine Man the members of the preceding age strip themselves of their warrior's garments and don the fur robes of old men. The warriors of the age in power, that is, those who were circumcised about four years before, are then solemnly informed that the safety of the country and the welfare of the people are committed to their hands, and they are exhorted to guard the land of their fathers. After that the people disperse to their homes.<sup>2</sup>

### § 9. Totemism in Kavirondo

Kavirondo, the country and the people.

Kavirondo is a district of British East Africa at the north-eastern end of Lake Victoria Nyanza. It is a rolling

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 12

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.* pp. 12 sq.

As to the fur robes (*karosses*) of the old men, see *id.* pp. 28 sq.

grass country, breezy and healthy, at a height of from four thousand to five or six thousand feet above the sea, but much warmer and sunnier than the bleak highlands of Nandi, which bound it on the east. The contrast, too, is striking between the tiny cultivated plots of the Nandi and the miles and miles of cornland in Kavirondo. Where the land is not in tilth, the prairies are gorgeous with wild flowers, notably with sunflowers, which turn some of the hillsides into a blaze of yellow. The people, who have been described as "ebon statuary," are more flourishing and happy, better fed, and stronger than their eastern neighbours the Nandi. Men and women work naked in the fields. They live in clusters of straw huts which glisten like gold in the sun and are surrounded by an immense floral hedge gay with the pink blossoms of the acanthus and the coral red of the aloes. Their staple food is grain, supplemented by sweet potatoes and bananas.<sup>1</sup>

The population of Kavirondo comprises tribes of several different stocks, which may be distinguished as the Bantu Kavirondo, the Nilotic Kavirondo, the Masai, and the Eldorobo. Under the Bantu Kavirondo are included the Awa-Rimi, the Awa-Ware, and the Awa-Kisii; under the Nilotic Kavirondo are the Ja-Luo and the Elgumi or Wamia; while of the Masai stock the only representatives in the country are the Guasangishu, who have given up their nomadic habits and live in scattered settlements among the Kavirondo. The Eldorobo are an aboriginal tribe of wandering hunters, who roam the forests of the Mau plateau and are very rarely seen by Europeans. They live chiefly on the flesh of the Colobus monkey and other small mammals, which they shoot with poisoned arrows, and they also collect much wild honey.<sup>2</sup>

The natives of Kavirondo, both of the Bantu and of the Nilotic stock, are divided into totemic clans, which, in contrast with those of their neighbours the Nandi, are exogamous. To this difference in the social systems of

Different stocks in the population of Kavirondo.

The natives of Kavirondo, both of the Bantu and of the

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda, an Ethnological Survey* (London, 1902), p. 13; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 34, 44 sqq.

pp. 7-11. As to the Kavirondo people, see also Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (London, 1904), ii. 722 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*,

Nilotic stock, are divided into exogamous and totemic clans.

the Kavirondo and the Nandi a student of these races, Mr. C. W. Hobley, is disposed to attribute in great measure the superior vigour of the Kavirondo. "No Kavirondo," he says, "marries in his own clan, and the degeneracy due to inbreeding is obviated by this salutary custom."<sup>1</sup>

The totemic system both of the Kavirondo and of the Nandi has been investigated by Mr. C. W. Hobley, and it may be well to give the results of his enquiries in his own words, although in what concerns the Nandi his account has to be supplemented by the much fuller information collected by Mr. A. C. Hollis, which has been already laid before the reader.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Hobley writes as follows:—<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Hobley's account of totemism in Kavirondo.

"The natives of the Bantu Kavirondo, Nilotic Kavirondo and Nandi groups all have a belief in the totems or *muziro*, but, apparently, no such thing as totem worship exists, nor do the Bantu and Nilotic Kavirondo believe in their descent from the *muziro* or totem, but a Nandi informed me that many of his tribe did believe in their original descent from a totem.

"Among the Bantu people each clan appears to have its own particular totem, and this may have given rise to their custom of exogamy, but in Nandi each individual is said to have his own totem irrespective of the clan. Practically the whole of the Nilotic group appear to have the same totems, but, in some parts, there are certain variations from what may be called the standard list of forbidden foods. Thus, although the exogamy which exists among the Nilotic Kavirondo may have originally arisen from totemism, the present survival of the belief has lost its original character.

"In all the groups the totems appear to be animals, no example of a vegetable totem has been discovered.

Supposed consequences of eating the totem (*muziro*).

"The Bantu group use the word *muziro* to denote the totem and, contrary to the usual belief, the eating of a totem animal is not thought to be followed by death, but only by a severe skin eruption; and if, by any mischance, the meat of the totem is eaten, the evil consequences referred

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 433 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> C. W. Hobley, "British East

Africa, Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903), pp. 346-349.

to can be averted by making a medicine *dawa*, extracted from certain herbs, and this extract is mixed with the fat of a black ox and rubbed all over the body of the patient.

“Among the Nilotic Ja-Luo the totems are called *kwero*, and there is a long list of *kwero* animals which are forbidden as food to both men and women; there is, however, an additional list of food that women must not touch. Upon no occasion is the rule of the *kwero* relaxed, but, curiously, the animals on this *index expurgatorius* are considered malignant in their influence, and it is thought praiseworthy to kill them. Thus any *kwero* animal can be hunted, with the exception of the crested crane (*Balearica gibbericeps*), which is, generally speaking, strictly preserved by all the Kavirondo. The Gemi tribe, however, do not consider it wrong to kill and also eat this beautiful bird. The Gemi, Lego, and Sakwa tribes can also eat the wild cat, called by them *ogwang*. The Ja-Luo often wear the teeth of the leopard and crocodile as ornaments, and the skin of the leopard and wild cat; this is not considered an infringement of the *kwero* law.

Totems  
(*kwero*) of  
the Nilotic  
Ja-Luo.

“EXAMPLES OF THE TOTEMS OF THE BANTU FAMILY

Clan or Tribe.	Special Totems.
Kisesi clan of Awa Wanga	<i>Imbongo</i> , bushbuck.
Marama and part of Tsoso and Isukha	<i>Kuru</i> , waterbuck or <i>Ikulu</i> .
Awa-Genya and Awa-Mrashi	<i>Liusi</i> , pigeon.
Awa Shekwi of Nyole	<i>Njofu</i> , elephant.
In Ketosh there are several, according to the clan, but over a large portion the special totem is	<i>Makuyi</i> , a large black and white stork which appears in large flocks about November; it eats locusts.
Tasoni tribe (Ngaki section)	<i>Isunu</i> , reed buck.
Ithako, E. Tsoso, S. Kabras	<i>Imbongo</i> or <i>Ngawe</i> .
Probably the totem most common in Kabras is	<i>Mbiakalo</i> , white ants in the flying stage (but cooked). They can be eaten raw, but not when cooked.

"THE TOTEMS (*KWERO*) OF THE NILOTIC GROUP

	Name in Tho-Loo.		Name in Tho-Loo.
Crocodile . . .	<i>Nyang</i>	Nile monitor (lizard) .	<i>Ngnech</i>
Hyæna . . .	<i>Ndiek</i>	Python . . .	<i>Nyelo</i>
Leopard . . .	<i>Okwach</i>	Mongoose . . .	<i>Gori gori</i>
Baboon . . .	<i>Bim</i>	Rock hyrax . . .	<i>Kumnër</i>
Monkey <i>Ongner</i> ( <i>Cercopithecus sp.</i> )		Tortoise . . .	<i>Upuku</i>
Wild cat	<i>Ogwang</i>	Colobus monkey	<i>Kuru</i>
Jackal . . .	<i>Buwem</i>	Wart hog . . .	<i>Imbirri</i>
Vulture . . .	<i>Achut-th</i>	Frog . . .	<i>Ogwan</i>
Crow . . .	<i>Agako</i>	Crested crane . . .	<i>Iwang</i>
Kite . . .	<i>Otega</i>	Ground hornbill . . .	<i>Arumtich</i>

"The following are in addition *kwero* or 'tabu' to the women:—Fowls, eggs, elephant, hippopotamus, sheep (latter only among Kisumu and Gemi). The women's *kwero* are not serious ones, *i.e.* a breach of the law is not followed by death.

## "THE TOTEMS OF THE NANDI GROUP

	Nandi name.		Nandi name.
Hyæna . . .	<i>Magetiet</i>	Water tortoise . . .	<i>Chebkukuchet</i>
Jackal . . .	<i>Leluot</i>	Chameleon . . .	<i>Nyeretiat</i>
Kite . . .	<i>Chebineret</i>	Crested crane . . .	<i>Kungonyot</i>
Buzzard . . .	<i>Chebkukusiot</i>	Elephant . . .	<i>Beliot</i>

"The elephant, although looked upon as a totem, can be eaten without evil effects.

Belief  
of the  
Kadimo  
in their  
descent  
from the  
python.

"I omitted to mention above that the Kadimu people, who live on the Lake near the mouth of the River Nzoia, believe that they are descended from the python; these reptiles are looked upon as sacred, and annual sacrifices are made upon a hill in Kadimu to the common ancestor. The Kadimu people are a Bantu tribe which has adopted the language of the Nilotic Ja-Luo, and it is thus the only Bantu tribe in the country which looks upon its totem as its ancestor.

Sacred  
snakes  
among the  
Wanyam-  
wezi.

"Certain snakes, however, are looked upon as sacred animals among some of the Unyamwezi clans, and it is highly probable that, as among the Kadimu, this is due to the belief that the snake was their common ancestor.

Many Wanyamwezi consider it a deadly sin to kill a snake, and one occasionally meets an individual belonging to one of these clans who is said to be immune from the effects of snake poison.<sup>1</sup>

"The totems of the Koromjo people who live north of Mount Elgon are snakes, frogs, the monitor lizard, the hyæna, and the cheetah; they believe they will die if they eat any of these. If, however, by any mischance, the meat of a *muziro* animal be eaten, a medicine called *Eyarri*, if taken in time, will save the life of the person. It is made from a tree with very dark leaves called *Emuthi*; the patient is violently purged and, eventually, recovers."

Totems of the Koromjo.

Among the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo a man has the right to marry all the younger sisters of his wife as they come of age; they cannot be given in marriage to any one else till he has declined their hands.<sup>2</sup>

Right to marry a wife's sisters.

### § 10. *Exogamy among the Bageshu*

The Bageshu are a large Bantu tribe or nation, estimated to number not less than a million, who inhabit chiefly the eastern and south-eastern slopes of the lofty Mount Elgon, on the eastern boundary of the Uganda Protectorate. They are a primitive race of cannibals standing low down in the human scale. Their country might be called a land without graves; for like the Nandi they fling out their dead towards evening to be devoured by the wild beasts. But the old women steal forth under cover of darkness and carve out the prime pieces of the corpses to furnish a meal, while they leave only the refuse to the brutes. These savages were visited in their native homes by the Rev. John Roscoe in the summer of 1908, and it is on his notes that the present account of the people and their customs is based.<sup>3</sup>

The Bageshu, a Bantu people of Mount Elgon.

The Bageshu say that they formerly dwelt high up on Mount Elgon, inhabiting the caves which abound there, and that they have gradually worked their way down to the

The country of the Bageshu, a land of mountains and waterfalls.

<sup>1</sup> Compare above, vol. i. p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 17; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 747.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bageshu," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 181-195.

lower slopes, which they now occupy, each clan taking in fresh land year by year, but always descending in a straight line so as not to encroach on the domain of their neighbours. The sides of the great mountain are terraced and afford ample room for good gardens and villages; and copious streams of excellent water flowing from the summit provide for the needs of the people and irrigate the plantations. Many of these streams, tumbling over the precipitous sides of the mountains, form beautiful waterfalls which dash themselves in clouds of iridescent spray on the rocks hundreds of feet below. The superstitious natives regard these foaming, thundering cascades as the abode of spirits, and they catch the falling water in vessels to carry it home and sprinkle it, as a charm for health and strength, on the heads of their children. In the mountains, too, there are many natural caves which for ages have served the people as strongholds to which they flee in time of danger. Some of them used to be kept always stored with provisions, so that at the least alarm the villagers could retreat to them, driving their bleating flocks and lowing herds before them up steep and narrow paths which often formed the solitary approach to these sequestered fastnesses. There the sheep and cattle were kept in the caverns by day to be driven out to pasture in the darkness of night.<sup>1</sup> The breed of cattle which the Bageshu keep is well adapted to life in these highlands, for it is small and nimble, and can browse and scramble like the goats themselves on the sides of the mountains. The cows are herded by boys and girls, and both sexes are free to milk them. But the Bageshu live mainly by agriculture. They work chiefly at their plantations of plantains in the valleys and moist hollows of the hills. These furnish their staple food, but they also raise crops of millet, maize, sweet potatoes, peas, and a variety of dwarf beans.<sup>2</sup>

The Bageshu are divided into a number of exogamous

The caves used by the Bageshu as retreats in time of danger.

Agriculture of the Bageshu.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bageshu," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 181 sq., 189. As to the great caves on Mount Elgon, see Joseph Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (London, 1885), pp. 509 sqq.; Sir

Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 52 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bageshu," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 192 sq.

clans, each of which occupies its own lands and holds aloof from its next neighbours, resenting as an act of hostility and ground for war any encroachment upon its territory. However, the members of neighbouring clans meet on occasions of festivities, and each clan seeks its wives from an adjacent clan. The names of twenty-nine clans were ascertained by Mr. Roscoe. No man may marry a woman either of his father's or of his mother's clan; all the women of his mother's clan are regarded as his near relations; his mother's sisters he calls his mothers. The marriage between a young couple is arranged by their parents; it is a purely financial transaction; the affection of the parties chiefly concerned has nothing to do with it. Polygamy is commonly practised; a man may marry the sisters of his first wife, if he chooses to do so.<sup>1</sup> A father names his child after one of his ancestors, and the ghost of the eponymous ancestor is believed to take charge of the child and to become its guardian spirit. When a wife has been unfaithful, she prays the ancestral ghost of the child's real father to protect it against the ancestral ghost of its nominal father, who may naturally be supposed to owe the bastard a grudge. If a child pukes and pines after receiving its name, the medicine-man will sometimes advise the parents to change the infant's name and give it a new one, in order thereby to place their offspring under the patronage of a more efficient guardian spirit.<sup>2</sup>

Exoga-  
mous clans  
of the  
Bageshu.  
Rules of  
marriage.

Children  
named  
after  
ancestors,  
whose  
ghosts  
became  
their  
guardian  
spirits.

Boys and girls are both circumcised at the age of puberty; it is then that the lads are initiated into the mysteries of the clan. Their severed foreskins are collected and buried under the chief's house. At the same time both sexes have the front lower teeth extracted. When their wounds are healed, the boys and girls bathe in a sacred pool, which is supposed to be guarded by snakes. A festival of dancing and beer-drinking follows. It lasts for several

Circum-  
cision.

Extraction  
of teeth.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bageshu," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 182 sq. The names of the Bageshu clans which Mr. Roscoe obtained are as follows: 1. Babesi, 2. Banyuwaka, 3. Bankoki, 4. Baholasi, 5. Bahuku, 6. Baduda, 7. Basukuye, 8. Baliyenda, 9. Baluke, 10. Balage, 11. Bakike,

12. Bapete, 13. Bakikaye, 14. Baveva, 15. Bakumunya, 16. Basihu, 17. Bamasiki, 18. Bakonde, 19. Bayobe, 20. Basane, 21. Balusekya, 22. Balukulu, 23. Bamoni, 24. Batunduye, 25. Babangobe, 26. Batisu, 27. Bamlobi, 28. Bakumana, 29. Bafumbe.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 184.

Sexual  
orgy after  
circum-  
cision.

days, and during its continuance "there is the fullest license given to both sexes; men and women have promiscuous intercourse without any restraint."<sup>1</sup> We have seen that similar scenes of debauchery attend the practice of circumcision in Fiji and among the Wagogo.<sup>2</sup> The exact meaning of such orgies is not clear.

Totems not  
discovered  
among the  
Bageshu.

Mr. Roscoe's enquiries failed to elicit the existence of totems among the Bageshu; but he adds: "There was every indication of the system, the limited knowledge of the language, however, made it impossible to get at them."<sup>3</sup> It is to be hoped that future enquiries among this interesting people will supply the blank in our record.

### § 11. Totemism among the Bakene

The  
Bakene,  
a Bantu  
people of  
Busoga,  
inhabiting  
the papyrus  
swamps  
of the  
Mpologoma  
River.

The Bakene are a Bantu tribe of Busoga, the country which bounds Uganda on the east. The tribe was visited in the summer of 1908 by the Rev. J. Roscoe, to whom we owe an account of the people.<sup>4</sup> They live chiefly on the Mpologoma River, but they extend to Lake Kioga and are said to be found also on Lake Salisbury. The Mpologoma River rises in Mount Elgon and flows for some miles in a southerly direction; it then winds westward and rapidly widens out until it empties itself into Lake Kioga. The current is choked and the water dammed up by the enormous growth of papyrus, so that the river expands into a series of broads or lagoons, which in some places are fully six miles wide. It thus forms a complete barrier between the Bantu tribes on the one bank and the Nilotic races on the other as far as Lake Kioga, and the barrier is continued by the Nile to Lake Albert Nyanza. The Mpologoma River is the true home of the Bakene; the tall papyrus beds of its swamps provide a perfect shelter for their floating houses, and its fish furnish them with an abundant supply of food. They build their huts on the roots of the

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bageshu," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) pp. 185-187.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 145 *sqq.*, 403.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the

Bageshu," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix. (1909) p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Brief Notes on the Bakene," *Man*, ix. (1909) pp. 116-121.

papyrus at a safe distance from the shore and are careful to hide them away in the recesses of the marsh. Tortuous water-ways fringed by tall papyrus plants, which tower like green walls on either side of the winding channel, lead to their secluded dwellings, and as the traveller glides along them in a canoe, with no sound to break the silence but the monotonous splash of the paddle and the ripple of the water at the bow, he might almost fancy himself transported to Venice, were it not that forests of reeds have taken the place of marble palaces, and a sky of deeper than Italian blue broods overhead. It is pleasant to come upon such an African Venice in the early morning when the sun is up and to see the people, men, women, and children, busy at their various occupations, some baiting their fish-traps, others fishing in deep water, women plunged up to their waists in the swamp emptying holes of the small fry that have been caught in them overnight, and children paddling in tiny canoes from tuft to tuft of papyrus, or watching a crocodile as he floats lazily basking in the sunshine. On some of the clumps of papyrus miniature huts may be observed; in these the spirits of the dead are supposed to dwell, and there offerings of food and clothes are deposited that the ghosts may not come and haunt the living.<sup>1</sup>

In their customs, language, and appearance the Bakene closely resemble the Basoga of the north-east, and they have a tradition that their forefathers came from that quarter. Both sexes extract the two lower front teeth, and the women pierce the under lip, but they do not disfigure themselves in any other way.<sup>2</sup> They subsist chiefly on fish, which they catch with rods, lines, traps, and by spearing them in shallow water. They eat the fish both fresh and dried, and they barter them for clothing and for other food. Their houses, built on the floating roots of papyrus, usually open directly on the water, so that the people step from their door into their canoe. Men, women, and even small children are all expert paddlers. The canoes are dug out of solid logs, and are propelled by long heavy paddles, which, like the gondoliers of Venice, the canocmen generally ply standing up. The

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Brief Notes on the Bakene," *Mau*, ix. (1909) pp.

116 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* pp. 116 sq.

water-ways are kept open by constant use and by cutting back the rank growth of the reeds. The side canals, as we may call them, are private ways; each of them is for the use of the family whose hut stands at the end of it. The entrance to one of these side canals is often arched over, and charms hang from the arch to protect the inmates of the house from harm.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamous and totemic clans of the Bakene.

The Bakene are divided into a number of exogamous and totemic clans. The Bakoma clan has for its totem the husk of the small millet (*bulo*); the Baholwa clan has for its totem the guinea-fowl; the Bagota clan has for its totem the *kyachuli*, a small animal of the cat tribe; the Babira clan has for its totem the *ng'onge*, an otter; and the Bahaugo have for their totem the *mondo*, a civet cat. Besides these clans there are two others, the Bagule and the Bahobando, the totems of which Mr. Roscoe was not able to ascertain. Each clan has its head man or chief; he is elected by the clan and holds office for life, unless he forfeits it by vicious conduct or is incapacitated by illness.<sup>2</sup>

Rules of marriage.

The people seem to be debarred from marrying into the clan of their father as well as into the clan of their mother. At least this appears to be implied by Mr. Roscoe's statement that "polygamy is practised by the tribe, and they are also exogamists. The children all regard their father's relations as their own special clan, and their mother's sisters are all mothers to them, so that the relationship always debars them from marrying into their mother's clan."<sup>3</sup> The custom of children regarding their mother's sisters as their mothers is a clear mark of the classificatory system of relationship. It is a woman's brother, not her father, who has the right to give or to refuse her hand in marriage; and it is he who conducts her to her new home. For a man may not marry till he has built a new house for his wife. Thither the bride, veiled from head to foot in a bark-cloth, is conveyed in a canoe, attended by her friends in their canoes, the whole convoy singing to the measured dip of the paddles in the water. They time the voyage, be

Indication of the classificatory system.

The bridal convoy.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Brief Notes on the Bakene," *Man*, ix. (1909) pp. 116 sq., 119 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* pp. 117, 120.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 117.

it long or short, so as to reach the bride's new home when the sun is setting behind the papyrus swamp and all the water-ways are ruddy with his dying light. The bridal party stays overnight with the young couple, and next morning they receive presents from the bridegroom and paddle home.<sup>1</sup>

A child is named after one of its father's ancestors, whose ghost is supposed to look after it. Twins are thought to be a gift of the gods, and the happy father announces their birth by beating a drum. The sound is taken up and repeated by his neighbours, so the good news goes rumbling down the water-ways for a long distance. The father's sister's son hastens to the house, closes the front door, and makes a temporary opening at the back of the hut. He takes the leading part in the dancing ceremonies which follow. The after-birth of the twins is put into two new cooking-pots and dried; then it is taken ashore and left in the grass near one of the gardens.<sup>2</sup>

Children guarded by an ancestral ghost. The birth of twins.

### § 12. Totemism among the Basoga

Immediately to the east of Uganda and divided from it by the ample stream of the new-born Nile, is the district of Busoga, bounded on the south by the broad waters of the Victoria Nyanza. In physical features and in the character of the people Busoga strongly resembles Uganda. The country has been described as a dam which shores up the northern end of the great lake and slopes away from it gradually to the northward. Grand tropical forests, gay with the bright blossoms of many flowering trees and enlivened by parrots and other birds of brilliant plumage, occupy much of the land, and on plunging into their depths the traveller from the east coast feels that he has reached at last the Africa of his dreams. In the clearings of the woods flourish luxuriant plantations of bananas. But the climate is unhealthy, and there are few running streams; for the brooks, choked with rank vegetation, soon degenerate into

Busoga, its physical features and climate.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Brief Notes on the Bakene," *Mau*, ix. (1909) pp. 117 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* pp. 118

The  
Basoga,  
their way  
of life.

swamps in the sunless glades of the forest or into marshes in the open.<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of the country, the Basoga, are closely akin to their neighbours the Baganda in race, appearance, customs, and language. They live in thatched beehive huts, keep cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls, and till the ground. Their favourite food is the banana, but they also cultivate and use sweet potatoes, ground-nuts, beans, eleusine, and sorghum. Tobacco and cotton are grown. The country has never, like Uganda, been united under a single ruler; the people have always been broken up into separate communities under more or less powerful chiefs.<sup>2</sup>

Totemic  
clans of the  
Basoga.

The Basoga were investigated in the summer of 1908 by the Rev. John Roscoe, who found that they are divided into a large number of exogamous and totemic clans with descent in the paternal line. I am indebted to his kindness for the following information on the subject.

Three  
tribes in  
Busoga.

There are three distinct tribes in Busoga. First, in the north-west of the country is the tribe commonly called Gabula's, after an important chief of that name; they used to look to the Banyoro as their feudal lords. Second, in the north-east of the country is the tribe called Zibondo's, after a chief of that name; they used to look to the Nilotic Bateso as their feudal lords. Third, in the east of the country is a tribe which may be called Luba's, after a former chief; they have always looked to the Baganda as their feudal lords.

Paternal  
descent of  
the totems.  
Respect  
for the  
mother's  
totem.

Descent of the totem among the Basoga is in the male line; that is, children belong to the totemic clan of their father, not of their mother. But, as happens in other Bantu tribes, children respect their mother's totem during their minority, and neither they nor their children may marry into her clan.

The following is a list of the Basoga clans and totems, so far as they have been ascertained by Mr. Roscoe:—

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (London, 1904), i. 66-68.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 713-715.

## CLANS OF NORTH-WEST BUSOGA (GABULA'S TRIBE)

Clans.	Totems.	Clans.	Totems.
1. Mpongo .	bushbuck ( <i>mpongo</i> )	31. Sendasi .	bushbuck ( <i>mpongo</i> )
2. Baigaga .	chaff from millet ( <i>bulo</i> )	32. Mutedeba .	...
3. Bahoya .	...	33. Bango .	a bird called <i>usosoli</i> or <i>sosolya</i>
4. Kwanga .	hippopotamus ( <i>njovu</i> )	34. Toli . . .	bushbuck ( <i>mpongo</i> )
5. Soswa .	jackal ( <i>mpisi</i> )	35. Bere . . .	...
6. Baisongo .	serval ( <i>mondo</i> )	36. Mayanja .	...
7. Mulondo .	grey monkey ( <i>nkima</i> )	37. Kisuwi .	leopard ( <i>mpala</i> )
8. Lemu . . .	leopard ( <i>mpala</i> )	38. Basuswi .	jackal ( <i>mpisi</i> )
9. Wiro . . .	certain women who may not come near men at any time	39. Mwebya .	a grass called <i>buyanja</i> , which the clan may not cut or touch
10. Mulimi .	goats of a particular colour	40. Semagoba .	hippopotamus ( <i>nrvubu</i> )
11. Ruba . . .	Oribi gazelle ( <i>kasiri</i> )	41. Wenzu . . .	a little salt? ( <i>kole</i> )
12. Mutwa .	female bushbuck ( <i>mpongo</i> )	42. Busigisigi .	a dove ( <i>emba</i> )
13. Mpazira .	yams ( <i>ngobi</i> )	43. Baego . . .	civet cat ( <i>enfiombe</i> )
14. Mwanga .	...	44. Sekiju . . .	the lungfish ( <i>nakibala</i> )
15. Mugonya .	mushrooms ( <i>butiko</i> )	45. Bakose . . .	chaff or husks from the semsem
16. Kinminya .	jackal ( <i>mpisi</i> )	46. Umbwe . . .	white ants ( <i>enswa</i> )
17. Kitengya .	wild pig ( <i>mbizi</i> )	47. Basoko . . .	bushbuck ( <i>mpongo</i> )
18. Mukose .	chaff from the small millet ( <i>bulo</i> )	48. Bambade .	chaff of all kinds ( <i>musisi</i> )
19. Mulemya .	...	49. Eboka . . .	crow ( <i>kozwa</i> )
20. Segaga .	chaff from the small millet ( <i>bulo</i> )	50. Sango . . .	guinea-fowl ( <i>nkofu</i> )
21. Semoyo .	bushbuck ( <i>mpongo</i> )	51. Kaima . . .	reedbuck ( <i>njaza</i> )
22. Mulandya .	...	52. Gulu . . .	the mouth of an old water-pot. The clan may not touch it nor have it in their presence
23. Bamyakat- amya	waterbuck ( <i>njobi</i> )	53. Kiemba . . .	posts made from a tree called <i>nsambya</i> . The clan may not use such posts in building their houses or fences
24. Kadodo .	frog ( <i>kikere</i> )	54. Kaibare . . .	dog ( <i>embwa</i> )
25. Nsanga .	birds ( <i>kanyonyi</i> )	55. Kigoma . . .	the clan may not look at the full moon
26. Nyanzi .	...	56. Lubanga .	...
27. Muluta .	Colobus monkey	57. Sabwiri . . .	lungfish ( <i>nabibalu</i> )
28. Muyombo .	a bird called <i>kasusimu</i>		
29. Musere .	rivers which are full or overflowing ( <i>miga ejude</i> ). The clan may not draw water from them nor attempt to cross them		
30. Mugwano .	...		

## CLANS OF NORTH-EAST BUSOGA (ZIBONDO'S TRIBE)

Clans.	Totems.	Clans.	Totems.
1. Balondo .	grey monkey ( <i>nkima</i> )	12. Banangwe	goats which are pre-maturely born ( <i>akabuzi akasolwa</i> )
2. Basekwe .	1st totem mushroom ( <i>butiko</i> ); 2nd totem <i>tabulantya</i>	13. Bakoyo .	lungfish ( <i>mamba</i> )
3. Senkwunga	1st totem elephant ( <i>njovu</i> ); 2nd totem antelope ( <i>kongone</i> )	14. Semugaya	water lizard ( <i>mbululu</i> )
4. Baise or Ngobe	bushbuck ( <i>mpongo</i> )	15. Bagaya .	birds ( <i>nyonyi</i> )
5. Semwayo .	birds ( <i>akasense</i> )	16. Mwasi .	an antelope ( <i>njazi</i> )
6. Basubo	two birds known as <i>kanyali</i> and <i>kasaki</i>	17. Basekula.	wild pig ( <i>mbizi</i> )
7. Baise or Magamba	a root of the arum lily ( <i>ziriyamiri</i> )	18. Kitamwa	guinea-fowl ( <i>nkofu</i> )
8. Gaga .	husks of the small millet ( <i>bulo</i> )	19. Mwangu .	bushbuck ( <i>mpongo</i> )
9. Semsolya .	otter ( <i>ngongo</i> )	20. Nono .	cooked plantains ( <i>mfuku</i> )
10. Bakika .	buffalo ( <i>mbogo</i> )	21. Senyulya	a bird called <i>kasenki</i>
11. Njeru	...	22. Tambi .	...
		23. Mabiro	dry slices of vegetable marrow ( <i>bikukuju</i> )
		24. Katuma .	flea ( <i>nkukunyi</i> )
		25. Mulinda .	swallow ( <i>katai</i> )
		26. Nyana .	small calves ( <i>nyana</i> )

From the preceding tables it appears that only two (the first and the last) of all these clans take their names from their totems; in all the other recorded cases the name of the clan differs from the name of the totem. Further, several clans bearing different names have nevertheless the same totem. Thus in Gabula's tribe no less than six clans have for their totem the bushbuck; and the one which takes its name (Mpongo) from the animal is the principal clan of the country. This suggests that the various Bushbuck clans may be subdivisions of one large original Bushbuck clan, all of which, when they branched off from the parent stock, took new and different names for the sake of distinction, while at the same time they all retained the old bushbuck totem.

In regard to the marriage of cousins it is a rule with the Basoga that a man's children may not marry his sister's children, but that his son's children may marry his sister's daughter's children. In other words, first cousins, the children of a brother and sister, are forbidden to marry each other, but second cousins may marry each other, provided that they are the grandchildren of a brother and a sister respectively, and that the father of one of them was a son

The various Bushbuck clans may be subdivisions of one.

First cousins forbidden, but second cousins allowed, to marry each other.

of that brother, and that the mother of one of them was a daughter of that sister.

Among the Basoga it was customary for a wife to induce her sister or sisters to come and live with her and become wives of her husband. When a man died, his brother might marry the widow or widows, provided he were chosen heir to the deceased; or if the brother were not heir, he might still receive from the heir one of the widows to wife. But except in these cases a man had no right to marry the widows of his deceased brother.

Custom of marrying several sisters.

A husband avoided his wife's mother and only spoke to her when she was in another room and out of sight. He respected his wife's father but did not avoid him.<sup>1</sup>

Avoidance of wife's mother.

The Basoga abhor incest even in cattle. If a bull covers his mother-cow or his sister-cow, the two culprits are sent by night to a fetish tree and tethered to it, there to meditate on the heinousness of their offence till the morning, when the chief appropriates them to his own use.<sup>2</sup>

Abhorrence of incest even in cattle.

### § 13. Totemism among the Bateso

The Bateso, as they call themselves, are a tribe of Nilotic negroes, whose territory borders on Northern Busoga. They are commonly known as the Bakedi or Naked People on account of their absence of clothing, which is common to both sexes. This nakedness of theirs excites the disgust of the Baganda, who are prudish in matters of dress.<sup>3</sup> The Nilotic negroes, of whom the Bateso are a branch, extend along the north bank of the Nile and round the eastern side of the Victoria Nyanza. Some of the tribes claim kinship with the Nandi and Masai. They seem to observe fewer religious ceremonies than the Bantu peoples and have no name for the Creator, but speak of the rain-maker as the supreme being. They often employ Bantu medicine-men and fetishes when they migrate into Bantu countries.<sup>4</sup>

The Bateso a tribe of Nilotic negroes.

<sup>1</sup> For the information as to the marriage customs, as well as the totems, of the Basoga I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. John Roscoe.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 719.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 772. See below, pp. 464, 467.

<sup>4</sup> From the notes of the Rev. John Roscoe, who visited the Bateso in the summer of 1908 and has kindly furnished me with the following notice of the tribe and its clans. As to the Nilotic negroes, see Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 756 *sqq.*

The Bateso are both agricultural and pastoral.

The Bateso are an agricultural people, who regard millet as their staple food, though they also grow many other cereals and vegetables, such as maize, semsem, sweet potatoes, marrows, dwarf beans, and peas. They also keep flocks of goats, and most of them have cattle besides. Both men and women work in the fields, and the young men herd the cattle. Goats and cows are often herded together. A village will contain from four to forty families. The huts are circular in shape and constructed of stout branches interwoven with creepers. The interstices of the walls are stopped with mud, which is smoothed on the inside so as to present an even surface, while the outside is left rough. An upright pole in the centre supports the conical roof, which is carefully thatched. Each wife has a hut of her own, and a man may have as many wives as he can afford to pay for. Often he builds houses for them in villages some little distance apart.

Their round huts.

Polygamy.

Exogamous and totemic clans of the Bateso.

The tribe is divided into a number of exogamous and totemic clans with descent in the male line. Children therefore belong to their father's clan and may not marry into it, but they are also forbidden to marry into their mother's clan. The following is a list of the Bateso clans with their totems, so far as these were ascertained by the Rev. John Roscoe :—

#### BATESO CLANS

Clans.	Totems.	Clans.	Totems.
1. Katikoko .	sheep ( <i>ndiga</i> )	8. Bararaka	bones of the Oribi antelope
2. Pasama .	sugar-cane ( <i>tiroko</i> )	9. Igorya .	Oribi antelope
3. Maditoko .	bones from cooked meat	10. Pokoro .	they may not shave a baby's head
4. Eraraka .	they may not look at the Oribi antelope	11. Katikoko	a tree called the <i>edodoro</i>
5. Kuribwoko	mushrooms	12. Madokoya	Oribi antelope
6. Koroko .	Oribi antelope		
7. Iraka . .	Oribi antelope		

Frequency of the Oribi antelope totem.

In this list the number of different clans which have the Oribi antelope for their totem is remarkable. Here again, as in the case of the Bushbuck clans of the Basoga,<sup>1</sup> we may suspect that the multiplication of the same totem in different clans has arisen through the subdivision of one original clan which possessed the common totem.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 460.

As a rule parents agree to the future marriage of their children while these are both small. When the children grow up, the boy's father gives the dowry and the engagement is formally settled. The dowry varies from two to twenty cows, with a number of goats, which may be as many as fifty. The children generally live in different parts of the country and seldom see each other before marriage. A man might marry several sisters, and they might agree to live together, but such was not the usual practice. When a man dies, his eldest son as a rule succeeds him and inherits the property. The widows belong to the heir, and should the clan select as heir a brother of the deceased, he marries the childless widows as a matter of course. With regard to cousin marriages the rule of the Bateso seems to agree with that of the Basoga; that is, first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, are forbidden to marry each other; but second cousins are allowed to marry each other, provided that they are the grandchildren of a brother and a sister respectively, and that the father of the one was a son of that brother, and that the mother of the other was a daughter of that sister. In other words, a man's children may not marry his sister's children, but a man's son's children may marry his sister's daughter's children.

Marriage customs of the Bateso.

Right to marry several sisters.

First cousins forbidden, but second cousins allowed, to marry each other.

#### § 14. *Totemism among the Baganda*

The great tribe or rather nation of the Baganda are a Bantu people, whose country, named after them Uganda, stretches along the north and north-western shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza. Though Uganda lies on the equator, it enjoys a mild and equable climate in consequence of its great elevation, between five and six thousand feet, above the level of the sea. The nights are often refreshingly cool, and in the day the heat is seldom oppressive. Vegetation hardly withers at any time, for, lying within the belt of perpetual rain, the land is kept evergreen by showers even in the dry season. In spite of the great moisture of the atmosphere, Uganda was on the whole fairly healthy till the fatal epidemic of sleep-sickness broke out and made havoc with the native population. The rich soil, constantly

Uganda, its climate and scenery.

watered by the rain, is luxuriantly fertile. On the whole the scenery is uniform, consisting for the most part of rolling green downs intersected by deep swampy valleys, where sluggish rivers ooze through dense thickets of reeds and papyrus, while the hill-sides on either bank are clothed with magnificent tropical forests and a rank undergrowth of ferns. In these beautiful woods the trees are festooned with creepers; troops of monkeys swing from bough to bough and rend the air with their discordant shrieks; flocks of grey parrots fly screaming about; delicate little honey-birds, their plumage glowing like rubies or emeralds in the sunshine, hover over the gay flowers on the edge of the forest; and in the open glades countless butterflies, of all the hues of the rainbow, flit through the air. As the traveller recedes from the lake northwards, the valleys widen, the hills lessen, then die away into a great plain covered with jungle or thinly wooded and cleft at long intervals by huge drains choked with rushes, the home of elephants, rhinoceroses, antelopes, and wild boars.<sup>1</sup>

The Baganda the highest type of the Bantu race. Their dress.

Cultivation of the banana.

In intelligence, material culture, and polity the Baganda represent the highest level attained by any pure Bantu race. Unlike most Africans, they clothe themselves from head to foot; the native laws as to dress were very strict, and it was death for a man or woman to be found in the public roads without proper clothing.<sup>2</sup> Their staple food is the banana, of which many varieties are cultivated. The natives say that there are more than a hundred sorts. Some are boiled green, others eaten ripe, others made into beer; and every variety has its special name. The tree flourishes everywhere; every village and every hut is surrounded by banana groves, which are very neatly kept. With its great brilliantly green leaves, glossy black stems, and huge purple spathes a banana plantation presents a feast of colour to the eye. If you climb a hill in any densely populated district you will see these verdant groves stretching away

<sup>1</sup> C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan* (London, 1882), i. 143 sqq.; F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 170 sq.; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 85 sqq. Opinions differ as

to the healthiness of Uganda. Stuhlmann says that it is very healthy; Sir Harry Johnston says (*op. cit.* ii. 646) that it is not healthy either for Europeans or natives.

<sup>2</sup> C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 151 sq.

mile after mile on every side and reaching far up the hillslopes to the horizon. Next to the banana, the sweet potato is the main article of food and is the chief vegetable cultivated by the Baganda, though they also grow yams, beans, pumpkins, sugar-cane, maize, and millet. The cultivation of the ground is chiefly carried on by the women; house-building and war are, or used to be, the occupations of the men. It is thought that a barren wife prevents her husband's plantations from bearing fruit, but that a prolific wife causes the trees to bear plentifully.<sup>1</sup> The Baganda keep cattle, sheep, and goats, and drink the milk of their cows, but most of the herds are tended for them by Bahima herdsmen.<sup>2</sup> The manufactures of the Baganda include pottery, bark cloths, baskets, mats, metal-work, wood-work, leather-making, and dyeing. In all branches of industry they display a fine artistic sense. Their pottery is beautifully finished and tastefully decorated; their baskets are so skilfully woven that they are water-tight. In metal-work the blacksmiths of Uganda are far superior to their neighbours; they obtain the iron ore in the country. But the handicraft in which the Baganda most excel is perhaps the dressing of skins, which they make as soft and pliant as kid-leather and dye them with patterns in black and orange.<sup>3</sup> They are a musical race and possess a tolerable variety of musical instruments, including harps, drums, flutes, horns, and a sort of harmonium called *amalinda*; this last consists of a number of flat pieces of hard resonant wood which are laid side by side and struck with drumsticks so as to give out melodious notes. The harp of Uganda is interesting because its shape agrees exactly with that of the ancient Egyptian harp depicted on the monuments.<sup>4</sup>

The arts and manufactures of the Baganda.

<sup>1</sup> C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan* (London, 1882), i. 145, 158 sq., 171 sq.; F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), p. 179; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 96 sqq., ii. 673 sq.; Rev. J. Roseoe, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 38, 52 sq., 56 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin,

*op. cit.* i. 163 sq.; Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 669 sq.; Rev. J. Roseoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 176-181; F. Stuhlmann, *op. cit.* pp. 176 sqq.; Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 661 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 154 sqq.; Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 664-666.

The houses  
of the  
Baganda.

In house-building the Baganda excel their neighbours, the houses of the upper classes being neat, clean, and roomy. The establishments of the great chiefs or earls are very large, sometimes covering several acres and comprising many huts. The whole is surrounded by a high fence of grass supported by trees, generally fig-trees, which send out a crown of leaves and afford a grateful shade. Within the enclosure the ground is divided by fences into courts or gardens, each with its house or houses, and each shaded by bananas and fig-trees. The houses in the inner courts are occupied by the chief and his harem; those in the outer courts are tenanted by slaves. All chiefs of high rank have such establishments in the country as well as a town house in the capital. The town residences of the prime minister (*Katikiro*) and another high minister (the *Kimbugwe* or keeper of the king's placenta) occupy enclosures each of about half a mile square in the capital, and each contains from one hundred to two hundred huts for wives and retainers. The fences of an earl's residence which adjoin a public road are beautifully worked; the height of the fence and the size of the reed-rib which runs along top and bottom indicate the rank of the owner. The huts of the peasants are much simpler; they are circular or dome-shaped, and being thickly thatched with fine long grass down to the ground resemble gigantic beehives. An Uganda town is a garden-city embowered in fine trees and rich vegetation and intersected by broad well-kept avenues, which sometimes stretch away in a straight line for a mile or more together.<sup>1</sup> A feature of the country which strikes the European traveller, and which, like so much else, evinces the superiority of the Baganda to the surrounding nations, is the wonderful network of native roads, which connect the principal villages with each other and with the capital. These roads often lead straight as an arrow over hill and dale, through forests and across swamps, and even in thinly-peopled districts they are kept remarkably clean and free

The  
native  
roads of the  
Baganda.

<sup>1</sup> C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan* (London, 1882), i. 172 sqq.; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 104-106, ii. 649 sqq.;

Rev. J. Roscoe, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), p. 65.

from weeds. Across the larger swamps are carried causeways built on piles and forming hard roads, which rise some six feet above the surface of the marsh, with tunnels at intervals through the piles to allow the slowly oozing water of these choked and sluggish rivers to find its way.<sup>1</sup>

The Baganda are also honourably distinguished by personal cleanliness and a care for the sanitation of their houses and villages which is very rare in native Africa.<sup>2</sup> A proof of their intelligence is their aptitude for arithmetic. They have native names for all multiples of ten up to twenty millions.<sup>3</sup> Yet with all their refinement in the arts of life, their scrupulous, almost prudish regard for decency,<sup>4</sup> and their vegetable diet, the Baganda are by no means weaklings or effeminate. They are so strong that they will race a bicycle for miles without an effort,<sup>5</sup> and their valour made them in former times the terror of the surrounding nations, not only on land but on the water. Every man who could handle a spear and a shield was a soldier, and armies were mustered with astonishing rapidity. They had a large fleet of war-canoes, splendidly built and sometimes manned by a crew of forty men. It was a fine sight to see two or three hundred of these graceful vessels threading their way among the wooded islands of the great lake, the regular dip of their paddles in the water keeping time to the measured beat of the drums.<sup>6</sup>

Character  
of the  
Baganda.

Their  
military  
prowess.

The native government of Uganda was an absolute monarchy: the king held in his hands the power of life and death; he owned the whole of the land, and could dispose of it at his pleasure. The only exception to this last rule

The native  
govern-  
ment of  
Uganda an  
absolute  
monarchy.

<sup>1</sup> C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan* (London, 1882), i. 146 sq.; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 657 sq.

<sup>2</sup> C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 184; Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 646 sq.

<sup>3</sup> C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 226; Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 695.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 647 sq., 685. In the old days courtiers

were fined if they exposed their legs in the king's presence. "The chiefs and people became fastidiously prudish on the subject of clothing, and regarded a nude man as an object of horror. They preferred in their language not to call a spade a spade, but to substitute for any plain noun dealing with sex or sexual intercourse the politest and vaguest of paraphrases" (*ib.* p. 685).

<sup>5</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 673.

<sup>6</sup> C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 193, 201-203.

Election of  
the king.

The prime  
minister,  
the earls,  
and the  
chiefs.

was that land which had served as the burying-ground of a clan for three generations belonged to it in perpetuity and not even the king could take it away.<sup>1</sup> The king must always be of the blood royal, but whereas commoners trace their descent through their paternal clan, the kings trace their pedigree through the maternal clan. When the king dies, his successor is chosen from among his sons by the prime minister (*Katikiro*) and another great nobleman (*Kasuju*), the guardian of the princes; but curiously enough they may never elect the eldest son, who holds the office of *Kiwerwa* or father of all the young princes. Generally the king before his death tells the prime minister which of his sons he wishes to succeed him, and if his choice is a good one, his wishes are followed; otherwise the electors do not hesitate to set them aside.<sup>2</sup> After his election the king appoints the *Katikiro* (prime minister and chief justice), and also ten earls (*Basazas*) to rule the ten earldoms (*sazas*) into which the whole country is divided. In each earldom there are chiefs (*Bami*), who are also appointed by the king in consultation with the earl; but after their appointment the chiefs are responsible not to the king but to the earl. All taxes and all duties exacted from labourers engaged in public works pass through the earl's hands to the prime minister. The earl is responsible for all the people in his earldom; he tries all cases within his dominions, and if an appeal from his verdict is made, he attends when the case is tried in a higher court. He and the chiefs under him are bound to see that the roads and bridges leading from the capital to their country residences are kept in repair. Earls and chiefs have large tracts of land in their gift, and members of their respective clan gather

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 50 sq., 62, 66. The native system of government in Uganda has been carefully investigated by Mr. Roscoe, who has kindly placed at my disposal much unpublished information collected by him. I shall draw upon it in what follows.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901), p. 129, and xxxii. (1902), pp. 27, 44, 62. Some of the details in the text are derived from Mr. Roscoe's unpublished manuscripts. According to Messrs. Wilson and Felkin, the king is chosen by three hereditary *bakungu* or chiefs of the highest rank (C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan*, i. 193 sq., 200).

about them in the hope of obtaining either offices or banana plantations. Each earldom has annually to contribute, in addition to a tax on every hut, a certain amount of labour for the execution of public works, such as building houses and fences for the king, making roads, and bridging swamps.<sup>1</sup>

Two very important personages in the polity of the Baganda are the Queen Mother or Dowager Queen (*Namasole*) and the Queen Sister (*Lubuga*). If the king's mother is alive when he comes to the throne, she naturally assumes the office of Queen Mother; but if she is dead, another woman of her clan is elected to the dignity. The office carries many privileges with it, and estates in each earldom are attached to it. She appoints chiefs to manage her estates and bestows on them the same titles which the king confers on his ministers. She has absolute power over her chiefs and followers; she holds her own court, tries all her own cases, and is called a king. But after she has come into office, she only visits her son once, when she appoints his three principal wives. After that the king may never see his mother again, for were he to see her, they think that some evil, probably death, would surely ensue. Yet he may consult her and she may advise him through a third party. A running stream must always flow between her residence and his.

The Queen Sister (*Lubuga*) has also her own establishment with lands and officers attached to it just like the king; she rules her own people and is called a king. Neither she nor the Queen Mother pays taxes, nor do they contribute labourers for public works. In old times the Queen Sister was also the king's wife, indeed the only one of his wives to whom he was formally married. Yet she might not bear him a child. After his death she takes charge of his tomb (*mulalo*) and removes her household to the hill where the tomb is situated. There she rules all the earls and chiefs of the deceased king, her brother, and has land enough to give to each of them gardens which enable them to live in comfort. The royal tomb (*mulalo*) is the abode of the king's ghost. It is a

The Queen Mother (*Namasole*), her power and privileges.

The Queen Sister (*Lubuga*), her power and privileges.

She guards the royal tomb (*mulalo*), where the ghost of the late king is believed to dwell.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 63 sqq.

large house which the king always builds in his lifetime within the royal enclosure. The new king deserts the enclosure of his predecessor and constructs a new one in another place. But the late king's tomb is kept in repair by the State. The enclosure and the interior of the tomb are looked after by the king's widows who had children by him or who were specially chosen for the duty. If any one of these widows dies or leaves the tomb for any reason, her clan must supply another woman as a substitute, who is reckoned among the wives of the deceased king. In a chamber at the back of the tomb are kept the jaw-bone and the placenta of the departed monarch, and to these his ghost is supposed to be attached. The jaw-bone in particular is called "the king." When the dead king wishes to hold his court, or it is desired to consult him about anything, the jaw-bone and the placenta are brought out from the inner chamber and placed on a dais or throne, which is covered with lion and leopard skins and railed off by a row of spears and shields. Communications with the departed ruler are held by means of his high priest (*mandwa*), who acts as his prophet or medium. This power the priest acquires by drinking beer out of the dead king's skull; after that the king's spirit enters into the priest, whenever his late Majesty desires to communicate with his successor or with the people. On such occasions the priest goes to the throne and, speaking to the spirit in the inner room, tells him the business he has come about. He then smokes one or two pipes and begins to rave, which is a sign that he is possessed by the king's spirit. In this condition, imitating the king's voice, he declares the king's will. After this communication has been made, the spirit returns to the inner room, and the priest goes away. The possession of the priest by the king's spirit is only occasional, not permanent. Within the house, or rather mausoleum, dwell the wives who bore children to the late king; his other wives have separate houses within the enclosure. Outside of the enclosure the Queen Sister has her residence, and with her are several of the late king's chiefs, who have been pensioned off and hold pieces of land, but bear the same titles as of old. The Queen Sister has authority

The jaw-bone and placenta of the late king are kept in his tomb.

Mode of consulting the spirit of the dead king. The high priest (*mandwa*) drinks beer from the dead king's skull, and being thus filled with the king's spirit he gives oracles.

over all the chiefs and widows who are associated with the royal tomb.<sup>1</sup>

Both the Queen Mother and the Queen Sister enjoyed a remarkable privilege. They were allowed to practise polyandry, cohabiting with as many men as they pleased, but not marrying them or bearing them children; indeed death was the penalty if they had offspring. Hence they resorted to abortion. Yet so loose were their relations with the other sex that according to a common saying all Uganda was their husband. They were fickle, living with a man for a few days and then inviting another to take his place. All the other princesses were equally forbidden to marry, but they were not equally privileged, for though one of them might occasionally be given in marriage to a great chief as a mark of special favour, the rest were condemned to perpetual virginity, because they were regarded as the king's wives, and if they were detected in an intrigue, the punishment was death. Yet most of them led a life of debauchery. We read that "they often use every blandishment, and even force, to secure some young peasant, the unhappy object of their affection; but, should he be

Remarkable privilege of the Queen Mother and Queen Sister; they may have as many lovers as they please, but they may not marry them nor bear children to them under pain of death.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901), pp. 128-130; *id.* "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 43-46, 67. I have also drawn on Mr. Roscoe's manuscript materials for a few details as to the Queen Mother and the Queen Sister, particularly for the statement that they both bear the title of king in the king's lifetime. Similarly Mr. R. P. Ashe says that in Uganda "there are three persons who bear the royal title of Kabaka, namely the king, the queen-mother, and the queen-sister" (*Two Kings of Uganda*, p. 87). After the king's death the Queen Sister (*Lubuga*) seems to take the title of *Nalinya*. With regard to the worship of the dead kings of Uganda compare C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan*, i. 208: "The former kings of the country appear also to be

regarded as demi-gods, and their graves are kept with religious care, and houses are erected over them, which are under the constant supervision of one of the principal chiefs of the country, and where human sacrifices are also occasionally offered." Mr. R. P. Ashe has recorded the belief "that the soul of a departed king can come back and enter into certain persons who are said to *samira*—'be possessed of'—the spirit of such and such a departed king. The word *samira*, translated 'possessed of,' is not, however, passive, but has more the force of the Greek middle. The active form of the word would be *sama*. That the person who *samiras* has control over the spirit seems to be the prevalent idea, and Mutesa begged that after his death no one should *samira* him. A person who *samiras*, works himself up into a state of ecstasy or madness until the afflatus has subsided" (R. P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda*, p. 316).

discovered with them, he must meet the awful fate of death by fire, the common capital punishment in Buganda."<sup>1</sup> We are reminded of the lovers of Semiramis.<sup>2</sup>

Totemism in Uganda. The Baganda are divided into many totemic and exogamous clans.

On the whole, Uganda has been justly described as "one of the best organised and most civilised of African kingdoms at the present day."<sup>3</sup> It is therefore all the more remarkable to find that a nation which has made so considerable advances in culture should nevertheless retain a totemic system of the most regular orthodox pattern.<sup>4</sup> For the Baganda are divided into a large number of totemic clans, the members of which observe the two fundamental canons of normal totemism, since they abstain both from injuring their totem and from marrying a woman of the same clan. Each clan is called a *kika* (plural *bika*); it traces its origin to one man, and has a principal totem and a secondary totem. The principal totem, by which the clan

<sup>1</sup> R. P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda*, pp. 87 sq.; Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901), p. 122; *id.* "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 36, 67.

<sup>2</sup> *The Golden Bough*,<sup>2</sup> iii. 162 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 636.

<sup>4</sup> For the following account of the totemic system of the Baganda I am indebted almost entirely to the researches of my friend the Rev. John Roscoe of the Church Missionary Society, who has drawn his information direct from the best native sources, questioning men of each clan as to their customs and traditions. In his researches he has had the active co-operation of the native Prime Minister (*Katikiro*), who gave him all facilities for prosecuting his enquiries. As Mr. Roscoe is further intimately acquainted with the native language, and has for many years enjoyed the confidence of the people, his writings on the subject of their customs and beliefs possess the highest authority. He has collected a large mass of information which still remains unpublished. I have gladly

availed myself of his generous permission to make free use of the manuscript materials which he has placed in my hands. For his published accounts of Baganda totemism, on which as well as on his unpublished papers I have drawn in the text, see Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901), pp. 118 sq., 120, 121; *id.* "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 27-29, 35, 50, 51, 53. For earlier accounts of totemism among the Baganda see R. P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda*, pp. 85, 285; F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), p. 190; L. Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 443; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 691 sq. Mr. Ashe was the first to put the totemic system of the Baganda on record. He clearly stated the two principles that no one may eat his totem animal or marry a woman of his totem clan. Among the clans which he mentions are those of the Grasshopper (*Ensenanc*), Sheep (*Endiga*), and Crocodile (*Engonya*). He gives the native name for a clan as *kyika*, plural *ebiyika*.

is always known, is called *muziro*; the secondary totem is called *kabiro*. Both totems are sacred to members of the clan, who may neither kill nor destroy them. Other people, however, may kill or destroy them for a reasonable purpose without hurting the feelings of members of the clan. Except in the case of the royal family, children always take their father's totem and belong to his clan. A wife adopts her husband's totem, but retains her own and teaches her children to regard both sets of totems as sacred. When the children grow up and leave their home they may do as they please about their mother's totem; they are not bound to observe it. Yet it is, or used to be, customary for them to adopt their mother's totem also, so that a man's children would usually have their mother's totem as well as his. But the mother's totem did not descend to the second generation; children took the totem of their father and generally also the totem of their mother, but not the totem of their grandmother. Each clan has special names for its children, so that members of a clan always know from a child's name whether it belongs to them or not. It is customary to have a second name for common use and to keep the childhood name secret, for it is contrary to usage for a person to mention the clan to which he belongs. If there is a question of importance to be solved, he will, indeed, readily tell his clan name, and even his childhood name. But if there is no special reason for giving it, he will refuse to answer the question and will refer the enquirer to a third person for the information. They think that any one who kills or eats his totemic animal or plant will die, or, if not, that he will fall sick or suffer from an eruption of sores all over his body. The usual explanation they give of their totems is that their forefathers fell ill after partaking of them, and that they accordingly enjoined their children not to kill or eat the animal or plant which had disagreed with them.

All the women of a man's clan are regarded as his sisters; hence he may neither marry nor have sexual intercourse with them. Any infraction of this rule used to be punishable by death. It was thought that if a man secretly broke the rule, either he or his children would fall ill, so that his guilt would transpire and punishment

Each clan has its principal totem (*muziro*) and its secondary totem (*kabiro*). Children take their father's totem and belong to his clan.

Each clan has special names for its children.

Ill effects of killing or eating the totem.

A man may neither marry into his own clan nor into his mother's clan.

follow. Further, no man may marry into his mother's clan, since all the women of that clan are regarded as his mother's sisters and are called his great mothers or his little mothers (*bakulu* or *banyina bato*) according to their age. But it is the correct thing for a man to take his second wife from his father's mother's clan. This wife always bears the title of *Nasasa*; it is she who shaves her husband's head and pares his nails and sees to it that the clippings of the hair and the parings of the nails do not fall into the hands of an ill-wisher, who might do her husband a mischief by working magic with these severed portions of his person. However, the rule of exogamy, which applies to all the other Baganda clans, does not apply to the Lung-fish (*Mamba*) clan. But that clan is the largest of all and is, moreover, divided into two sections, each with a different secondary totem and each residing in a different district. One section dwelling by the lake has another fish called *muguya* for its secondary totem; the other section, dwelling inland, has the frog for its secondary totem. We are not told, but seem left to infer, that the rule of exogamy may only be broken by members of different sections of the clan, not by members of the same section; in other words, that a Lung-fish man may only marry a Lung-fish woman if her secondary totem is different from his; that is, if he is a *Muguya*-fish man, she must be a Frog woman; if he is a Frog man, she must be a *Muguya*-fish woman.

The Lung-fish (*Mamba*) clan is an exception to the rule of exogamy.

Each clan has its family estates (*masiga*).

Each clan has its family estates, which are as a rule situated on some hill with the gardens running down its slopes into the valleys. The principal estates, situated in different parts of the country, are called *Masiga* and represent the chief branches of the clan. Generally they were the estates belonging to the sons of the father of the clan, but a few were those of the grandsons. Great-grandsons were seldom counted as heads of the branches of a clan. Upon each of the estates there is a chief who is responsible for the conduct of the members of his branch of the clan. If he has the oversight of the whole clan he is called its Father. The Father of the clan has naturally the best and most important estate. Many of the clans have their family gods (*lubare*), or they may have charge of one of the

The Father or head of the clan.

national gods. In such cases the chief of the clan or of the branch of the clan on whose estate the temple stands becomes the priest and has charge of the temple. The temples are generally built on the tops of hills, and are surrounded by some good land for the use of the god.

Besides these old family estates the clan has others called *butaka*, where three or four generations of the clan have been buried. It behoved a chief to be ever on the alert to prevent members of a clan from burying their dead in good gardens, which they wished to secure for their children; because even the king would scruple to turn out any man who had succeeded in burying three generations in the place. If people were discovered burying their dead in a garden, they were ordered to take the body away to the family estate. The burial place of a clan is regularly on the top or side of a hill and is enclosed by a fruitful garden of bananas. When three successive generations, father, son, and grandson, have been interred in such a garden, it becomes a *butaka* or freehold burial ground, where other members of the clan may bury their dead. Some members of the clan must reside in it to tend the graves and keep others from using it. They are given the land around the graves as a remuneration for their watchful care.

Hereditary burial-grounds (*butaka*) of the clans.

Each clan has its special beat of drum. In Uganda the drum is an indispensable instrument. It peals forth the news of birth and of death, of joy and of sorrow, of peace and of war. To its measured cadence the feet of the weary wayfarer keep time; burdened porters press forward more cheerily for its notes; and chiefs are known afar off by the roll and rumble of their drums.

Each clan has its special beat of the drum.

For sympathy and help in time of trouble a man always turns to the members of his totemic clan. When one of them has been murdered, his relations and his clan take up the matter and seek the murderer to punish him; failing to find him they hold one of his clan as a hostage.

Social obligations of the clans-people.

With regard to the origin of their totemic clans the Baganda have a tradition, which runs thus. In the reign of Kintu, the first king, the whole nation lived by the chase alone. When game became somewhat scarce, King Kintu, with the general consent of his people, made it a law that

Tradition as to the origin of the totemic clans.

certain species of animals should be tabooed to certain families, in order that these animals might have a better chance of multiplying than if everybody hunted them indiscriminately. The test adopted in order to determinate which animals were to be tabooed was one of health or digestion. If a family found that the flesh of a certain animal disagreed with it, the members of that family abstained in future from partaking of that animal. In that way, according to tradition, originated the totems of the clans.<sup>1</sup> The theory that the totemic taboos are based on a sort of Act for the Preservation of Game can hardly be primitive. Like the somewhat similar view propounded by Mr. W. E. Roth as to the origin of totemism in Queensland,<sup>2</sup> it has all the appearance of an inference drawn in later times by persons of a rationalising turn of mind, who have long outgrown the crude superstitions which lie at the root of totemism. Moreover, as might be expected, the traditions of the Baganda are not consistent with each other on the subject. For according to other accounts, when Kintu came to the country, he found several of the clans there before him, or they came to him from neighbouring countries. From the traditions we may gather that Kintu was a powerful ruler who invaded and conquered the land, and by his statecraft incorporated the clans into one nation under his government. If asked from whom he is descended, any Mugandu<sup>3</sup> will readily answer "From Kintu"; if he is questioned more closely, he will give an account of the father or founder of his clan, where he came from, and when he first joined either Kintu or one of the early kings.

List of the  
clans of the  
Baganda  
with their  
totems.

The clans of the Baganda take their names from their principal totems (*muziro*). The following is a list of the clans with their principal and secondary totems, so far as they have been ascertained.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This tradition forms part of Mr. Roscoe's unpublished papers. He sent it to me from Uganda on the 29th November, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> The singular form of Baganda.

<sup>4</sup> The fullest list hitherto published of the Baganda clans and totems is that given by Mr. J. Roscoe in *Journal of*

*the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902), pp. 27 sq.; compare the list given by him in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901), p. 118. A list of twenty-nine totemic clans is given by Sir Harry Johnston (*The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 691 sq.). The table in the text is based chiefly on Mr. Roscoe's manuscripts, especially on

## BAGANDA CLANS AND TOTEMS

Principal Totem ( <i>muuziro</i> ), which gives its name to the clan.	English Equivalent.	Secondary Totem ( <i>kabiro</i> ).	English Equivalent.
1. <i>Ngo</i>	leopard	<i>kasimba</i>	genet
2. <i>Mpologoma</i>	lion	<i>mpungu</i>	eagle
3. <i>Ngeye</i>	Colobus monkey	<i>munyungu</i>	small monkey
4. <i>Ngonge</i>	otter <sup>1</sup>	<i>kasimba</i>	genet
5. <i>Nsenene</i>	grasshopper (small green locust)	<i>nabangogo</i> (or <i>nabangogoma</i> )	a small insect which lives in the plantain
6. <i>Fumbe</i>	civet cat	<i>kikerekere</i>	frog
7. <i>Njovu</i>	elephant	<i>uvubu</i>	hippopotamus
8. <i>Mamba</i>	lung-fish <sup>2</sup>	<i>muguya</i>	a small fish
9. <i>Mamba</i>	lung-fish <sup>2</sup>	<i>katuba</i> or, ac- cording to many, <i>kike- rekere</i>	a fish  a frog
10. <i>Lugave</i>	manis or pangolin (scaly ant-eater)	<i>butilo</i>	mushroom
11. <i>Endiga</i>	sheep	<i>mpologoma</i>	lion
12. (a) <i>Mbogo</i>	buffalo	<i>ntamu</i>	a new cooking- pot
13. <i>Nkima</i>	small grey monkey <sup>3</sup>	<i>byenda</i>	entrails of animals
14. (a) <i>Mpewo</i>	Oribi antelope	<i>kayezi</i>	grey rat
15. (b) <i>Katirwuma</i>	a small seed of a shrub, used as beads		all kinds of beads
16. (a) <i>Nyoni</i>	birds <sup>4</sup>	<i>kunguvu</i>	a special kind of bird
17. (a) <i>Musu</i>	a large rat <sup>5</sup>	<i>muyoze</i>	a small rat
18. (a) <i>Kobe</i>	yam	<i>kama</i>	another kind of yam
19. (a) <i>Mpindi</i>	beans <sup>6</sup>	<i>kindira</i>	a wild bean
20. (a) (b) <i>Ngabi</i>	bushbuck <sup>7</sup>	<i>jerengeze</i>	a kind of grass
21. (b) <i>Abwa</i>	dog		iron bell for dog,
22. (a) (b) <i>Kibe</i>	jackal	<i>mpiri</i>	puff-adder
23. (a) <i>Nvubu</i>	hippopotamus	<i>ufudu</i>	tortoise

a list of principal and secondary totems which he sent me on 22nd December 1908. In his published accounts Mr. Roscoe does not notice the secondary totems.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. L. Decle calls the animal a beaver (*Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 443). Mr. Roscoe agrees with F. Stuhlmann and Sir Harry Johnston in calling it an otter, which is no doubt correct.

<sup>2</sup> The *Protopterus*, according to Sir Harry Johnston and Mr. F. Stuhlmann.

<sup>3</sup> *Cercopithecus petaurista* or *rufiviridis*, according to Sir Harry Johnston.

<sup>4</sup> The widow-bird (*Vidua*, *Penthetria*, *Chera*, etc.), according to Sir Harry Johnston.

<sup>5</sup> Ground-rat, an octodont rodent (*Thryonomis swinderemianus*), according to Sir Harry Johnston. Mr. Stuhlmann calls it *Analcodes*.

<sup>6</sup> Haricot beans, according to Sir Harry Johnston.

<sup>7</sup> *Tragelaphus*, according to Sir Harry Johnston.

Principal Totem ( <i>muziro</i> ), which gives its name to the clan.	English Equivalent.	Secondary Totem ( <i>kabiro</i> ).	English Equivalent.
24. (a) <i>Nialaganya</i>	<i>Cephalophus</i> antelope	<i>malere</i>	tree fungus
25. (a) <i>Njaza</i>	reedbuck		
26. <i>Kasimba</i>	genet <sup>1</sup>		
27. <i>Byenda</i>	entrails of animals	<i>maugwe</i>	lungs of animals
28. <i>Nte ezalibwa nga teriko mukiro</i> <sup>2</sup>	tailless cow	<i>ngali</i>	crested crane
29. (a) <i>Ente ya lub-ombwe</i>	spotted cow		
30. (a) <i>Nganga</i>	hornbill		
31. (a) (b) <i>Ma'zi</i>	rainwater from roofs		
32. (a) (b) <i>Namun'-gona</i>	crow	<i>mutima</i>	hearts of animals
33. (a) <i>Kinyomo</i>	red ant		
34. (a) <i>Kitete</i>	kind of grass		
35. (a) <i>Ngali</i>	crested crane		
36. <i>Butiko</i>	mushroom	<i>nsenko</i> and <i>nsanga</i>	snail and small ivory discs
37. <i>Mutima</i>	heart	<i>maugwe</i>	lungs
38. <i>Lukindo</i> <sup>3</sup>	wild date palm		
39. <i>Nombe</i> <sup>4</sup>	ox ( <i>Buddu</i> only)		
40. <i>Gonya</i> ( <i>Engonya</i> ) <sup>5</sup>	crocodile		
41. <i>Mperwo</i>	wind <sup>6</sup>		
42. <i>Bugeme</i> <sup>7</sup>	beer from wild date palm		
43. <i>Nkeje</i> <sup>7</sup>	small fish like sprat		
44. <i>Kivungulu</i> <sup>7</sup>	owl?		
45. <i>Kanyonyi aka-bira munte</i> <sup>7</sup>	small bird which cries among cows		

<sup>1</sup> Serval cat, according to Sir Harry Johnston.

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere Mr. Roscoe gives the native name of this clan as *ente etalina mukiro*. The clan is usually called the Bagabo clan.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned by Sir Harry Johnston, but not by Mr. Roscoe.

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned by Sir Harry Johnston, but not by Mr. Roscoe. Sir Harry Johnston adds: "It is remarkable to find this old Bantu word for 'ox' surviving in the totem name. In ordinary parlance in Luganda and Urunyoro it has long since been dropped in favour of *ente*" (*The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 692 note).

<sup>5</sup> This clan is mentioned by R. P. Ashe (*Two Kings of Uganda*, p. 85).

Mr. F. Stuhlmann (*Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, p. 190 note\*), and Mr. L. Declé (*Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 443). It is mentioned neither by Mr. Roscoe nor by Sir Harry Johnston. According to Mr. Declé, the Crocodile clan is found in the Sese Islands of the Victoria Nyanza.

<sup>6</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Nantaba, the Female Fetich of the King of Uganda," *Man*, viii. (1908), p. 132, and below, p. 486. The Wind clan is not mentioned by Mr. Roscoe in his lists of the clans, because his informant having died he was unable to confirm the statement and the *Katikiro* threw doubt on it.

<sup>7</sup> Not mentioned by Mr. Roscoe in his latest (manuscript) list.

In the foregoing table the clans marked (a) were never allowed to present a prince as heir to the throne. The king might indeed marry girls from these clans and have children by them, but none of these children might ever succeed to the crown. In order to evade this disqualification the members of these clans gave their daughters to members of other clans, who adopted them; and the children of such women, being reckoned to their adopted clans, were eligible to the throne. The clans marked (b) in the table joined other clans, either because their own clans were despised, or because they desired that their daughters, by adoption into these clans, might have children who might succeed to the kingdom. Though they thus associated with other clans and had the right to use their totem names, yet they were never regarded by these associated clans as blood relations; hence they were free to marry members of their adopted clans. Thus the *Katinvuma* (small seed) clan joined the Mushroom clan. The Bushbuck clan joined the Monkey clan. The Dog clan joined the Civet Cat clan. The Jackal clan joined the Otter clan. The Rainwater clan joined the Lion clan. The Crow clan joined the Otter clan.

Some clans were not allowed to give an heir to the throne.

Some clans joined others.

We will now take up a number of the Baganda clans separately and give some account of their customs, duties, privileges, and superstitions. The following details were taken down from the lips of members of the clans by the Rev. John Roscoe, whose indefatigable zeal has rescued them, with so much more, from the oblivion that must otherwise almost certainly have overtaken them. I am indebted to his friendship and kindness for permission to incorporate in this book these vanishing relics of a savage past.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Roscoe's information as to particular clans of the Baganda.

The Leopard (*Vgo*) clan has for its secondary totem the genet (*kasimba*). Members of this clan are not allowed to eat any meat which has been torn by an animal or even scratched by one. If one of their cows has been torn by a wild beast, they may not let it mix with the herd, even though its wounds are healed; they must sell the cow. The

The Leopard clan.

<sup>1</sup> In his manuscript notes on the clans Mr. Roscoe generally gives a list of the principal landed estates of each clan.

I have not thought it necessary to reproduce this part of his information.

Leopard clan is a royal one, but of its many branches there is only one of which the members are deemed eligible to the throne. The clanspeople are not bound to do any work for the king. Their only public duty is to keep up the estate called Magonga, where Kintu first lived, and where there is a temple to him. They claim also to possess the original plantain which was brought into the country at Kintu's first coming. It is a sacred plant.

The Lion  
clan.

The Lion (*Mpologoma*) clan has for its secondary totem the eagle (*mpungu*). It is a royal clan and claims descent from Sabaganda, a son of Kintu. To explain their totems they say that Kintu killed a lion and an eagle and had their skins made into royal rugs. Since then the beast and the bird have been deemed sacred, and their skins, together with a leopard's skin, form the royal rug on which the kings sit or stand at state ceremonies. The clan has charge of a small drum called *nalubare* which is always kept and used in the shrine of Kintu on the hill Magonga in the Busuju district. On another hill in one of their estates (Nsanganzira, in the Busiro district) there is a shrine of the great national god Mukasa, where each king, as he went to Nankere to observe the ceremonies for the prolongation of his life,<sup>1</sup> used to change his clothes and leave the discarded garments to be kept in the holy place. No member of the Lion clan is eligible for the throne. The king might marry women of the clan, but if they bore him sons, the infants were strangled at birth; only daughters of these royal wives were suffered to live. The Lion clan had a deity called Luwada on their estate of that name. He was served by a priest, a member of the clan; and from time to time the god took bodily possession of the priest and made his wishes known through him.

The  
Colobus  
monkey  
clan.

The Colobus Monkey (*Ngeye*) clan has for its secondary totem a small black monkey (*munyungu*) with longish hair. The clan is reckoned one of the oldest in the country. They say that Kintu found it settled there when he first came to Uganda, and that they furnished him with his

<sup>1</sup> As to these ceremonies see my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, (London, 1907), p. 405, where I have

described them on the authority of the Rev. J. Roscoe.

first wife Nambi. They trace their origin to a man named Kyesimba Kasuju. Judged by the number of offices which it holds about the king, the Colobus Monkey clan is an important one. They supply the king's butler, the potter who makes the royal cooking pots, and also the man who has charge of the royal drinking-water. This last bears the title of Kalinda and used always to be put to death when the king died, in order that his ghost might wait on the king's ghost in the other world. Another member of the Colobus Monkey clan has charge of all the king's goats; and another is always sent by the new king to announce his accession to the god Mukasa, taking with him for the deity an offering of nine slaves, nine women, nine white cows, nine white goats, nine white fowls, nine loads of cowry shells, and nine loads of bark cloths. During his journey this envoy to the god may not eat with any one; he crosses the lake in a special canoe, and when he enters the temple he wears two bark cloths, as though he were a prince.

The sacred  
envoy.

The Otter (*Ngonge*) clan has for its secondary totem the genet (*kasimba*). The forefather of the clan, by name Mwanga-kisolo, is said to have been prime minister to Kintu, who killed him in a fit of rage.<sup>1</sup> Their chief duty in the king's service is to make his bark cloths. They also supplied the king with a wife whose special duty it was to make his bed. When the king died, she had to go to his tomb there to wait on the royal ghost till death relieved her of her duties. The clan also furnished the king with a butler, whose chief duty was to look after the royal tobacco. After being knocked on the head by his royal master, the founder of the Otter clan, Mwanga-kisolo, was raised to the rank of deity, and in that capacity helped his clansmen by making their women fruitful and their cattle prolific. In gratitude for his help mothers brought him offerings of beer, cattle, and firewood. His temple stood on the hill Nseke. The priest was always a member of the Otter clan, but the inspired medium or prophet who spoke the god's will might be chosen by the deity from any clan.

The Otter  
clan.

Makers of  
the king's  
bark-  
cloths.

A god of  
fertility.

The Grasshopper or Green Locust (*Nsenene*) clan has for

<sup>1</sup> See the legend given more in detail by the Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 25 sq.

The Grass-  
hopper  
clan.

its secondary totem an insect called *nabangogoma*, which lives in the upper part of the plantain stem. They were originally a cattle-keeping clan and lived in Busongola, which formed part of Bunyoro. Their forefather was Kiroboza. In consequence of a quarrel the clan split in two, one part remaining in Bunyoro and the other migrating to Uganda. On their Bujubi estate in Busuju the Grasshopper clan has a fetish which is supposed to protect the clanspeople from plague. It is kept in a small shrine enclosed by a fence. An old Munyoro woman used to keep the shrine in order and free from weeds.

Ceremony  
performed  
by women  
of the  
Grass-  
hopper  
clan when  
they catch  
grass-  
hoppers  
for their  
husbands  
to eat.

The particular grasshopper or green locust (*nseene*) which gives its name to a clan is eaten by the Baganda, who regard it as a great delicacy. At certain times of the year the insect is found in large numbers and the people go out to capture it. Any married woman of the Grasshopper clan may then catch and cook the grasshoppers for her husband to eat, though she may not herself partake of them. Her husband "immediately after eating them must have intercourse with his wife, in order to cause the locusts to increase and avert any ill consequences to her children, which might otherwise arise from her catching her totem: this is an annual ceremony when the locusts first appear."<sup>1</sup> When any king had twins born to him, it was the duty of the head of the Grasshopper clan to relieve him of the burdensome ceremonies and taboos entailed by the birth of twins and to undertake them himself vicariously for his Majesty.<sup>2</sup> Further, it is the business of this clan to look after the men who decorate the navel-strings of the kings and give them over to the chief or minister Kimbugwe.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 53. Mr. Roscoe has sent me some fuller notes in manuscript on the Grasshopper or Green Locust clan. In these notes, which I have used in the text, Mr. Roscoe writes thus with regard to the ceremony in question: "There is a restriction attached to the first meal of the season; when a woman has prepared some of the grasshoppers for her husband, he must either jump over her or have sexual connection

with her, otherwise sickness will enter his family. On account of this taboo the clan has always been held in great respect in the country."

<sup>2</sup> As to the ceremonies and taboos entailed by the birth of twins, see the Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* pp. 32-35.

<sup>3</sup> As to the elaborate care taken of the king's navel-string, see the Rev. J. Roscoe, "Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda," *Man*, vii. (1907), p. 165: "In the case of princes the cord [navel-string] is carefully

Moreover, when one of the king's wives has lost several children at birth or in infancy, and she has been delivered of another, she is sent to the head of the Grasshopper clan to be guarded until the child is weaned. This clan always supplied the king with one wife, who took the title of Nakimera, in memory of the wife who gave birth to Kimera, one of the early kings.

The Civet Cat (*Fumbe*) clan has for its secondary totem the frog (*kikerekere*). The members of the clan can give no explanation of the origin of their totems. They claim to have been settled in Uganda long before the coming of Kintu and to have been at that time the most important of all the clans. They trace their origin to a king of Uganda named Ntege, who was deposed by the conqueror Kintu but was allowed to retain a few estates and the title of king. When Kintu died, his son Cwa received a wife named Naku from Ntege, and since then every king has married a wife of the Civet Cat clan, who regularly takes the name of Naku as her title. On the principal estate of the clan there is a temple to Naku, which was once of great importance. At this shrine the kings used to perform some of the ceremonies for the prolongation of their life. Other ceremonies for this purpose were observed on another estate of the Civet Cat clan (the estate of Baka), when the king returned from Nankere. On the hill of Baka stood a temple to the god of

The Civet  
Cat clan.

preserved, and the fortunate prince who becomes king has the cord decorated and made into a twin (*mulongo*) as described above. This is handed to the Kimbugwe's care, who is one of the most important chiefs in the country. Each month, directly after the new moon appears, the Kimbugwe has to bring the 'twin' and carry it wrapped in barkcloths to the king, who holds it for a moment or two and then hands it back to the Kimbugwe. It is carried in state to the Kimbugwe's enclosure, drums are beaten in the procession, and the twin is honoured as a king. When it is returned to its house it is not put inside, but is placed by the door and guarded all night; next morning Kimbugwe comes and rubs butter on it and restores it to its usual place inside the temple or hut."

Along with the navel-string is preserved the placenta, which the Baganda regard as a double or twin (*mulongo*) of every person who is born. Apparently the navel-string is viewed as the thing to which the ghost of the placenta, which is the person's double, attaches itself. The Baganda think that the placenta of a prince has power to kill the offspring of royalty if it is not treated with honour. Hence kings always keep their placenta and have it decorated and treated as a person. The Kimbugwe, who has charge of it, is the second minister in Uganda, next to the prime minister (*Katikiro*), with whom he takes his seat in all councils of state. See Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Man*, vii. (1907), pp. 164 *sq.*; *id.* in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 33, 63, 76.

that name, who was one of the first deities of the country. The priest was always a member of the Civet Cat clan, but the god was free to choose his inspired medium from any other clan. On the same estate there was a temple to Wanga, a deity who was imported from the Sese Islands in Lake Victoria Nyanza. This Wanga once restored light to the world by lifting the sun and moon out of a pit into which they had fallen in the reign of King Juko. When any person appealed from the king's decision to the poison ordeal, it was the duty of the Civet Cat clan to supply the man who administered the potion.

The  
Elephant  
clan.

Ceremonies  
at the coro-  
nation of a  
king.

The Elephant (*Njovu*) clan has for its secondary totem the hippopotamus. They claim to be descended from Sesanga, who came to Uganda with Kintu as his herdsman and settled down at Sesanga in Busuju. For many years the clan continued to supply the kings of Uganda with their chief herdsman, and as herdsman they had to perform certain rites at the coronation of a king. The new monarch came to inspect them and to be initiated by them into the business of a herdsman. They presented him with a flute on which King Kimera is said to have played when he herded the kine. The new king played a few notes on the flute and gave it back to the herdsman. Next they handed the king a milk-pot and placed on his shoulders a calf-skin, such as herdsman wear when they are tending the cattle. Thus attired the king had to herd cows for a time. Then the flute, the milk-pot, and the calf's skin were delivered back to the chief herdsman and put away in the hut where they were kept, not to be used again in the king's lifetime. The island of Bulungugi was one of the estates of the Elephant clan. It had to supply the king's table with a particular kind of fish called *nsonzi*, which is much relished by the Baganda. It was also the duty of the Elephant clan to furnish the royal household with a particular kind of bark-cloth; and after a king's death the chief herdsman had to drink the bowl of liquid butter in which the dead monarch's jawbone had been placed. If the butter disagreed with him, he was put to death as an impostor, who had wormed his way unlawfully into the Elephant clan. No true born Elephant-man, they thought,

could suffer in his stomach for drinking the melted butter in which the king's jawbone had been steeped. The Elephant clan had also charge of two drums, one of which was beaten when the king went out to hunt. One of their chiefs always helped to decorate the king's navel-string, which, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> was regularly preserved and treated with great ceremony. Another member of the clan had charge of the king's war apron, a leopard's skin beautifully dressed.

The Lung-fish (*Mamba*) clan is the largest of all the Baganda clans, and, as we saw,<sup>2</sup> it is divided into two sections, which have different secondary totems. One section has for its secondary totem the small fish called *muguya*. The other section has for its secondary totem the *katuba*, a fish which lives in the swamps. But others say that the secondary totem of this section is the frog (*kikerekere*); and that is why members of this section are called Frogs (*Bakerekere*). These two sections of the Lung-fish clan intermarry with each other, just as if they had not the same primary totem; and they are the only clan of the Baganda who are thus free to marry among themselves. The lung-fish is a favourite food of the Baganda, but no member of the Lung-fish clan may kill or eat it.<sup>3</sup> Both sections of the clan trace their descent from one man, and each claims to be the more important of the two. But the *Muguya* branch has the clearest records of its forefathers. They say that they came to Uganda from a place called Bumogera to the north of the great lake. Their forefather was one Mubiru. All through their history they have been connected with canoes and fishing, and the reason why some of them quitted their old country and settled in Uganda in the reign of Kintu was a dispute about a canoe. They became the king's principal canoe-builders, and one of them was made chief over the royal canoes. The Frog branch of the Lung-fish clan trace their descent from a man Nankere, who was compared to a frog on account of the number of children he spawned and also because of his dirty habits. The only duty the Frogs had in respect of the king was to find a substitute for him

The Lung-fish clan, with its two branches.

The frog-like man.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 482 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 474.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 692.

when he went through the ceremonies for the prolongation of his life. The Frog-man (Nankere) was never allowed to attend the king's receptions or even to see his Majesty except when the king came to perform these important ceremonies. Yet every new king sent the Frog-man a leopard's skin for his use, as if the Frog-man were of the blood royal ; for leopard skins are reserved for royalty.

The Manis  
or Pangolin  
(Spiny  
Ant-eater)  
clan.

The Manis or Pangolin (*Lugave*) clan has for its secondary totem a fungus which grows on tree trunks (*butiko wa malere*). The animal which they have for their primary totem is perhaps more familiarly known as the spiny ant-eater. The clan is one of the oldest in the country. They say they were there when Kintu came to it. Their forefather was Mukibe Sekiwunga, to whom Kintu gave the hill of Kapaka in Busiro. The clan has two temples with their priests and mediums ; one is a temple of Wanga, the other is a temple of Wamala. The chief steward of the Queen Sister (*Lubuga*) is always taken from this clan. Further, a chief of the Spiny Ant-Eater clan had always to bring to a new king at his coronation the curious fetish called *Nantaba*, which seems to have been a spirit of the wind captured at the cutting down of a special sort of tree (*lusambye*) and imprisoned in a gourd. A member of the Wind clan had always to be present at this capture of the spirit of the wind. The captive spirit in her gourd (for she was deemed feminine) was afterwards kept in a hut and held in high esteem ; but whenever the wind blew high, a drum was beaten in the hut to let the prisoner know that, roar as she might, she could not escape. She was thought to help the king's wives to become mothers ; so on sunny days the gourd used to be brought out and set in the sun in the middle of the courtyard, and the king's wives would come and sit round it, looking wistfully at the wonderful gourd and hoping to receive into their wombs its quickening virtue. But when the king died, the gourd was thrown away, and the spirit of the wind was caught afresh in a new gourd for the new king.<sup>1</sup> It was at this ceremony of

Capture  
and im-  
prisonment  
of the spirit  
of the wind.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Nantaba, the Female Fetich of the King of Uganda," *Man*, viii. (1908) pp. 132 sq.

catching and imprisoning the wind that a chief of the Spiny Ant-Eater clan was bound to assist. Further members of this clan take charge of two of the king's drums and also of his royal rug, on which he stands or sits at state ceremonies. It consists of four skins stitched together, the skin of a lion, the skin of a leopard, the skin of a hyæna, and the skin of an eagle.

The Sheep (*Endiga*) clan has for its secondary totem the lion (*mpologoma*). The clan was in Uganda before Kintu came to it. They trace their descent from a man Mbale who lived at Mbale in Mawokoto. A chief of the Sheep clan was entrusted with one of the king's principal fetishes called *Mbajwe*, who had his priest, his inspired medium, and his place where human victims were sacrificed to him. The clan had also charge of the war-god Kibuka and his temple.<sup>1</sup> The mortal remains of that great and powerful deity, consisting of his jawbone, his genital organs, and a piece of his navel-string, are now preserved in the Ethnological Museum at Cambridge.

The Buffalo (*Mbogo*) clan took for a second totem a new cooking pot; hence they were never allowed to use a cooking pot to cook their food until some one else had used it once or twice. They say that their forefather was a man called Nabuguyu, who came to Uganda from Bunyoro in the early days of the kings but after the time of Kintu. This clan has always had the honour of being the bearers of the kings of Uganda. Wherever the king went he was carried astride on the shoulders of men of the Buffalo clan, who relieved each other when they were tired of their royal burden, one bearer shooting the king from his shoulders to the shoulders of another man without allowing his Majesty's feet to touch the ground; for the king never walks anywhere outside of his own enclosure. They went along at a great pace and covered long distances in a day when the king was on a journey. The bearers had a special hut in the royal enclosure, so that they were always at hand when the king wanted them. The clan also supplied bearers for the king's mother and sister, because these two women were regarded

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda," *Man*, vii. (1907) pp. 161-166.

as queens and treated with the respect due to royalty.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Buffalo clan had charge of the bark-cloths on which the king sat while he was being carried; these they had to guard with great care lest they should be contaminated by the touch of people of other clans. No man might put his hand on the shoulder of a Buffalo man even in a friendly way, because that was the seat of the king. If any one thoughtlessly took such a liberty, the Buffalo man would promptly ask him, "Are you a prince?" and would have him fined for his presumption. Further, the Buffalo clan provided the king with one of his principal wives, who bore the title of Nanzigu. She always had her own little enclosure inside the royal one and was quite separate from the other wives. The king used to appoint a page to supply her with torches for her house. On their Muguya estate the clan had charge of a temple of Musoke, to which the king always sent offerings and received in return oracles from the god. In another of their estates there is a river where, oddly enough, the ghost of a leopard had his abode. Near the river was a temple, with its priest; and the ghost revealed its will by the mouth of an inspired man.

The  
Monkey  
clan.

The office  
of Mugema  
or earl of  
Busiro.

The Monkey (*Nkima*) clan had for its secondary totem the entrails of animals (*byenda*). They trace their origin to a man named Bwoya, who came to Uganda with Kintu. To the Monkey clan belongs the high office of Mugema, or earl of Busiro,<sup>2</sup> who has the title of the King's Father and whose person is inviolable; any one who laid his hands familiarly on the earl might in the old days be put to death. At the coronation it is the Mugema who places the crown on the king's head, makes him swear to be loyal to the people, and charges the people to be loyal to the king. His chief duty, however, is to act as prime minister (*Katikiro*) to the dead kings. He has charge of all the royal tombs. Wherever a king is buried, the hill on which his temple stands becomes part of the domain of the Mugema or earl of Busiro. Indeed his earldom

<sup>1</sup> From the Rev. J. Roscoe's manuscripts. Compare *id.* in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 62. As to the Queen

Mother and Queen Sister, see above, pp. 469 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Compare Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 46.

took its name from the tombs ; for Busiro means the place of the *masiro* or graves. It was the earl's duty to see that the bodies of the kings were properly embalmed, that their jawbones were extracted, and that a temple was prepared for the reception of the jawbone and the navel-string. Another of his duties was to supply each wife of the king at a certain stage of her pregnancy with a girl who always remained with her till the child was born. Some rules of etiquette were strictly observed by the Mugema. It was not thought proper for him to visit other chiefs or to eat in their houses. He might not enter the king's house or the houses of the king's wives. If he wished to talk to the king, he had to do so sitting outside the house by the door, while his Majesty answered from within. When a prince was asked who was his father, it was customary for him to answer "The Mugema," but never "The King." Moreover, if any of the king's wives were found to be unfaithful and were about to be put to death by the king's command, it was enough for them to say that they were with child by the Mugema (*tu lya Mugema*) to be allowed to live ; indeed all the king's wives in their pregnancy made use of this expression. Yet the Mugema had charge of the place of execution where the paramours of princesses, wives who had been false to the king, and men who had married near relations were put to death.

Etiquette  
observed  
by the  
Mugema.

The king's  
children  
fathered  
on the  
Mugema.

The Antelope (*Mpevo*) clan has for its secondary totem a large grey rat (*kayosi*). Their forefather was Kaimyebutenga, who came to Uganda with Kintu and was afterwards raised to high office by King Cwa with the title of Kibare. Ever since then the Kibare, a member of the Antelope clan, has acted as viceroy during the king's absence from the capital. He has also charge of the king's state crown, which is adorned with a pair of antelope horns. The clan helps to make the rug on which the king sits on solemn occasions.

The  
Antelope  
clan.

The Seed clan takes its name from a small seed (*katinvuma*) which of old was worn as a bead in Uganda. The clan has for its secondary totem beads of all kinds. They explain the origin of their totem by saying that once a girl snatched some seeds from another girl, her playmate,

The Seed  
clan.

and swallowed them. To recover the stolen property the parents of the injured damsel resorted to the summary process of killing the little culprit, opening her stomach, and extracting the seeds. Since then the family of the dissected girl have foresworn the use of beads. That is why seeds and beads are their totem. They trace their descent from a man named Kyadondo, a son of Kintu, first king of Uganda. They furnish the bearers to carry the deities from place to place or to war. Representatives of the clan must assist at the building of any new temple to a god; and when the king has a new house built in the royal enclosure, the chief Segaluma, who is a member of the Seed clan, has to carry the fetishes into the house to bless it before the king or any of his wives may use it. For a few months after a king has come to the throne, this chief has to attend him constantly with a number of fetishes for the purpose of dispelling any harm which his enemies may try to do him by magic. For the same reason the chief sleeps at the king's door and presents his Majesty in the morning with a bowl of water with which the king washes his face and hands to remove, not the dirt, but anything uncanny which may have settled on him during the hours of slumber. The ablutions of savages have often no other motive. Cleanliness may be, according to the proverb, next to godliness in point of value; it is almost certainly later than godliness in the order of evolution. Men were pious and dirty long before they were impious and clean.<sup>1</sup>

Bearers of deities and fetishes.

The Bird clan.

The Bird (*Nyonyi*) clan has to respect all birds; members of the clan may not eat any. Yet with this comprehensive taboo they have taken as their special totem a particular kind of bird called *nyangi* and for their secondary totem another bird called *kunguvu*, which is a brown bird with long tail feathers. They claim descent from a man named Njuwe, who was in Uganda before Kintu came to it. They have charge of a fetish called Buganda, one of the most potent and dreaded of all the fetishes. Anybody who went

The fetish Buganda.

<sup>1</sup> On water as a means of warding off dangerous spirits, see my article, "Some Burial Customs as Illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*,

xv. (1886) pp. 77 *sqq.*; I. Goldzieher, "Wasser als Dämonen abwehrendes Mittel," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. (1910) pp. 27 *sqq.*

near the door of a hut where the fetish stood was put to death. The sacred fire, which burned perpetually at the entrance to the royal enclosure and was only extinguished at the king's death, used to be guarded by a chief named Musolozza, a member of the Bird clan.<sup>1</sup> The clan had also the charge of a certain royal drum, which was beaten at intervals by day and by night to tell the people by its booming sound that the king was still alive. They also supplied every king with a wife and a head cook.

The perpetual sacred fire.

The royal signal drum.

The Rat (*Musu*) clan has for its secondary totem a small rat (*myuozze*). Both these species of rats are herbivorous and edible to other people, though not to members of the clan. The forefather of the clan was a man Miigo who came to Uganda with Kintu. King Mawanda appointed the clan to the offices of guardians of the royal privies and spies upon the army.

The Rat clan.

The Yam (*Kobe*) clan has for its secondary totem another kind of yam which they call *kama*. They say that their forefather Sedumi came into Uganda with the conqueror Kintu. To explain the origin of their totems they tell how their ancestor Sedumi, who came in with the conqueror, stole some yams and being detected was so ashamed that he hanged himself. Since then his descendants have abstained from eating yams. The clan had charge of the bow and arrows with which the human scapegoat (*kyonzire*) used to be shot for a new king at his accession to the throne. Further, it was the duty of the clan to make a kind of white bark-cloth for the king, also a special sort of anklets which the new king wore when he ceased mourning for his predecessor. They were made of a particular kind of wood from a tree which grew on one of the estates of the clan. These anklets were worn only one day and then kept by one of the king's wives who belonged to the Yam clan. Moreover, the clan had charge of the special hoe which was used to dig the shallow sort of grave under the trestle upon which the body of the king was laid for interment. And

The Yam clan.

The king's anklets.

<sup>1</sup> As to the perpetual fire at the king's gate see Rev. J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 51. The guardian of

the fire is there called Kalinda. In the text I follow Mr. Roscoe's unpublished papers.

The king's  
navel-  
string.

when the king's jaw-bone was removed, members of the clan had to put it into an ant-hill, till the ants had gnawed away all the flesh from the bone. Further, a large royal shield called *kamanya* and a royal flute called *kanga* were committed to the keeping of the Yam clan. It was they who made the king's bedstead, and they helped to adorn his navel-string which, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> was always religiously preserved. On their estate in Buziwa they had a shrine where the navel-strings of Kayonge and Male were kept. The chief who had charge of this shrine bore the title of Male, and he herded some sacred buffaloes of the king. On two of their estates the Yam clan had also temples of the two national gods Wanema and Nainda; and on another of them all the paddles for the temple of the great national god Mukasa were kept.<sup>2</sup> On yet another of their estates they had a clan deity named Kabala.

The Bean  
clan.

The Bean (*Mpindi*) clan has for its secondary totem a wild bean (*kiindiru*). They trace their descent from a man named Wakaibu, whom they say Kintu found in Busiro when he came to Uganda. To explain the origin of their totem they say that once when a member of the clan was fleeing before his enemies his foot caught in a bean creeper, so that he fell to the ground and was speared to death by his foes before he could get up. His flowing blood formed the river Naki'za. From that day the bean has been the totem of the clan; no member of the clan will eat or even cultivate beans. One of them is said to have once partaken of the forbidden food and to have died on the spot. From early times the clanspeople have been among the makers of bark-cloth for the king; one of their ancestors is said to have learned the art in Bunyoro. But their chief service for the king was to take care of four of his large canoes and to man them with crews. They worship the spirit of the river Naki'za, which, as we have seen, is supposed to have been formed by the blood of their ancestor. The head of the clan is the priest. There is no temple, but at the ford there are two great piles of sticks and grass, one on either bank.

Worship of  
the river  
Naki'za.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 482 n. 3.

J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp.

<sup>2</sup> As to these national gods see Rev.

74 sq.

At these heaps members of the clan offer goats, beer, bark-cloth and fowls, and kneeling down before the heap they pray the spirit of the river to help them. The priest takes charge of the offerings. If they are live animals, he guards them for the deity; if they are food or beer, he eats or drinks them himself. When people ford the river, they throw a handful of grass or a few sticks on one of the heaps before they plunge into the current; and when they emerge dripping from it on the further bank, they cast a few more sticks or blades of grass on the other heap as a thank-offering for a safe crossing. But if the river is in flood, the priest will let no member of the clan adventure himself into the angry swirling torrent under pain of death.

Ceremony  
at the ford.

The Bushbuck (*Ngabi*) clan has for its secondary totem a kind of grass (*jerengese*), on which bushbucks love to browse. This clan claims to be related to the kings of Uganda; for they say that they are descended from a woman Wanana, who was wife to Wunyi, king of Bunyoro, and that when Kalimera prince of Uganda was visiting his uncle Wunyi at the court of Bunyoro he had an intrigue with his uncle's wife, and that she bore him a son Kimera, who afterwards sat on the throne of Uganda. Yet, though they plumed themselves on their kinship with the royal house, no member, at least no male member, of the Bushbuck clan might enter the royal presence, because King Kimera is said to have been killed while he was hunting bushbuck. Both the animal and the clan are tabooed to the kings of Uganda. Nevertheless when the king sent out his catch-poles into the roads to seize all and sundry for the purpose of sacrificing them to the gods, any person who could prove that he or she was a member of the Bushbuck clan was at once released, while the rest were dragged away to be massacred.<sup>1</sup> Women of the Bushbuck clan might become wives of the king, but if one of them gave birth to a male child, he was strangled at birth. Hence women of the Bushbuck clan who were promoted to the royal harem claimed to belong to the Monkey (*Nkima*) clan. On the

The  
Bushbuck  
clan.

Privilege of  
the clan.

<sup>1</sup> As to these wholesale massacres see my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), pp. 405 *sq.*,

where the account is based on information given me by the Rev. J. Roscoe.

The lion-god. hill Masike the clan had a temple of the lion-god Yaiga ; he is said to have been an ancestor of the clan and to have turned into a lion at his death.

The Dog clan. The Dog (*Mbwa*) clan has for its second totem the iron bell which hunters fasten round the loins of their chief dog when they are hunting. They trace their pedigree back to a man Lusunde, who lived on their Kigwa estate in Busuju. On their Lusundu estate they had a temple to the national deity Musisi ; the priesthood of the god was always held by the chief of the estate. Members of the Dog clan have charge of the tombs of the Queens. When the Queens are growing old and feeble, they go to a hill named Lusaka, where they say Queen Wanyana sat at her first coming to Uganda. From a tree in the garden where her tomb stands bark-cloth has always been made for the king. It is the duty of the Dog clan to make and put the fetish into the king's chief *mujaguzo* drum. After the king has gone through the ceremonies for the prolongation of his life, a member of the Dog clan takes charge of the dowager Queen.

The Jackal clan. The Jackal (*Kibe*) clan has for its secondary totem a horned puff-adder (*mpiri*). They say their forefather was a man named Muige, who crossed over in his canoe to Uganda from the island of Nyende in the reign of Kimera. The clan had three temples on their estates, all dedicated to the great national god Mukasa. The priests of all three temples were members of the Jackal clan, but the inspired mediums of the god might be drawn at his pleasure from any clan. The only work the Jackal clan did for the king was to keep in repair the canoe in which their father is said to have paddled to Uganda. It was one of the royal canoes and with its crew was always kept in readiness to put off at the king's command.

The Hippopotamus clan. The Hippopotamus (*Nvubu*) clan has for its secondary totem the tortoise (*nfudu*). They claim to be descended from Kaita, a son of Kintu. To explain the origin of their totems they tell a strange tale. They say that when Kaita was born his mother brought forth a tortoise instead of the afterbirth, and that this tortoise afterwards turned into a hippopotamus, so that the clanspeople are related to both their totemic animals, the tortoise and the hippopotamus.

Legend of a woman who gave birth to a tortoise.

All the estates of the Hippopotamus clan lie on or near the lake. They had to keep several large canoes always ready for the king's service, each with its crew to man it. They had to help to find drummers to beat the signal drum in the royal enclosure, whose deep notes rose above the hum of day and broke the stillness of night at regular intervals, proclaiming to his people that the king of Uganda was in life. Members of the clan made shields for the king and his retainers, and also bracelets and anklets for his wives. The Hippopotamus clan worshipped all the gods of the lake, to wit Mukasa, Musisi, and Wanema. They cared for the temple of Nangera, son of Musisi, in the island of Mbazi. To this deity they ascribed all their prosperity and good fortune, and to his temple in the island the chiefs of the clan repaired to make him thank-offerings for his favours.

The king's drummers.

The *Cephalophus* Antelope (*Ntalaganya*) clan has for its secondary totem a fungus (*malere*) which grows on the trunks of trees. Their forefather was named Bambaga, who is said to have attended Kintu when he first came to Uganda. The clan were hunters and had the charge of the king's dog named Mukoza. They tied a sacred bell called *Sirilwanagamba* round the dog's loins when they hunted with it, believing that the bell not only told them where the dog was, but also enabled the animal to put up the game and drive them into the net. They hunted all wild animals from the buffalo down to the smallest kind of edible rat, and they had to bring the king from time to time a portion of their bag. On their estate of Bugala the *Cephalophus* Antelope clan had a shrine where the king's fetish Lugala was kept. This fetish was a large gourd, and the chief of the estate, who always takes the title of Bambaga, had charge of it. Every new moon, on the fifth day after the crescent appeared in the sky, the fetish Lugala was carried in state to the capital and handed to the king, who took it for a few moments and then returned it to the keeper. This gourd had an iron crown, consisting of three heart-shaped hoes fastened to a ring by a prong. The crown was called *Kalamasi* and was always carried to battle and placed with other fetishes in a hut near the hut of the general in command.

The *Cephalophus* Antelope clan.

The fetish Lugala.

Sacred drum kept in a shrine, which served as a sanctuary for man and beast.

Further, in the Gomba district the *Cephalophus* Antelope clan had charge of a sacred drum named *Nakanguzi*, which had a fetish inside it. This drum was brought to court and beaten when the king had been mourning and wished to cease. At the sound of the drum the whole country knew that the court had gone out of mourning and that they must hasten to do the same. So they shaved their heads and laid aside all tokens of sorrow. Any person who delayed to do so was captured and put to death. The shrine where the drum was kept served as a sanctuary for man and beast. If a slave or a man condemned to death escaped to it, he was safe and free; he was the slave of the drum and might not be carried off. Should any animal, cow, goat, or sheep, stray thither, it might not be taken away or killed, and it was free to roam as it pleased in future; for it had become the property of the drum and was a sacred animal.

The Reedbuck clan.

Hunters of elephants.

The Reedbuck (*Njaza*) clan has for its secondary totem a kind of antelope (*njugulu*). This clan has always lived in the great wood called the Mabira forest. Their forefather Lutimba was there when Kintu came to the country. From the earliest times they have been hunters of elephants, and when the monarchy was established they became hunters to the kings and paid them tribute in ivory from the elephants they killed. They also supply some workmen to build the houses in the royal enclosure. They had the care of the gods of the chase in the wild woodland country where they dwelt. The chief god to whom they appealed for help in hunting was Mpa-amaso, but they also worshipped Mbiru, Nahalanga (who is also called Dungu), Nabambu, and Nyenga. The night before they went out to hunt they placed their spears in the temple of one of the gods and offered beer and a goat to secure the blessing of the deity. And in the chase they wore a fetish called *zinga* on the upper right arm, believing that the fetish lent certainty to their aim and strength to their arm, and that it entangled the prey so that it could not escape. When they killed an elephant they drew out the nerve from the tusk and buried it in a sequestered spot, marking the place lest any one should unwittingly step over it. For they thought that the ghost of the elephant was in the nerve of his trunk, and

Ceremonies performed by elephant hunters.

that if any man stepped over it he would die. Immediately after the coronation of a new king the Reedbuck clan brought him a tusk of ivory, which he had to jump over in order to cause the elephants to multiply in the land.

Ceremony for the multiplication of elephants.

The Tailless Cow (*Ente etalina mukiro*) clan is usually called the Bagabo clan. It has for its secondary totem the crested crane. They cannot say why they have a tailless cow for their chief totem, but they tell a story to explain their secondary totem, the crested crane. They say that a girl of the clan had been newly married and was returning home with some companions. Being left alone in the road for a short time she began to eat some small fruits which the natives call *ntuntunu*. On their return her companions found the bride munching the fruit and jeered at her. At this she was so ashamed and angry that she fled from them to a flock of crested cranes and was never seen again. Her companions averred that no sooner had she reached the flock of birds than she turned into a crested crane herself; and from that time the clan took the crested crane for their secondary totem. They trace their descent from a man named Kitongole who came from Bunyoro. Their business has always been that of smiths, and the art of smelting and working iron has been handed down among them from father to son for generations. They smelt the iron from the ore and work it up as they require it. They are smiths to the king and pay tribute to him in hoes. Their chief deity was Wangi. His temple stood on the hill Mulema, and on the same estate of the clan was another temple to the god Lwerekera. Each god had his inspired medium or prophet, but a single priest attended to both temples. When one of the prophets died, the clan met in solemn conclave to discover whom of their number the deity would choose to be the vehicle of divine inspiration, and the chosen vessel at once gave the usual symptoms of inspiration. This was the only occasion on which the Tailless Cow clan met for any religious observance. At other times members of the clan repaired singly to one or other of the temples to enquire of the god or to make him offerings for favours received.

The Tailless Cow clan.

Legend of the woman who turned into a crested crane.

Hereditary smiths.

Inspired prophets.

The Crow (*Namu'ngona*) clan has for its secondary totem the hearts of animals. The clan is commonly called

The Crow clan.

Bandyala ; its chief estates are in the Budu district. They claim to be the descendants of a man Kidiba, a son of Kintu ; and they explain their totem the crow by saying that their forefather Kidiba cultivated land near a tall tree on the branches of which crows used to build their nests, so the people near it were called the people of the crows. The Crow clan is one of those which may not give birth to a prince ; so to evade this disqualification they bestowed their daughters on men of the Otter clan, who presented them to the king as members of the Otter clan ; hence the Crow clan claims to be related to the royal family.

Worship of  
the god  
Kagera by  
the Crow  
clan.

The Crow clan had a god (*lubare*) called Kagera. His temple was at Kasaka in Budu, and his chief business was to bestow offspring on women ; but he also helped members of the clan in all kinds of sickness. Any woman of the clan who did not have children as soon as she wished, went to the temple, taking with her a present of a gourd of beer, a bark-cloth, a cowry shell, and a seed of the wild banana. The priest consulted the god for her, and having obtained the necessary instructions gave the woman an amulet to wear, some herbs mixed with water to drink, a cowry shell, and a seed of the wild banana, also a giridle made of a creeper to put on. With these things she went back to her husband and soon found herself with child. When the infant was born, the mother returned to the temple and made a thank-offering to the god. Sometimes the god Kagera and his divine partner Kasinya were invoked by the Crow clan to give them rain. In a season of drought the people would go to the temple with an offering of food and beer, and some of the withered fruits of the earth to shew to the god. The priest told the god what had been brought to him, shewed the withered fruits, and asked for rain for the people. The deity answered by the mouth of a woman named Kaisa. When the showers began to fall, the people beat their drums in honour of the god who had granted their prayer. Once a year the clan held a great festival at the temple, dancing and feasting for four days, the drums beating the whole time and fires burning brightly all night long.<sup>1</sup>

Rain-  
making  
ceremony  
performed  
by the  
Crow clan.

<sup>1</sup> From the Rev. J. Roscoe's manuscripts.

The Mushroom (*Butiko*) clan took for their secondary totem the snail (*nsonko*) and small ivory discs (*nsanga*). They say that their forefather was Manyagalya, who came to Uganda with Kintu ; but it was his son Wagaba who formed the clan and forbade them to eat mushrooms, because when he had buried his father Manyagalya he found mushrooms growing on the grave next morning. Manyagalya is said to have brought the first plantains into Uganda, also the kind of fig-tree from which bark-cloth is made. Members of the clan have been makers of bark-cloth ever since. It was Manyagalya, too, who brought the seeds for their bottle-gourds, and presented the king with the first gourd. On their estate of Bukerere in Kyagwe stood the temple of Nende, the second god of war. The care of this deity was the most important duty the clan had to perform. The priest of the god was a member of the clan. They had also charge of a certain royal drum and a royal stool, both of which were made in the Wagaba garden of the clan. Moreover they were gate-keepers to the king and made all the reed gates for the royal enclosure. When they had made the new gate for the royal enclosure after the accession of a king, they took toll of the cattle and tribute that entered the gate for the first time. They had also to supply the Queen Sister (*Lubuga*), the prime minister, and the second minister (*Kimbugwe*) with gate-keepers. Moreover, the Mushroom clan had charge of the king's gourd *namvuma*, from which his forefather first drank. Every new moon this drinking-cup was brought to the king, who took it into his hands and then passed it back to the keeper. One of the king's wives, called Najuko, is always taken from the Mushroom clan. When a king on his accession occupies his new enclosure, this wife must dig the first sod in it for making the gardens.

The Heart (*Mutima*) clan has for its secondary totem the lungs (*maugwe*) of animals. Though they may eat the flesh of any animal, they are strictly forbidden to touch the heart and lungs. They have kept exclusively to the south of Uganda ; all their estates are in the Budu district. Their forefather is said to have been a man Namugera, who lived and died on an island near Sese. His sons

The  
Mushroom  
clan.

Bark-cloth  
makers.

The king's  
gate-  
keepers.

The king's  
drinking-  
cup.

The Heart  
clan.

Basket-weavers.

came to Uganda and accepted service under King Wunyi, who gave them their Budu estates. The clan is noted for its skill in weaving fine baskets. They had to bring a tribute of fish caught in the river Mujuzi to the king every six months. On the hills Bale and Lwamunyi the clan has two small temples to the national god Mukasa with priests and mediums.

Worship of the python by the Heart clan.

The Heart clan had also charge of a temple where the python was worshipped under the titles of Selwanga and Magobwe, which were also names of men.<sup>1</sup> The temple stood in a forest on the bank of the Mujuzi River. The estate is called Bulonge; it forms part of Budu, a district in the south of Uganda, bordering on the western shore of the Victoria Nyanza. The temple was a large conical hut built of poles and thatched with grass. On the floor was spread a layer of sweet-smelling grass, and upon it was the sacred place of the python, a log and a stool covered with bark-cloth. A round hole in the side of the hut allowed the serpent to crawl out and in. The guardian of the python was a woman called Nazimbe, who might never marry. She daily fed the serpent with milk out of a large wooden bowl, the reptile lying with its head over the stool and drinking freely. The milk was drawn from certain sacred cows, which were kept for the sole use of the python. White clay was mixed with the milk which the serpent drank; and the creature was also given fowls and small goats.

The feeding of the sacred serpent with milk.

The python's inspired medium (*Mandwa*).

Within the hut, opposite the serpent's place, stood a bedstead, on which the python's inspired medium (*Mandwa*) and his assistant slept. It was the medium's duty to bring the milk from the sacred cows for the python, and from time to time he took fowls or goats and tied them on the bank of the river, and the python went down and devoured them. These offerings were made whenever the medium wished to go afishing, because the python was believed to have power over the river and all the fish in it. After a good catch the medium would call all the people of the

<sup>1</sup> The following curious and valuable description of the worship of the python, like the rest of the information as to the Baganda clans which is embodied

in the text, is derived from the manuscripts of the Rev. J. Roscoe, which he has generously placed at my disposal.

estate together to partake of a sacred meal of the fish caught ; he prepared the fish and they provided the cooked vegetables and beer. From time to time the medium went over to the Island of Sese to get cows from the god Mukasa with which to provide milk for the python. The reason why he applied to Mukasa was that the god's wife was a female python named Nalwanga, sister of the male python Selwanga ; hence according to the custom of the country Mukasa was bound to make presents to his wife's brother from time to time. The cows always came decorated with creepers about their bodies to shew that they were sacred. They were kept close by the temple and milked daily for the python.

The chief business of the python was to bestow offspring on people. Newly married men and husbands of barren wives resorted to the temple for the purpose of obtaining children with the help and blessing of the serpent. Other requests were also brought to him, but he was called above all the Giver of Children. The king himself used to send the chief of the district (*Pokino*) to the python to ask his blessing, that he might have offspring.

The sacred python called the Giver of Children.

The time for the worship of the python was at the new moon. For several days before the moon appeared the people made preparations, because no work might be done on the estate for seven days. As soon as the crescent was seen, the drums beat and the people gathered for the worship, bringing their offerings for the god, which were chiefly beer, cowry shells, and a few goats and fowls. The hereditary priest, who was always chief of the estate, came with a following of lesser chiefs. Having received the offerings from the people and informed the python of the requests which were made to him, the priest dressed the medium in the sacred garb that he might be ready for the python to take possession of him. This garb consisted of two bark-cloths thrown over the shoulders, two white goat-skins worn as aprons, a leopard skin wrapt round the chest, and a crown of goatskin, decked with beads and wild banana seeds, on the head. Thus attired, and holding two fly whisks in his hand, the medium received from the priest a cup of beer and some of the milk mixed with white

Worship of the python at the new moon.

The python gave oracles through a human medium, who was inspired by the serpent.

clay from the python's bowl. These he quaffed, and then, the spirit of the python coming upon him, he fell on his face and wriggled like a serpent on his belly, uttering strange sounds and speaking in an unknown tongue. When the fit of inspiration was over, and the medium, exhausted by the strain, had fallen into a deep sleep, an interpreter explained the inspired but mysterious utterances to the fortunate persons whose prayers had been granted. He told them what human means it was necessary to adopt in order to ensure the divine blessing, what medical treatment the wife must undergo, and so forth. When the children promised by the python were born, the happy parents had to bring an offering of a goat or fowls to the temple, and if they failed to do so, their little ones were stricken with disease.

The totemic system of the Baganda seems to contain little that is primitive.

The preceding account of the totemic system of the Baganda, which we owe to the prolonged and accurate researches of the Rev. John Roscoe, suggests several observations. In the first place there appears to be little in the system that can be described as primitive or that throws light on the origin of totemism. The Baganda are a people who have made very considerable advances in culture, and though they retain the division into totemic clans for the regulation of marriage, and continue to respect their totemic animals and plants, they seem for the most part to have passed beyond the savage superstitions which probably lie at the root of totemism. In general they either cannot account at all for their totems or they account for them by jejune stories, the worthless product of a late and shallow rationalism. The fundamental notion of a physical kinship between a man and his totem seems to have almost disappeared. Yet in a few cases it survives. Thus the clan which has for its totems the hippopotamus and the tortoise tells how their ancestress gave birth to a tortoise, which afterwards turned into a hippopotamus, so that members of the clan are akin to both their totem animals.<sup>1</sup> This story smacks of true totemism. Again, the tradition of the Tailless Cow clan, that they took the crested crane for their secondary totem because a girl of the clan had been turned into a bird of that sort,<sup>2</sup> also reflects the old

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 497.

totemic sense of the closeness between man and beast and the easy transition from one to the other. Slighter traces of the same train of thought may be detected in the story of the Mushroom clan, that they respect mushrooms because mushrooms grew on their founder's grave;<sup>1</sup> and again in the tradition of the Frog branch of the Lung-fish clan, that their human ancestor resembled in certain respects a frog.<sup>2</sup> With these hints of genuine totemism before us we may guess that many more totemic clans of the Baganda formerly explained the origin of their totems by similar legends of a physical affinity between their human ancestors and their totemic animals or plants.

Another feature in the totemism of the Baganda which bespeaks its high development or rather decay is the almost total absence from it of magical ceremonies for the multiplication or control of the totems. The only clear and indubitable exception is the ceremony performed by Grasshopper women for the multiplication of their edible totem the grasshopper.<sup>3</sup> As the Baganda clans are regularly forbidden to injure or eat their totems, it would seem that this ceremony can only be performed by Grasshopper women for the benefit of other people, who eat grasshoppers and regard them as a dainty. Thus the rite observed by women of the Grasshopper clan for the multiplication of grasshoppers is strictly analogous to the *intickiuma* or magical rites observed by totem clans in Central Australia for the multiplication of their totems. But this is the only case of such a magical rite performed by a totemic clan for the increase or control of the totem which Mr. Roscoe was able to discover among the Baganda, though he made searching enquiries on the subject. However, a hint of the same thing occurs in the rule that a member of the Wind clan must assist at the capture of the spirit of the wind.<sup>4</sup> We have also seen that the King of Uganda performed a magical ceremony for the multiplication of elephants with the

Absence of magical ceremonies for the multiplication or control of the totems.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 499.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 485.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 482. Observe that the husband of the Grasshopper woman is of course not a member of the

Grasshopper clan and is therefore free to eat grasshoppers; and the same privilege is enjoyed by his children, since they are of his clan and not of their mother's.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 486.

assistance of elephant-hunters ;<sup>1</sup> but as these elephant-hunters belonged to the Reedbuck, not to the Elephant, clan, the ceremony is not strictly analogous to the Central Australian ceremonies of *intichiuma*.

The totemic system of the Baganda seems to have had very little influence on their religion.

Another observation suggested by Mr. Roscoe's account of Baganda totemism is that the system appears to have had extremely small influence on the religion of the people. There is little or no evidence that in Uganda, as in Samoa,<sup>2</sup> the old totemic superstitions were developing into a regular worship of the totemic animals and plants. Each totemic clan seems, indeed, to practise certain religious observances of its own ; but, apart from the custom of not killing or injuring the totem, these observances have little or no reference to the totemic animals or plants. For the most part they are concerned either with the great national deities or with the once human but now deified ancestor of the clan. Even when we do find a totemic clan worshipping an animal with truly religious rites, that animal is not their totem. It is the Heart clan, not a Python clan, which worships the python. Thus the totemism of the Baganda should serve as a warning against the supposition that totemism almost necessarily develops, first, into a worship of sacred animals and plants, and afterwards into a worship of anthropomorphic deities with sacred animals and plants for their attributes. At the same time we are bound to remember that the system of the Baganda has all the appearance of being highly developed, and that it may have passed through one or more stages of this development before it came within the ken of European observers. It is possible that the ancestors to whom the clans trace their origin were once deemed to be animals or plants of the totemic species ; or to be more exact, it may have been imagined that the ancestors were beings who partook both of the nature of men and of the nature of animals or plants, so that to the vague thought of those primitive philosophers it was impossible to draw a sharp distinction between the two. Such semi-human creatures, hovering on the line between man and beast or between man and plant, were according to Central Australian traditions the forefathers of the totemic clans.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 497.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 151 *seq.*

One more observation suggested by the foregoing notice of the Baganda clans is that some of the clans seem almost to have developed into hereditary professional castes. Thus the members of one clan are elephant-hunters ; the members of a second are smiths ; the members of a third are makers of bark-cloth ; and the members of a fourth are noted for their skill in basket-weaving. And this incipient tendency towards an industrial system based on a division of labour between families has apparently been fostered by the kings, who have assigned to most, if not all, of the clans certain special duties or functions to be performed by them for the royal family. Hence in Uganda, as probably in many other barbarous nations, the existence of an absolute monarchy has been favourable to the growth of the mechanical arts by creating a demand for many different kinds of skilled labour and by holding out ample rewards for proficiency in them.

A very singular feature of the Baganda clans is that in spite of the custom of exogamy, which necessitates a constant inflow of fresh female blood from outside into the clan, each clan nevertheless preserves a distinct physical type of its own, which is so clearly marked that an experienced observer can commonly tell a man's clan at sight without needing to ask him which he belongs to.<sup>1</sup> Thus, for example, members of the Grasshopper clan are distinguished by high pointed heads ; members of the Lung-fish clan may be recognised by their broad noses ; and members of the Oribi Antelope clan are conspicuous for the refined cast of their features, particularly their thin shapely noses and less protuberant lips. The royal family is likewise distinguished from others by the finer type of its features, which are thought to resemble those of the Bahima ; yet the type differs from that of the Oribi Antelope clan. Exact measurements confirm and accentuate these corporeal distinctions, which cannot be ascribed to any artificial manipulations or mutilations of the body, since no such manipulations or mutilations are practised by the Baganda. Yet when a woman bearing all

<sup>1</sup> For this information as to the physical types of the Baganda clans I am indebted to the Rev. J. Roscoe. He has taken many exact measurements

of many members of the various clans, and these measurements will be published in due course.

Suggested  
 explanation  
 of the  
 permanence  
 of the  
 paternal  
 type.

the characteristic features of her clan is given in marriage to a man of another clan and has children by him, these children reproduce the physical type, not of their mother, but of their father ; they resemble him, not her ; the mother's bodily characteristics are, so to say, obliterated in her offspring. Why this should be so, why among the Baganda children should regularly be like their fathers and not like their mothers, is a question on which that branch of biological science which investigates the propagation of the species may yet throw light. If the popular opinion, shared by experienced breeders, that impressions made on mothers during their pregnancy are often permanently imprinted on their offspring, should prove to be correct, we could easily understand why women, taken in childhood from their mothers' families and brought up, as they usually are among the Baganda, in the families of their future husbands, should bear children who reproduce the physical type of the persons whom their mothers have had constantly before their eyes during the critical seasons of conception and pregnancy. And on the same principle we might perhaps expect to find conversely, that wherever it is the custom for husbands to take up their abode permanently in their wives' families, the children would tend to resemble their mothers rather than their fathers, since in that case the women during pregnancy would be surrounded by persons of their own physical type, not by persons of the physical type of their husbands. Yet this tendency would probably be far less decided than the other ; since on the hypothesis in question the physical type of the father must always count for much, and the impression which it makes on the wife and mother, though it might be weakened, could hardly be wholly effaced by the impression made on her by persons of a different type. If there is any truth in these speculations, it may be anticipated that wherever a wife lives with her husband's family, the children will strongly resemble their father ; and that wherever a husband lives with his wife's family, the children will tend, though in a far less degree, to resemble their mother. But to the question thus raised by the physical diversity of the Baganda clans we shall have occasion to recur in the sequel.

Like the tribes of Central and Northern Australia the

Baganda believe that women may be impregnated without commerce with the other sex; but unlike the Australian aborigines they hold that such impregnation is exceptional, not universal.<sup>1</sup> When a wife is found to be pregnant in circumstances which exclude the possibility that the child might have been begotten by her husband, she will sometimes plead that she got it through the flower of the banana falling on her back or shoulders, while she was at work in her garden. This account is at once accepted as a sufficient explanation of her pregnancy and her husband is satisfied; for the Baganda do not doubt that a woman may be impregnated by the flower of the banana. If a woman were for any reason debarred from having recourse to this plea, she might under the old régime be lawfully put to death by her husband, and such executions were not infrequent. Nothing could well illustrate more strikingly the firm faith of the Baganda in the possibility of conception without cohabitation than the readiness of a husband to accept such an excuse and on the strength of it to let the adulteress go free, whom otherwise he might have punished with death. The notion that the flower of the banana may get with child any woman on whom it falls is perhaps connected with the custom, invariably observed by the Baganda, of burying an infant's placenta at the root of a banana tree. For as they deem the placenta a double or twin, as they call it, of the child, they might easily fancy that a spirit child is absorbed by the root of the tree and that, being drawn up by the sap, it breaks out in the sunshine into the great purple bloom of the banana, ready to drop on some passing woman and to be born again from her womb. The same custom may also explain the notion of the Baganda that a banana grove is the play-ground of ghosts. No wonder that a woman should become a mother on such haunted ground.

But in Uganda children may come, unfathered, into the world in less lovely ways than from the purple blossoms of a verdurous banana grove. Infants born feet foremost are killed and buried at cross-roads; and at cross-roads the

Belief of the Baganda that conception may take place without sexual intercourse. They think that a woman may be impregnated by the flower of the banana.

Suicides and children born feet foremost are buried

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence of this belief I am indebted to my friend the Rev. John Roscoe.

at cross-roads, and it is believed that their spirits can enter into passing women and be born again.

bodies of suicides are burned together with the fatal tree on which they hung or the house in which they took their lives. All women, whether married or unmarried, who pass these ill-omened spots, cast sticks or straws on the graves till great piles have accumulated over them. This they do to prevent the unquiet spirits from entering into them and being born again.<sup>1</sup>

These superstitions demonstrate the belief of the Baganda that women may and do conceive without the co-operation of a male. We have seen reason to think that notions of this sort lie at the root of totemism.

Marriage of first cousins forbidden, but marriage of second cousins allowed. Mutual avoidance of first cousins.

Marriage between first cousins is forbidden among the Baganda.<sup>2</sup> We are not told that there is any exception to this rule. But second cousins are free, at least in certain cases, to marry each other. Thus whereas first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, are forbidden to marry each other, the children of these cousins are at liberty to do so in the case where the father of one of them is the son of that brother, and the mother of the other is the daughter of that sister. In short, a man's children may not marry his sister's children, but a man's son's children may marry his sister's daughter's children.<sup>3</sup> Not only may first cousins not marry each other but they may not even come near each other nor speak to each other, they may not enter the same house nor eat out of the same dish.<sup>4</sup> This custom of mutual avoidance no doubt springs from the prohibition of marriage and is intended to guard against incest.

Custom of avoidance between a man and his wife's mother and between a woman and her husband's father, etc.

Further, among the Baganda, as among so many peoples who practise exogamy, a man may neither see his mother-in-law nor speak to her face to face. If he wishes to hold any communication with her, it must be done through a third person, or she may be in another room out of sight and talk to him through the wall or open door. A woman may speak to her father-in-law, but she may not take his hand or

<sup>1</sup> From information given me by the Rev. J. Roscoe. Compare his "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda*

*Protectorate*, ii. 688.

<sup>3</sup> From information given me by the Rev. J. Roscoe.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 695, confirmed and extended verbally by the Rev. J. Roscoe.

touch him or even hand him anything. Any breach of these customs is supposed to be punished by nervous debility with tremors in the hands and other parts of the body.<sup>1</sup> Further, a man had to avoid his sister's daughters; he might neither eat with them nor let them come near him. They were not allowed to enter his house if he was at home.<sup>2</sup>

The Baganda have the classificatory system of relationship.<sup>3</sup> Thus in the generation above his own a man calls his father *kitange*, "my father," and he calls his father's brother, whether younger or older than his father, *kitange muto*, "my little father." But he has quite a different term (*kojawe*) for his mother's brothers. He calls his mother *mange*, "my mother," and he calls his mother's sister, whether older or younger than his mother, *mange muto*, "my little mother."<sup>4</sup> But he has quite a different term (*sengarwo*) for his father's sisters. In his own generation he applies the term *muganda wange* to his brothers and the term *muganda* to his male first cousins, the sons either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term *mwanyina* to his sisters and to his female first cousins, the daughters either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. But he has quite different terms for his other first cousins, the children either of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers. Thus he calls the sons and daughters of his father's sisters *kizibwewe*, and he applies the same term to the daughters of his mother's brothers. The sons of his mother's brothers he calls *kojawe*; but he may also call them *muganda*, "brothers." In the generation below his own a man applies the same term *mutabane* to his sons and to his brothers' sons. The term *muganda wange* is applied by a man to his brother and by a woman to her sister. The term *mwanyina* is applied

The classificatory system of relationship among the Baganda.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. (1901) p. 124; *id.* "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 39. Compare Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 688.

<sup>2</sup> From the manuscripts of the Rev. J. Roscoe.

<sup>3</sup> The following account of the

classificatory system of relationship among the Baganda is drawn from the manuscripts of the Rev. J. Roscoe, which he has kindly placed at my disposal.

<sup>4</sup> "The clan system also has a tendency to make relationship rather general than particular, and hence a child calls all its father's brothers 'father,' and all its mother's sisters 'mother'" (R. P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda*, pp. 286 sq.).

by a man to his sister and by a woman to her brother. It deserves to be noticed that the system of relationship of the Baganda is sufficiently advanced to distinguish between a wife and a wife's sisters, and conversely between a husband and a husband's brothers. Thus a man calls his wife *mukazi* or *muka*; but he calls his wife's sisters *mulamu*. A woman calls her husband *ba* or *baze*; but she calls her husband's brothers *mulamu*.

Two peculiarities of the classificatory system of relationship among the Baganda. First, a man calls his mother's brother's wife his wife and she calls him her husband.

Two peculiarities in the classificatory system of the Baganda deserve particular notice. In the first place a man calls his mother's brother's wife his wife (*mukazi*), and she calls him (her husband's sister's son) her "husband" (*baze*). This seems to imply that among the Baganda in former times, as among the Barongo at present,<sup>1</sup> a nephew exercised marital rights over the wife of his maternal uncle (his mother's brother), or in other words, that a woman was bound to submit to the embraces of her husband's nephew (his sister's son) whenever the nephew chose to require it of her. The implication is strongly confirmed by the observation that among the Baganda as among the Barongo the nephew still inherits the wife (or one of the wives) of his deceased maternal uncle; that is, on his uncle's death he marries the woman (his uncle's wife) whom even in his uncle's lifetime he had called his wife, and the widow on her side marries the man (her husband's nephew) whom even in her husband's lifetime she had called her husband. Similarly among the Republican Pawnees of North America a man called his mother's brother's wife "my wife" (*Tâ-te-luk-tuk-û*), and consistently with this nomenclature he called the woman's child "my child" (*pe-row*).<sup>2</sup> We can now understand why in several Indian tribes of North America, such as the Minnetarees and the Choctaws, a man calls his first cousins, the children of his mother's brother "my son" and "my daughter"; and why conversely in these tribes a man calls his first cousins, the children of his father's sister "my father" and "my mother."<sup>3</sup> These terms so applied are perfectly intelligible

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Washington, 1871), p. 331

(*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvii.).

<sup>3</sup> See below, vol. ii. pp. 149, 175 sq.

on the hypothesis that in former times a man of these tribes, like a Barongo man at present, regularly exercised marital rights over the wife of his maternal uncle (his mother's brother), for in that case the woman's children might be in very truth his sons and daughters. Similarly, in the Mota form of the classificatory system a man is called the father (*tamai*) of his first cousins, the sons and daughters of his mother's brothers,<sup>1</sup> which suggests that he has, or once had, marital rights over their mother, the wife of his maternal uncle, in other words, that a man is bound to place his wife at the disposal of his nephew, the son of his sister, whenever the nephew chooses to exact the privilege. This accords very well with the extraordinary rights which in Fiji the sister's son (*vasu*) enjoyed against his maternal uncle, his mother's brother.

The second peculiarity in the classificatory system of the Baganda which deserves attention is this. A man calls his wife's brother's daughter his wife, and she calls him her husband. This is explicable on the hypothesis that the two enjoy, or formerly enjoyed, the right of having sexual intercourse with each other. That right would in turn explain the names which among certain tribes of North American Indians first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, apply to each other. Thus among the Miamis and Shawnees a man calls his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, "my mother," and she calls him "my son."<sup>2</sup> This would be intelligible if the man's father had a right of access to his wife's brother's daughter, for in that case his son might be quite right in calling that woman "my mother," since she might really have given birth to him.

Thus these particular Melanesian and North American terms for cousins are readily explained by the peculiarities of the Baganda system to which I have just called attention: we have only to assume that among the Baganda the terms "husband" and "wife" mean what they imply, and we at once understand why in Melanesia and North America two

The second peculiarity of the Baganda form of the classificatory system is that a man calls his wife's brother's daughter his wife and she calls him her husband.

These two peculiarities explain certain Melanesian and North American terms for cousins.

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 37-39.

<sup>2</sup> See below, vol. iii. pp. 70 sq., 74. Compare the terms for consins, the

children of a brother and sister respectively, in the Omaha and Creek forms of the classificatory system (*ibid.* pp. 115-117, 165-167).

persons, who seem to be first cousins, may quite correctly call each other "mother" and "son" respectively.

The peculiarities of the Baganda system point to certain extended marital rights.

It should be observed that whereas the first of the peculiarities of the Baganda system points to the exercise of marital rights by a man over a woman in the generation above him, namely, his mother's brother's wife, the second peculiarity points to the exercise of marital rights by a man over a woman in the generation below him, namely, his wife's brother's daughter. It is remarkable that, if we may judge by their terms of relationship, both these privileges should have been accorded to men by the Baganda.

Relics of mother-kin among the Baganda.

The first of the peculiarities of the Baganda system to which I have called attention may be considered a relic of mother-kin; for it seems hardly possible to explain otherwise the custom which allows a man to call his mother's brother's wife "my wife" and to marry her on the decease of his maternal uncle. Such a custom points plainly to that position of privilege enjoyed by a man in respect of his maternal uncle which was perfectly natural when he was his uncle's heir under the system of mother-kin, but which becomes strange and anomalous under a system of father-kin, such as now obtains in Uganda, under which a man's heirs are not his sister's sons, but his own sons. Another relic of the privileges formerly granted to the sister's son under a system of mother-kin survives among the Baganda at funerals; for it is then the duty of the sister's son, and of him alone, to conclude the obsequies by solemnly burning the house-pole of his deceased maternal uncle.<sup>1</sup> But among the Baganda, as among other peoples who have followed the custom of mother-kin, the advantage is by no means altogether on the side of the nephew as against his maternal uncle; on the contrary we are told that in former times "a man always looked upon his sister's children and treated them as slaves."<sup>2</sup> This despotic power possessed by a man over his sister's children is a natural consequence of the system of mother-kin, which places a woman's brother, not her husband, at the head of her family and thereby permits him to exercise the same authority over her children which

<sup>1</sup> From information given me by the Rev. J. Roscoe.

<sup>2</sup> From the papers of the Rev. J. Roscoe.

under the system of father-kin would be exerted by their father. In the history of institutions the authority of the maternal uncle, the mother's brother, as a rule precedes that of the father: *avunculi potestas* is commonly older than *patria potestas*.

To the traces of mother-kin among the Baganda may perhaps be added the rule according to which kings and princes belong to the clan and take the totem of their mother, while commoners on the other hand always belong to the clan and take the totem of their father. But, as we shall see presently, there is reason to think that this royal custom of heredity, so different from the custom of their subjects, is rather an importation from an alien race than evidence of the ancient practice of the Baganda themselves.

Maternal descent in the royal family of Uganda.

### § 15. Totemism among the Banyoro

The Banyoro are a Bantu people inhabiting Unyoro, the country which lies to the north-west of Uganda and borders on Lake Albert. Down the centre of this region runs a line of bold heights, sometimes rising into pinnacles and crags of striking aspect. Here the country is open, grassy, and rocky, but along the western foot of the ridge stretches a belt of tropical forest, where chimpanzees live and large-tusked elephants abound.<sup>1</sup> The Banyoro shew an admixture of Hamitic and Nilotic blood with the Bantu stock. Their figures are tall and shapely and their faces would be pleasing but for the practice of extracting the four lower incisor teeth. They keep cattle, sheep, and goats, but their staple food is now the sweet potato and the eleusine grain.<sup>2</sup> They have a totemic system, which has been briefly described as follows by Sir Harry Johnston: "The Banyoro are divided into many clans, which would appear to have totems as sacred symbols or ancestral emblems like the similar clans in Uganda. This institution, however, like so many other customs connected with the Banyoro, has lately been much defaced and obscured by the appalling depopulation of the country consequent on civil wars and foreign

The Banyoro and their country.

Totemism of the Banyoro.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, i. 139 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 581, 586.

invasions. The animals or plants chosen as totems are much the same as in Uganda, varying, however, with the existence or non-existence of the symbols in the flora and fauna of Unyoro. There is probably a greater preponderance of antelopes as totems compared with what occurs in Uganda. It is unlawful by custom for a Muryoro to kill or eat the totem of his clan. Thus, if the hartebeest should be the totem of a clan or family, members of this clan must not kill or eat the hartebeest. I have never been able to ascertain either from Banyoro or Baganda that their forefathers at any time believed the clan to be actually descended from the object chosen as a totem. The matter remains very obscure. It may be remotely connected with ancestor-worship, which is certainly the foundation of such religious beliefs as are held by the Banyoro, as by most other negro races."<sup>1</sup>

Two groups of totems among the Banyoro, the one pastoral, the other agricultural.

Full details as to the totemic system of the Banyoro were obtained by the Rev. John Roscoe during a visit which he paid to their country in June 1909. He found that their totems fall on the whole into two groups, the one pastoral, the other agricultural, corresponding to the twofold division of the people into herdsmen and husbandmen. These two classes are socially distinct. The herdsmen are descendants of a nomadic race who have settled down in permanent abodes, while their large herds are still driven from place to place for pasturage, according to the requirements of the seasons and the state of the grass. They despise the husbandmen as an inferior race and speak of them as peasants and slaves. Few cattle are kept by these farmers and the few they have are grudged them by the herdsmen, who think that a mixed diet of milk and vegetables, such as farmers who breed cattle naturally permit themselves, must be detrimental to the milch kine, the contact of milk with vegetables in the stomachs of the people being supposed to affect sympathetically the milk in the udders of the cows. If a man should partake of vegetable food, he may not drink milk for twenty-four hours afterwards ; but if the vegetable which he has eaten should be sweet potatoes, the abstinence from milk must be prolonged for three days. Such periods of abstinence are

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 587 sq.

doubtless intended to guard against the contact of milk with vegetables in the belly of the eater. We have seen that among the Masai, another great pastoral tribe of Africa, warriors in like manner scrupulously avoid a mixed diet of milk and vegetables, and no doubt for the same reason, since these Masai warriors are also most careful not to mix milk with flesh or blood in their stomachs, lest the contact of the two should sympathetically injure the cows and thereby diminish their supply of milk.<sup>1</sup> However, amongst the Banyoro there is a class of people intermediate between the herdsmen and the farmers; they consist of husbandmen who have been admitted by marriage into some of the pastoral clans, and whose mixed totems accordingly reflect a blending of the two distinct modes of life.

All the Banyoro clans are exogamous with descent in the male line; that is, no man may marry a woman of his own clan, and the children always belong to the clan of their father, not to that of their mother. So strict is the rule of exogamy that formerly breaches of it were capital crimes: a man who married a woman of his own clan was put to death. However, to this rule the practice of the royal family, as we shall see, presented a singular exception.

In the following list of Banyoro clans with their totems and taboos, which we owe to the researches of the Rev. J. Roscoe, the distinction between the three classes, the herdsmen, the husbandmen, and the mixture of the two, is indicated by grouping the clans of these divisions separately:—

The Banyoro clans are exogamous with descent in the male line.

List of Banyoro clans, totems, and taboos.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 414.

## CLANS OF THE BANYORO

## I. Pastoral Clans

Clans.	Primary Totems.	Subsidiary Totems.	Taboos, etc.
1. Babito	bushbuck ( <i>ngabi</i> )	rain water from the roofs of houses ( <i>maleghya</i> )	This is the clan of the royal family and princes.
2. Balisa	cows which have red marks on a black or red ground ( <i>timba</i> )	rain water from the roofs of houses ( <i>maleghya</i> )	No member of this clan may drink the milk or eat the flesh of cows thus marked with red.
3. Bafumam-bogo	grasshopper ( <i>nseene</i> )	(1) a kind of cow with peculiar red marks ( <i>bambo</i> ); (2) the buffalo	The clan may not drink the milk of cows thus marked, nor eat the flesh of cows, buffaloes, or grasshoppers.
4. Basonga	grasshopper		
5. Balanze	a nursing mother	grasshopper	No woman who is nursing a child may enter into the kraal or house of any member of the clan.
6. Basita	milch cow which has been with the bull	dew upon the grass	Members of the clan may neither drink the milk of cows that have been to the bull nor touch the dewy grass.
7. Basingo	cows with humps	cows in calf ( <i>murara</i> )	Members of the clan may not drink the milk nor eat the flesh of humped cows and cows which die in calf.
8. Bagimu	Red and white cows ( <i>mpula</i> )	rain water from the roofs of houses	Members of the clan may not drink the milk nor eat the flesh of red and white cows, nor use the rain water which has dripped from roofs.
9. Baisanza	a woman who enters a house and solicits a man and is afterwards found to be with child ( <i>butweke</i> )		Such a woman may never enter the kraals of such a clan again, nor may any member of the clan hold any intercourse with her.
10. Basengya	the tongues of animals ( <i>lulimi</i> )		
11. Babyasi	milch cows with calf for a second time ( <i>ekuluzi</i> )		The clan may not drink the milk nor eat the flesh of such cows.
12. Banyakwa	cows with straight horns ( <i>ngabi</i> )		The clan may not drink the milk nor eat the flesh of straight-horned cows.
13. Bacwezi	cows which have drunk salt water	cows which have been with the bull	Members of the clan may not drink the milk of cows which have drunk salt water until the second day after the animals have partaken of the brine; and they may not drink the milk of cows which have been to the bull for five days afterwards.

CLANS OF THE BANYORO—*continued*

Clans.	Primary Totems.	Subsidiary Totems.	Taboos, etc.
14. Baitira	cows of a particular colour ( <i>mbazi</i> )	a nursing mother whose child is a girl	
II. <i>Mixed Clans</i>			
15. Bakwonga	bushbuck ( <i>ngabi</i> )	rainwater of the roofs of houses	A nursing mother may not enter the houses nor the kraals of this clan.
16. Baswa	bushbuck ( <i>ngabi</i> )		
17. Mbazi	cows of a particular colour ( <i>mbazi</i> )	a nursing mother	
18. Baboro	the hearts of animals	empty baskets ( <i>kaibo kasa</i> )	
19. Bayangwe	a kind of monkey ( <i>enkende</i> )	another kind of monkey ( <i>nkobe</i> )	
20. Bagwiju	a house which has been burnt down		No member of the clan may approach such a house or take anything from it.
21. Batongo	the stomachs of animals ( <i>amara</i> )		
22. Basengya	bushbuck ( <i>ngabi</i> )	rain water from the roofs of houses	
23. Banywagi	bushbuck ( <i>ngabi</i> )		
24. Baduku	a worn-out drum-skin on the top of a drum ( <i>kabambiro</i> )		
25. Bahenga	a species of bird ( <i>kagondo</i> )		
26. Banyakwa	bushbuck ( <i>ngabi</i> )		
27. Bane	a fungus growing on trees ( <i>katozi</i> )		
28. Baisanza	a small edible animal ( <i>epo</i> ), possibly a kind of antelope		
29. Bakimbiri	a nursing mother ( <i>isereka</i> )		A nursing mother may not enter the house of any member of this clan.
30. Bakwonga	bushbuck ( <i>ngabi</i> )		
31. Bakwonga (subsection of the preceding)	a trickling stream ( <i>ekirira</i> )		Members of the clan may not cross a trickling stream.
32. Bapima	bushbuck ( <i>ngabi</i> )		
33. Bagombe	hippopotamus ( <i>kiroko</i> )		
34. Baisanza	grasshopper ( <i>usenene</i> )		
35. Banyampaka	a water bird ( <i>kagondo</i> )		

CLANS OF THE BANYORO—*continued*III. *Agricultural Clans*

Clans.	Primary Totems.	Subsidiary Totems.	Taboos, etc.
36. Basambo	an empty basket	a pointed instrument of wood or iron	No one may bring an empty basket into the presence of members of the clan, nor present any pointed instrument to them without first wrapping it up.
37. Banyoza	a kind of bird ( <i>nyoza</i> )	an empty basket	
38. Bayaga	birds in general	small millet ( <i>bulo</i> )	Members of the clan may not destroy or eat birds. If at harvest, any reaped millet has been forgotten in the field, members of the clan may not transport it to the store-house on the following day. On account of this second totem the clan is called <i>Abaruka omabibi</i> .
39. Batwa	milch kine ( <i>bukama</i> )	stalks of grass or straws	Members of the clan may not milk cows nor put stalks of grass or straws in their mouths ( <i>nsugu</i> ), when they are walking, as other people commonly do.
40. Bakimbira	potter's clay ( <i>bumba</i> )	millet ( <i>bulo</i> ) which has been overlooked after it has been reaped and left in the field all night	
41. Bakimbira	a nursing mother ( <i>isereka</i> )		
42. Baraha	wagtail ( <i>akanyangonge</i> )		
43. Bagimu	yams ( <i>ngobe</i> )		
44. Baregeya	birds called <i>ndegeya</i>		
45. Bahembo	an empty basket ( <i>kaibo kasa</i> )		
46. Basengya	a wooden porridge spoon		No member of the clan may touch a wooden porridge spoon.

Some of the Banyoro clans have the same name but different

In this list it will be observed that some clans have the same name but different totems, while others conversely have the same totem but different names. Each and all of these clans are distinct; members of any one of them are free to marry members of any other. For example, a Baisanza

man may marry a Baisanza woman, provided that his totem is the animal called *epo* and hers the grasshopper (*nseene*); or again, a Bakwonga man may marry a Bakwonga woman, provided that his totem is the bushbuck and hers a trickling stream. Conversely a man of the bushbuck totem may marry a woman of the bushbuck totem, provided that, for example, he is of the Babito clan and she of the Bakwonga clan; or again, a man of the grasshopper totem may marry a woman of the grasshopper totem, provided that he is of the Bafumambogo clan and she of the Basonga clan. Thus the two badges of exogamy are as usual the totem and the name of the clan, but where the badges overlap, either of them has power to override the other; men and women of the same totem may marry each other, if only their clan names differ; men and women of the same clan name may marry each other, if only their totems differ.

We naturally ask, How is it that clans of the same name come to have different totems? How is it that clans of different names come to have the same totem? The answers to these questions can only be conjectural, since no positive information on the subject seems to be forthcoming. We may suppose, for example, that these anomalies have both arisen by subdivision; that is, that a clan bearing the same name and possessing the same totem may have subdivided into several sections, each of which became a new clan and in order to distinguish itself from its mother clan and sister clans either took a new name, while it retained the old totem, or conversely took a new totem, while it retained the old name. The frequent occurrence of the bushbuck totem, for instance, suggests that a large original clan of Bushbucks may have split up into a number of minor clans, each of which adopted for distinction a new name while it clung with pride to the old bushbuck totem. We have seen similar grounds for conjecturing that a like subdivision of a Bushbuck clan has taken place among the Basoga.<sup>1</sup>

Like the Baganda, the Banyoro clans have regularly a secondary or subsidiary as well as a primary totem. The most probable explanation of this duplication of totems

totems ; others have different names but the same totem.

These anomalies may have arisen through the subdivision of a clan into sections, each of which took for the sake of distinction either a new name or a new totem.

Subsidiary totems of the Banyoro.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 460.

seems to be that the subsidiary totem was the totem of an ancestress of the clan, the wife perhaps of the founder, and that out of regard for her feelings her descendants continued ever afterwards to respect her totem in addition to the one which they inherited from their fathers. Though this explanation of subsidiary totems was not definitely put forward by the natives whom Mr. Roscoe questioned on the subject, it is the conclusion to which the most reasonable and probable of their answers, taken together, appeared to point; and it is strongly confirmed by a custom common to the Baganda and the Banyoro, both of whom regularly respect their mother's totem as well as their father's up to the time of their marriage and very often to the end of their lives.<sup>1</sup> We have seen that the natives of the Western Islands of Torres Straits account for their subsidiary totems in a precisely similar way.<sup>2</sup>

Peculiarities of some of the Banyoro totems. Split totems,

Some of the Banyoro totems are remarkable. In the first place there are several of what I have called split totems, such as the tongues, the hearts, and the stomachs of animals. Then the varieties of cows which form several totems deserve to be noted, such as red and white cows, cows with red blotches, cows with humps, and cows with straight horns. To a pastoral people the custom of thus constituting a variety of totems by differentiating between their cattle is natural enough; we shall meet with it again among the pastoral Bahima.<sup>3</sup> But some of the pastoral totems of the Banyoro are singular, if not unique, in this that they are temporary, not permanent like all or almost all the totems which we have hitherto met with in our survey of totemism. Such temporary totems are cows that have been to the bull and cows that have drunk salt water; for the taboos which make these animals into totems are not permanent; one of them lasts only five days and the other lasts only one or two days. Almost the only other temporary totemic taboos, so far as I remember, which have been recorded elsewhere are the prohibitions laid on some clans in India to look upon or touch either animals with their eyes shut or animals with their eyes open; <sup>4</sup> for clearly

Temporary totems,

<sup>1</sup> As to the Baganda practice see above, p. 473.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 536 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 279, 290, 295, 297, 314.

these taboos cease to operate either when the animals open or when they shut their eyes. Amongst the Banyoro another temporary totem is that of a nursing mother ; for here again it follows that when the woman ceases to nurse a child, the embargo laid on her is removed ; she ceases to be a totem and is now free to enter the houses of members of the totemic clan, where during the period of lactation she might not set foot. With this temporary human totem we may compare the Central Australian totem of laughing boys.<sup>1</sup> For as a woman is not always nursing, so a boy is not always laughing ; hence when she ceases to nurse and he to laugh, they both cease to be totems, the one for the Banyoro in the heart of Africa, the other for the Warramunga and Tjingilli in the heart of Australia. What taboo the totem laughing boys carries with it we do not know ; on analogy we may conjecture that the members of this clan are distinguished from their more light-minded fellows by the unmoved gravity of their deportment, and that social etiquette requires them to avert their eyes and stop their ears whenever a youngster bursts into a guffaw. As to the totem nursing mothers among the Banyoro our information is precise : such women may not enter the houses or even the kraals of the clan of which they are the totem. The origin of this singular totem is obscure ; but when we remember how many superstitious rules are observed by pastoral tribes in Africa from a fear of impairing the supply of milk from their cows,<sup>2</sup> we may guess that the same fear underlies the rule which excludes women during the period of lactation from the houses and kraals of certain clans. Perhaps the idea is that the milk in the woman's breasts would be so much milk abstracted from the udders of the cows. If that notion were general among the pastoral Banyoro, it would readily explain why a nursing mother occurs so often either as a primary or as a subsidiary totem of their clans.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the same superstitious

Nursing mothers as a totem.

The taboo on nursing mothers perhaps springs from a fear that they might magically deprive the cows of their milk.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 773. See also above, vol. i. p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> See my paper "Folk-lore in the Old Testament," *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Ox-

ford, 1907), pp. 154 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> After proposing this explanation of the totem nursing mothers I questioned my friend the Rev. J. Roscoe on the point, and he informed me that the herdsmen do definitely

apprehension of injuring the cows, rather than any regard for the health of the people, may be the motive for forbidding some of the Banyoro to drink the milk of cows which have lately been to the bull or which have lately drunk salt water. In confirmation of this view it may be added that among the Banyoro menstruous women are forbidden to drink milk lest they should harm the cows; they have then to live on vegetables, or if a man is rich he may give his wife at such periods an old cow, whose milk she may drink without the risk of hurting a valuable animal by her dangerous contagion.

First  
cousins  
forbidden  
but second  
cousins  
allowed  
to marry  
each other.

Among the Banyoro first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, are forbidden to marry each other; but second cousins, the grandchildren of a brother and a sister respectively, are allowed to marry each other, if the father of the one is a son of that brother, and if the mother of the other is a daughter of that sister. In other words, a man's children may not marry his sister's children; but a man's son's children may marry his sister's daughter's children.

Marriage  
with a  
wife's  
sisters.

There are no restrictions on a man's marrying several sisters; he may marry two or more sisters at the same time. Moreover, if his wife dies, especially in childbed, he expects her parents to furnish him with one of her sisters to replace the dead wife. Further, if his wife proves childless, he may demand one of her sisters in marriage, and in that case the barren wife may either remain with him or return to her parents, as she pleases. A man has not a legal right to marry his dead brother's widow, but he may do so if the clan appoints him heir to the deceased. Formerly a man avoided his wife's mother and might not meet her or speak face to face with her, though he was allowed to carry on a conversation with her if he sat outside the house and she inside. He greatly respected his wife's father, but was free to see him and speak with him.

Avoidance  
of a wife's  
mother.

To the rule of exogamy observed by the totemic clans of

believe the entrance of a nursing mother into their houses or kraals to be in some way harmful to their cows; but in what the harm consists, he was

not able to ascertain. So far as it goes, the statement of the herdsmen confirms the explanation which I had independently given of the totem.

the Banyoro there was one remarkable exception. Princes might cohabit with princesses and have children by them, though in such cases the couple necessarily belonged to the same totemic clan, namely, the Babito clan with its totem the bushbuck. However, this cohabitation was not marriage. "The rule," says Mr. Roscoe, "was for princes and princesses to live together promiscuously and not to regard each other as husband and wife, though the king might take a princess and keep her in his enclosure." He might even cohabit thus with his full sister and beget children by her. We have seen that among the Baganda the royal family was in like manner exempt from the rule of exogamy, the king regularly marrying his own sister, who was necessarily a member of his own totem clan, though he might not have a child by her.<sup>1</sup> Similarly we shall find that among the Bahima the princes were allowed to marry their own sisters.<sup>2</sup>

What is the reason for these remarkable anomalies? Why should the royal families of three great African tribes, the Baganda, the Banyoro, and the Bahima, observe a marriage custom which so flagrantly contravenes the practice of their subjects and which, if observed by any but the royal family, would excite their deepest horror and detestation? A possible answer is that in all three tribes the royal families are members of an alien race to which the rule of exogamy was unknown, and that when they established themselves as reigning dynasties in Uganda, Unyoro, and Ankole, they adhered to their ancestral practice of endogamous and consanguineous marriages, while they allowed their people to follow their ancient custom of exogamy. Thus as strangers and foreigners the king and the princes might be thought to be exempt from those laws which were binding on natives of the country; and hence they might with impunity continue to do what if done by anybody else would have been accounted a high crime and misdemeanour punishable with death. This explanation of the endogamy of these royal families is the one adopted by the experienced observer the Rev. John Roscoe, who holds that the ruling dynasties of the Baganda, Banyoro, and Bahima have all sprung from

Exception to the rule of exogamy among the Banyoro. Princes may cohabit with princesses of their own totemic clan, and kings may cohabit with their sisters.

The exception may be explained by the theory that the royal family of Unyoro are members of an alien race to which the rule of exogamy was unknown.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 538.

one common stock, and that stock the Galla. If he is right, the native rulers of these three important peoples are alien conquerors, who have adopted the language and to a great extent the habits of their Bantu subjects, though they still retain, or retained till lately, a form of marriage which flouts one of the most deeply implanted principles of the Bantu mind. However, in adapting themselves to their surroundings the kings of Uganda went a step further than the kings of Unyoro; for while they regularly married their sisters, they regularly abstained from begetting children by them. The most probable explanation of this abstention is that it was a concession made by politic monarchs to the strength of public opinion: their subjects winked at the shocking marriages of their kings, because they knew that these marriages would be barren. In Unyoro either the dynasty was less conciliatory or the people was less scrupulous; for there the kings were free not only to cohabit with, but also to beget children on the women of their own clan, even on their own full sisters. Yet in one important respect the princesses of Unyoro enjoyed less freedom than the Queen Sister of Uganda. For whereas the Queen Sister of Uganda might take any man, whether prince or peasant, to her bed, the princesses of Unyoro might have none but princes for their lovers; a commoner who presumed to intrigue with a princess was punishable with death.

The rule which forbade kings of Uganda to have children by their sisters may have been a concession to the public opinion of their subjects.

The reason why in some royal families kings marry their sisters is probably a wish to combine an old custom of mother-kin with a new practice of father-kin;

But even if we assume that the ancestors of these royal houses knew nothing of the rule of exogamy, we must still ask why the kings of Uganda were not only permitted but required to marry their sisters. A simple and highly probable explanation of the marriage of a king or chief with his sister was long ago suggested by J. F. McLennan.<sup>1</sup> Under a system of mother-kin a man's heirs are his sister's sons, and accordingly, where that system prevails, it is the king's sister's son, not his own son, who succeeds him on the throne. This custom is practised in

<sup>1</sup> *The Patriarchal Theory*, based on the papers of the late J. F. McLennan, edited and completed by D. McLennan (London, 1885), p. 95; "Another rule of chiefly succession which has been mentioned, that which gives the

chieftainship to a sister's son, appears to have been nullified in some cases by means of an extraordinary but effective expedient — by the chief, that is, marrying his own sister."

many lands and is particularly common in Africa.<sup>1</sup> But when, through a growing certainty of paternity or from other causes, men became more attached to their own children than to the children of their sisters, it was natural that they should wish to transmit to them their property and power; and as no men had so much to transmit as kings, so no men had a stronger motive for substituting paternal for maternal descent. Thus situated they could hardly fail to perceive that there was a simple expedient which would enable them to institute a new custom of descent through men without abolishing the old custom of descent through women. According to immemorial tradition a king's heirs were his sister's sons; hence if he only married his sister, her sons would also be his; the system of maternal descent would be combined with paternal descent; time-honoured usage would be respected, while the natural instincts of a father would also be satisfied. We may conjecture that this was the ultimate origin of the numerous cases in which kings have habitually married their sisters, while commoners abstained from such marriages as incestuous.<sup>2</sup> Among the Hovas of Madagascar a slightly different device was adopted to accomplish the same end. The king generally married, not his sister, but her daughter, his niece, and the children whom he had by her were the heirs to the throne in virtue of a twofold right, since they inherited the blood royal from their mothers as well as from their fathers.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that a similar motive may explain the leave granted by some peoples to an uncle to marry his niece in the case in which the niece is his sister's daughter.<sup>4</sup>

for the offspring of such marriages unite both lines of descent, the paternal and the maternal, being at once the king's own children and the children of his sister.

<sup>1</sup> For examples in Africa see A. H. Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz* (Oldenburg and Leipsic, 1887), i. 16 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See my note on Pausanias, i. 7. 1 (vol. ii, p. 85).

<sup>3</sup> Le Baron d'Unienville, *Statistique de l'Île Maurice* (Paris, 1838), iii. pp. 286 sq.

<sup>4</sup> For marriage with a niece, a sister's daughter, see above, pp. 271 sq. Such marriages are frequent in Mysore and probably in other parts of India also. The usual rule appears to be that a man may marry the daughter

of his elder sister, but not the daughter of his younger sister, unless there is no other suitable wife for him. Sometimes the marriage with the daughter of an elder sister is not only allowed but specially favoured. See H. V. Nanjundayya, *The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, i. 8, iii. 7, iv. 5 sq., vii. 7, viii. 2, x. 5, xi. 4, xii. 5 (Bangalore, 1906-1907, Preliminary Issue). Among some Indians of Brazil a man's proper wife was his niece, the daughter of his sister. See below, vol. iii. p. 575.

Such a marriage would serve the same purpose as marriage with a sister and would be less shocking to traditional sentiment.

The life and death of the kings of Unyoro were regulated by exact rules.

In the old heathen days both the life and the death of the kings of Unyoro were regulated by many precise and curious rules, the discovery of which is not the least interesting result of Mr. Roscoe's enquiries in the country. As the present king is a Christian, many of the old customs have no doubt fallen into desuetude and might have passed away unrecorded if they had not been rescued from oblivion by the exertions of a scientific investigator. Though they do not appear to be directly connected with totemism, a brief account of them may be welcome to the reader as illustrative of that state of savagery, to us so strange and so remote, of which totemism is only one particular product.

The king might not eat vegetables, but must subsist on milk and beef.

The diet of the king of Unyoro, like the diet of the kings of ancient Egypt,<sup>1</sup> was strictly regulated by immemorial custom. He might never eat vegetable food, but must subsist on milk and beef. Mutton he might not touch. The beef he ate must be that of young animals not more than one year old, and it must be spitted and roasted before a wood fire. But he might not drink milk and eat beef at the same meal. He drank milk thrice a day, in the morning, in the afternoon, and at night before he went to bed; after the draught of milk in the afternoon he went to sleep and in the evening he might eat beef. But he was free to quaff beer after partaking of meat. When he went to drink milk in the dairy, every man must leave the royal enclosure and all the women had to cover their heads till the king returned. No one might see him drink. One wife accompanied him to the dairy and handed him the milk pot, but she averted her face while he drained it.

The milking of the king's cows.

A sacred herd was kept for the king's use, and nine cows, neither more nor less, were daily brought to the royal enclosure to be milked for his majesty. They were always kine which had given birth to their first calves, and they were herded by men whose business it was to keep the

<sup>1</sup> The only flesh which the kings of Egypt might eat was veal and goose; and they might only drink a prescribed measure of wine. See Diodorus Siculus, i. 70. Compare *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 241.

animals from the bulls, so long as they were being milked for the king. Three milkmen were charged with the task of tending and milking the nine cows in the royal enclosure. They held office for a year, and during all that time they must strictly abstain from women; any act of incontinence on their part, it was believed, would be injurious both to the cows and to the king. When they were about to milk the cows they had to wash and smear their faces, arms, and chests with white clay before they addressed themselves to their office; and two wives of the king, who were also concerned with the solemn affair of the royal milk-drinking, had to cleanse or (as we should think) to dirty themselves in like manner. The boy who brought the nine cows from the pasture to the royal enclosure must be a member of a particular clan and under the age of puberty. When he came to puberty, he was dismissed from his post and given in marriage by the king's order. During his tenure of office he, like the king, never partook of vegetables or of mutton; he must live strictly chaste and might not go into long grass nor in any way scratch or wound himself so as to draw blood; for it was believed that the loss of his blood would be detrimental to the king. Nobody might touch him. As he came along the road driving the sacred cows before him, he cried out three or four times and at the cry the people fled from him, covering up their heads till he and the cows had passed by.<sup>1</sup> On reaching the royal enclosure he cried out again, and the three milkmen came and took charge of the cows. With the aid of one of the king's wives the milkmen milked the cows according to certain exact rules into a sacred pot, which neither they nor the woman might touch; a carrier was used to prevent them from defiling the holy vessel by their profane contact. Before the cows were milked their udders and teats were smeared with butter to cleanse them, and before the milkman milked any of the cows water was poured over his hands by the king's wife.

The milk of the nine sacred cows was then carried in the sacred pot into the dairy, where it was kept for the king

The three royal milkmen.

The royal cowboy.

How the king drank the milk.

<sup>1</sup> The information here given as to the sacred cows and the cowboy was obtained by Mr. Roscoe from the lips

of a man who had served as the royal cowboy in his youth.

alone. Thrice a day he drank it sitting on a certain stool, while the wife who had handed him the pot reverently turned away. Any milk that remained over when the king had slaked his thirst must be drunk by the boy who had fetched the cows from the pasture. This custom probably furnishes the clue to the curious rules of life which had to be observed by the cowboy. By drinking the leavings of the royal milk he was doubtless supposed to stand to the king in a relation of such intimate sympathy that any injury to his person, particularly any loss of blood, would be instantaneously felt by the king as if it had been inflicted on his own body. That, too, we may conjecture, was the reason why the cowboy had to be under puberty and to observe strict chastity. Any act of incontinence on his part might be deemed harmful, perhaps fatal, to the king. Similarly, as we have seen, the three milkmen in the royal enclosure had to abstain from women during their term of office lest by indulging in sexual intercourse they should do harm to the cows and to the king. In like manner the most sacred dairyman of the Todas in India has to avoid women altogether;<sup>1</sup> and with the example of the Banyoro before us we may safely conclude that the reason for his chastity is a belief that his unchastity would be harmful to the buffalo cows.<sup>2</sup> In other parts of Africa the incontinence of their subjects, particularly of the young, is supposed under certain circumstances to entail the death of kings or other sacred personages. Thus in the Bantu kingdom of Humbé, on the banks of the Cunene River in the south of Angola, every breach of chastity committed by young people under the age of puberty used to be inexorably punished with death whenever it came to light, because the people believed that if the offence were not thus expiated their king would die within the year. Of late years the capital punishment has been commuted into a fine of ten head of cattle; and this mitigation of ancient severity has attracted crowds of youthful debauchees to Humbé from the neighbouring tribes,

Relation of magic sympathy between the cowboy and the king.

Belief that incontinence in their subjects may be fatal to kings and cows.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 236. See above, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> I had reached this conclusion con-

jecturally before the Banyoro parallel was known. See my article "Folklore in the Old Testament," *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), p. 162.

among whom the same offence is still punished for the same reason with all the old rigour.<sup>1</sup> For a similar reason, apparently, during the sickness of a Caffre chief his tribe was bound to observe strict continence under pain of death.<sup>2</sup> And in the kingdom of Congo when the holy pontiff called Chitomé was going his rounds through the country, all his people had to live strictly chaste, and all persons found guilty of incontinence at such times were put to death without mercy, because his loving subjects deemed that universal chastity was then essential to the preservation of him whom they revered as the head of their religion and their common father.<sup>3</sup> The mode in which the crime is supposed to produce this disastrous result is not apparent; perhaps the expenditure of vital energy which it entails in the criminals is thought to exhaust the corresponding energy of the king.

During the time a king of Unyoro lay dead all the fires in the country were extinguished, and when food had to be cooked, people kindled fire by the friction of sticks and put it out as soon as it had served its purpose. After the new king was crowned, the people obtained new fire for their houses from the new fire in the royal enclosure.

All fires extinguished at the death of a king.

The kings of Unyoro had to take their own lives while they were still in the full possession of their faculties and before their bodily vigour was impaired by the ravages of disease. As soon as the king felt unwell and thought he was about to die, he called his principal chiefs and after discussing affairs of state with them in council he went to a private house, where only his chief wife was allowed to visit him. There he asked her for "the cup," the poisoned cup, which seems to have been kept always ready, and having received it at her hands he drained it and in a few moments was dead. This custom lasted down to within living memory. The father of the last king, Kaberega, who is now living an exile in the Seychelles, perished thus. If the king faltered or was too ill to ask

The king of Unyoro had to take his own life before his bodily vigour was impaired by the ravages of disease.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Wunenberger, "La Mission et le Royaume de Humbé sur les Bords du Cunène," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xx. (1888) p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> L. Alberti, *De Kaffers* (Amsterdam, 1810), p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. Labat, *Relation historique del' Éthiopie Occidentale* (Paris, 1732), i. 259 sq. The two latter instances have already been cited by me in *Psyche's Task* (London, 1909), pp. 49 sq.

The fight  
for the  
kingdom.

for the cup, it was his wife's sad duty to administer the poison. His death was kept secret for a time, only the two principal chiefs being taken into confidence by the wife. The public announcement of the death was made by the chief milkman. Taking a pot of the sacred milk in his hands he mounted the house-top and cried, "Who will drink the milk?" With these words he dashed the pot on the roof; it rolled off and falling to the ground was broken in pieces. That was the signal for war to the death between the princes who aspired to the throne. They fought till only one was left alive; he was the king. Any prince who did not choose to enter the lists retired to the country and lived there till the internecine struggle was over. The conqueror buried his father and ascended the throne. He inherited the kingdom and all his predecessor's private property and most of his women. But the chief wife of the deceased king was clubbed to death in his open grave, and so was the boy whose duty had been to drive the sacred cows daily to be milked for his royal master. These two were buried with the departed monarch. Others of his wives were set apart to minister to him, the living to the dead, at his tomb. They remained under the authority of his successor.

The custom  
of putting  
a sick king  
to death  
seems to  
rest on a  
belief in  
a sym-  
pathetic bond  
between  
king and  
people.

The rule which obliged the kings of Unyoro to kill themselves or be killed before their strength of mind and body began to fail through disease or age is only a particular example of a custom which appears to have prevailed widely among barbarous tribes in Africa and to some extent elsewhere. Apparently this curious practice rests on a belief that the welfare of the people is sympathetically bound up with the welfare of their king, and that to suffer him to fall into bodily or mental decay would be to involve the whole kingdom in ruin.<sup>1</sup>

### § 16. *Totemism among the Batoro*

The  
Batoro.

The Batoro are a Bantu people inhabiting the district of Toro to the west of Uganda and to the south of Unyoro. They are said to be really a section of the Banyoro with

<sup>1</sup> The evidence for the prevalence and meaning of the custom has been adduced by me in *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, ii. 8 *sqq.*, etc.

perhaps less admixture of Hamitic blood. Tall men are common among them, but the ordinary Toro peasant is a rather degraded representative of the Bantu type.<sup>1</sup> The Batoro are divided into exogamous and totemic clans, the members of which observe the two fundamental laws of ordinary totemism by refusing to eat their totemic animals and to marry women of their own totemic clan. Apparently people are forbidden to kill as well as to eat their totemic animal. Descent is in the paternal line; in other words, children take their clan and totem from their father, not from their mother. Among the totems are the sheep, the dog, the *omusu* (an edible rodent of a size between a large rat and a small rabbit), the *empara* (an antelope, the same as the *impala* of South Africa), the *njaza* (a small antelope), the *ensenene* (edible grasshoppers), white ants (that is, termites), *emamba* (a large fish found in Lake Albert Edward), raindrops, and perhaps the *enjoga* (hyrax), the *engabi* (a small antelope), and fowls. The totem of the royal family of Toro is the sheep. On his conversion to Christianity the king publicly ate mutton to shew that he respected his totem no longer. In this incomplete list of Batoro totems it seems clear that many totems are identical with those of the Baganda, such as the sheep, the dog, the rodent called *omusu* (Baganda *musu*), the antelope *njaza* (Baganda *njaza*, reedbuck), the grasshopper *ensenene* (Baganda *nсенene*), the fish *emamba* (Baganda *mamba*), the antelope *engabi* (Baganda *ngabi*, bushbuck), and raindrops. Nor is this agreement between the totems of the two peoples surprising; for in past years the Baganda used to raid the Batoro and kidnap their children, and the Batoro retaliated on the Baganda to the best of their ability. Many of the kidnapped children have grown up in their adopted country, and in the present peaceful times they are sometimes exchanged and so return to the land of their birth. The only way in which after an interval of years the relationships can be traced is by means of the totem. When a Mutoro<sup>2</sup> man or woman, brought up in Uganda, comes on a visit to Toro, where his or her kinsfolk may be supposed to live, the first question which

Totemism  
among the  
Batoro.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 580.

<sup>2</sup> Mutoro is the singular of Batoro and means a native of Toro.

every one will ask him or her is, "What is your totem (*omuziro*)?" Before long he or she is claimed as a relation by some one, and the claim is always acknowledged. Men are loth to take the law of a member of their own totem clan even when they have sustained a serious injury at his hands. The word for totem, *omuziro* (plural *emiziro*) is connected with the common verb *oku-sira*, "to abstain from"; hence it means "that from which one abstains," "that which is unlawful."<sup>1</sup>

### § 17. Totemism among the Bahima

Ankole,  
the country  
of the  
Bahima,

The Bahima are a Bantu-speaking tribe of herdsmen, who inhabit Ankole, a region larger than Wales, which lies between Uganda on the east and the Lake Albert Nyanza and the Congo Free State on the west. The eastern part of the country consists of undulating downs mostly bare of trees but covered with short grass, which affords excellent pasture. Here the climate is temperate and salubrious; the nights and early mornings are cool or even cold. To an Englishman there is something homelike in the scenery, with its clear running streams, its brackens and daisies and brambles. In the dry season the grass withers and becomes like hay. It is then fired and burned down to the roots. But soon it begins to sprout again, and large herds of cattle are driven to browse on the fresh green blades which cover the swelling downs. But the population of these breezy uplands is sparse. The western part of Ankole is very different. There the land is mountainous, well cultivated, and thickly populated: the rivers and swamps in the valleys are choked with papyrus, and the mists hang thick all night; while down by the lake-shore we meet with dense tropical forests, great heat, and swarms of mosquitoes. In the north-west the scenery is very beautiful. Here the great broken-down craters of extinct volcanoes are filled with clear still lakes, their placid waters overspread

<sup>1</sup> For this account of the totemism of the Batoro I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. H. E. Maddox, of the Church Missionary Society,

who has resided for nine years as a missionary in Toro, and has translated the Bible into the language of the people.

with the blue lotus or mirroring the surrounding hills and mountains together with the fantastically rich vegetation of palms, forest trees, and flowering creepers, which clothe the banks with a mantle of perennial green.<sup>1</sup>

The origin of the Bahima is uncertain. According to one theory they migrated from the east, perhaps from the Masai country. Others suppose that they came from Egypt. Some of their pots and musical instruments are said to bear a strong resemblance to Egyptian pottery and instruments.<sup>2</sup>

They are a fine tall race with spare, lithe figures, shapely heads, straight well-carved noses, high foreheads, and thin lips. The neck is long and graceful, which gives the head a light easy poise, very different from that of the negro with his squat neck. Their complexion, too, is far less dark than his; indeed it is sometimes a pale or reddish yellow. Their deportment is dignified. In appearance they differ absolutely from the negro type, and in character they are equally distinct from most Bantu-speaking peoples, their uniform apathy, listlessness, and unruffled calm contrasting strongly with the excitability, rapid utterance, and furious gesticulation of other African races. The Muhima (singular of Bahima) is never in a hurry. Pride is the keynote of his character; his ancestors conquered the country some generations ago and he inherits the tradition of the dominant race. All menial labour is done by his slaves, the Bahero or Bairo, who till the ground, build huts, and carry water for their lords and masters. The only occupation which the Muhima deems worthy of him is the tending of the cattle. He loves the huge-horned beasts, which, sometimes vicious with other people, are gentle and docile under his care. He pets them, talks to them, coaxes them, weeps over their ailments, and sometimes commits suicide when a favourite animal dies. Their cattle are of the Galla type, with straight back, no hump, and

Origin  
of the  
Bahima.

Physical  
appearance  
and  
character  
of the  
Bahima.

The  
Bahima a  
race of  
herdsmen.

<sup>1</sup> Major Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Ankole," *Journal of the African Society*, No. XXII. (January 1907) pp. 136 sq.; Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Ankole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) p. 94; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Pro-*

*tectorate*, i. 122 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Ankole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) p. 96. Compare Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 610 sq.

Customs  
and super-  
stitions as  
to drinking  
milk.

They avoid  
vegetables  
from fear  
of injuring  
the cows.

enormous horns; the colour is fawn, dun, gray, or white, sometimes blotched with white or other tints.<sup>1</sup> The men always milk the cows. Women are forbidden to do so, but they churn the milk into butter, which the Bahima chiefly use as an unguent. The staple food of the Bahima is milk. They drink it fresh in the morning and at noon, but never allow it to stand after midday or to turn sour. They eschew fowls and fish. Both men and women may eat beef, but not, under ordinary circumstances, vegetables. A person who eats vegetables ought not to drink milk. They think that to eat certain vegetables, such as peas, beans, and potatoes, and to drink milk at the same time, would endanger the life both of the cow from which the milk came and of the calf which came from the cow. But a menstruous woman is forbidden to drink milk and is compelled to eat vegetables and to drink beer so long as her sickness lasts. This she does, not because vegetables and beer are believed to be good for her at such times, but because it is thought that milk in her stomach would be very bad for the cows. It is the cows, and not the woman, which are supposed to benefit by the diet. For a similar reason it is a rule with the Bahima never to boil milk; they imagine that to boil milk would cause the cows to fall ill and die. But beer may be drunk by the people without any harm to the cattle. And just as the Bahima are careful not to mix milk with vegetables in their stomachs from fear of hurting the cows, so they are careful not to mix milk with meat; hence the men drink milk without beef in the morning and afternoon and eat beef without milk at night. But they have no objection to mixing beer with meat in their stomachs; so at night they wash down the beef with beer. Their beer is made from plantains, and it is on plantains that the Bahima women subsist at their monthly periods when their perilous condition debars them from the use of milk. Hence the Bahima have need of plantains. But they would not dream of cultivating

<sup>1</sup> Major Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Ankole," *Journal of the African Society*, No. XXII. (January 1907) p. 141; Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological*

*Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 94 sq.; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 610 sqq. The type of the Hima cattle and its distribution in Africa are described by Sir H. Johnston (*op. cit.* ii. 620 sqq.).

the vegetable with their own hands. That labour they leave to their slaves the Bahero or Bairo, not from pride but from superstition, because they believe that they would injure the cattle by thus tampering with vegetables. Besides beer they have a common intoxicating drink which is made from milk or honey.<sup>1</sup> The huts of the Bahima are of a primitive beehive pattern, built of sticks and grass and arranged in a circle.<sup>2</sup>

The Bahima are governed by kings, whose principal wealth consists of their herds. Indeed the king is regarded as the owner of all cattle. Land is not valued by him or his people except as pasture; it is not carefully delimited as in Uganda. When the king dies, his body is deposited in a sacred forest and is supposed to turn into a lion. His name after death may not be pronounced. If it was a common word, it is abolished from the language and a new one substituted. For example, the king is often called a lion, and in such a case the name for lion has to be changed at his decease. Before his death the king nominates his successor.<sup>3</sup>

The kings  
of the  
Bahima.

The Bahima are divided into fourteen exogamous and totemic clans. The following list of the clans with their totems (*muziro*) was obtained by the Rev. J. Roscoe during a visit which he paid to the tribe in the summer of 1904:—<sup>4</sup>

Exogamous and  
totemic  
clans of the  
Bahima.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Ankole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 100 sq., 106, 111; Major Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Ankole," *Journal of the African Society*, No. XXII. (January 1907) pp. 146 sqq.; R. P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda* (London, 1889), pp. 338 sqq. Some of the statements in the text are based on information verbally given me by the Rev. John Roscoe. A similar practice in regard to menstruous women is observed by the Banyoro. See above, p. 522. As to the prohibition to boil milk see my paper "Folk-lore in the Old Testament," in *Anthropological*

*Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 151 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Ankole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 116 sq.; Major Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Ankole," *Journal of the African Society*, No. XXII. (January 1907) pp. 148 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Ankole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 96 sqq., 101. As to the transmigration into lions, see above, p. 392.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* pp. 99 sq.

Clans.	Totems.
1. Abahinda <sup>1</sup>	<i>Nkima</i> , a monkey.
2. Abasambo	<i>Ngabe</i> , a cow.
3. Abagahiya	<i>Ngobe</i> , a cow.
4. Abasingo	<i>Kitale</i> , a cow with a black stripe from neck to tail.
5. Abasito	<i>Kigabo</i> , a cow.
6. Abasaigi	<i>Lulimi</i> , a cow's tongue.
7. Abami	<i>Ente luuzimu</i> , a cow with black or white spots.
8. Abagai	<i>Ngobe</i> , a cow with stripes upon it; they may not drink the milk from it or even touch it.
9. Abasingo	A cow with markings running from head to tail.
10. Abasikatwa	<i>Ente yalukungu</i> , a cow of a dark brown colour.
11. Abakimbiri	A cow born feet first.
12. Abatalogo	<i>Ebyenda</i> , entrails of cows.
13. Abatwa	<i>Abalongo</i> , twins. When a woman gives birth to twins, they desert the kraal, place the mother and her twins with her parents, and build a new kraal; after the twins have cut their first teeth, the husband restores his wife to her home and has intercourse with her.
14. Abaitira	<i>Mabere</i> , the human breast. When a woman gives birth to a female child, they bring a piece of cow dung, put upon it a little human milk, and throw the dung into the kraal to be trampled by the cows.

Preponderance of cows or parts of cows among the totems of the Bahima. Split totems appear to be especially common among pastoral tribes and to consist in parts of cattle and sheep or in

In this list of totems it will be observed that the majority are cows or parts of cows. This is natural enough in a tribe of herdsmen. Similarly among the pastoral Herero, Wahehe, Mweru, and Banyoro a large number of the totemic taboos of the clans refer to their cattle and sheep.<sup>2</sup> From the lists of totems and totemic taboos recorded among these tribes it seems to follow that the practice of splitting the totem, in other words, of adopting as a totem either a part of an animal or a more or less fortuitously marked variety of it, is especially common among pastoral tribes. Such totems are, for example, a cow's tongue, a cow's entrails, the small stomach of cattle, the leg of an ox, a sheep's head, the hearts and kidneys of animals, an unborn calf, a cow with a black stripe, a cow with a white back, speckled cattle, grey cattle, hornless cattle, humped cattle, a cow born feet first,

<sup>1</sup> Members of this clan are princes only.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 358 *sqq.*, 405, 425, 516 *sq.*, 520.

cows that have drunk salt water, and cows that have been to the bull. The reason for thus splitting or particularising the totem, for cutting it down from a whole species of animals to a mere accidental variety or even to a small part of an animal, is perhaps not far to seek. For it may be observed that the animals which are thus carved up among the clans are commonly good to eat; usually they are the cattle of a pastoral people who live solely or chiefly by their flocks and herds. In such cases it is easy to see that to have cattle in general for a totem would involve very great hardship for the clan which was so imprudent as to adopt it. For if cattle were their totem, they would be debarred from eating the flesh of the beasts and from drinking their milk; and what was there left for them to fall back upon? Famine would stare the tribe in the face. Thus put to it, their wits sharpened by hunger, the more subtleminded of the people hit upon an expedient which at once satisfied their consciences and filled their bellies. The ingenuity which can split a hair could easily split a totem. In fact they quieted their scruples by rigorously abstaining from a part, perhaps the least succulent part, of the whole animal, or from a variety, if possible a rare and accidental variety, of the species, so that they need never, or hardly ever, suffer the pangs of hunger for lack of a prime joint to stay their stomachs. Hence we may infer that split totems of this sort are commonly late and more or less artificial, the product of a lawyer-like turn of mind refining on the gross superstitions of primitive savagery. Yet even in regard to these apparently degenerate totems we must not forget that they may sometimes spring from what is probably the taproot of totemism, the sick fancies of pregnant women. For if the conceptional theory of totemism is correct, it might very well happen that a woman, on feeling the first premonitions of maternity within her, should anxiously consider what food she had last been eating; and if, for example, she had dined on calf's head or leg of mutton, then calf's head or leg of mutton would be her baby's totem when it was born.

Some of the Bahima clans are subdivided, but the subdivisions retain the old totem (*musiro*) common to them all in addition to the new one adopted by each. The

accidental varieties of these animals. Such split totems are probably as a rule late and artificial, being designed to evade the inconvenience of a too sweeping taboo on food.

Subdivisions of Bahima clans.

Origin of  
the totems  
obscure.

Rev. John Roscoe, to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of Bahima totemism, could obtain no satisfactory information as to the origin of the totems. "The same feeble explanations given by the Baganda were offered, namely, that some of their ancestors partook of some portion of the animal and died from the effects, the descendants were then prohibited from eating that food, and it became the family totem."<sup>1</sup> The members of a clan are supposed to be closely related to each other, so that the same term is applied by one to another that would be applied to a brother, a sister, or a cousin.<sup>2</sup> No man may marry into his father's clan: all the women of that clan are reckoned his near relations, and are called his mothers, sisters, and so forth. These restrictions do not apply to princes; they may marry their sisters and have intercourse with their married sisters; only betrothed or unmarried princesses are forbidden to them. The rule of exogamy does not apply to the mother's clan, though it is not usual for a lad to marry into it.<sup>3</sup>

Marriage  
rules.

Princes  
may marry  
their sisters.

Fraternal  
polyandry  
among the  
Bahima.

The Bahima sometimes practise polyandry, several brothers marrying one wife and enjoying her in common. When a man is poor, when his herd does not yield milk enough to support a wife, or he cannot afford the number of cows required for a marriage dowry, he may ask one or more of his brothers to join him, and together they may raise the requisite tale of animals. A woman will readily agree to such an arrangement and become the wife of two or three brothers. They have the right to share her bed turn and turn about until she is with child, when the elder brother alone has the right of access to her. The children born under such circumstances belong to the elder brother. The custom of polyandry seems to be rare among the Bantu peoples. The only other people known to Mr. Roscoe who practise it are the Baziba to the south of Uganda.<sup>4</sup>

The  
Levirate.

When a man dies, his widows are taken by his surviving

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, *l.c.*

<sup>3</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 105.

brother, unless he happens to have two wives already. In that case the eldest son of the deceased takes charge of the widows, but they are regarded as the property of his paternal uncle, who pays them marital visits from time to time. Any children born to these widows are accounted the children of the deceased, not of their real father his brother.<sup>1</sup>

Women keep themselves veiled from all men, even from their fathers and brothers; yet sexual morality among the Bahima is very lax. Once a woman is married, all restrictions are at an end. She may welcome to her bed any of her husband's relatives or friends with impunity; and the children resulting from such intercourse belong to the husband. When a friend visits a man, hospitality requires that the host should abandon his wife to his guest in the early morning; and in her husband's absence a wife is bound to receive and grant her favours to a visitor. It is also customary to exchange wives; for instance, when a man and his wife visit a friend, the two men invariably exchange their wives during the visit.<sup>2</sup>

It is remarkable that the rare custom of fraternal polyandry, together with great laxity in matters of sexual morality, should be found in two purely pastoral tribes widely separated from each other, the Bahima in Central Africa and the Todas in Southern India.<sup>3</sup> The coincidence suggests that there is something in the pastoral life which favours the growth of abnormal relations between the sexes. In this connection we are reminded of the form of group marriage which is practised by the Herero, another pastoral people,<sup>4</sup> and of the late marriages and free intercourse of the unmarried among yet another pastoral people, the Masai.<sup>5</sup> A probable explanation of the prevalence of polyandry in a pastoral tribe has been acutely suggested by the Rev. John Roscoe. He points out that some pastoral tribes of Africa, such as the Bahima and the pastoral Banyoro, who live chiefly on the milk of their herds, care-

Loose sexual morality of the Bahima.

The custom of polyandry appears to be favoured by a pastoral life, perhaps because the absence or prohibition of a vegetable diet so far restricts the means of subsistence that many a man is unable to support a wife of his

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> As to the fraternal polyandry and loose sexual morality of the Todas, see above, pp. 256, 263-265.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 366 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 414, 415 sq.

own and  
hence is  
driven to  
share her  
with others.

fully abstain from a vegetable diet lest the contact of vegetables with milk in their stomachs should injure the milch kine and thereby endanger their principal means of subsistence. Accordingly in these tribes a man who marries must have cows enough to enable him to support a wife and family, since he cannot hope to eke out a livelihood by tilling the ground. But a poor man cannot afford to keep so many cows; hence he is under a strong temptation to club together with other poor men, whether his brothers or not, and putting their cattle into a common stock to purchase and keep one wife in common between them. Thus the superstition which debarb these people from a vegetable diet not only impoverishes them and retards economic progress by presenting a serious obstacle to the adoption of agriculture; it affects society in another and curious way by fostering a type of marriage which effectually checks the growth of population, and which can hardly fail to be injurious to the women and thereby to their offspring. Thus the baleful influence of superstition may reach far beyond those immediate and obvious consequences which directly flow from it; indirectly, like a foul exhalation from a marshy soil, it may poison unseen the whole life of a people.

### § 18. *Exogamy among the Gallas*

*The  
Gallas.*

To the south of Abyssinia dwell the Gallas or Oromos, as they call themselves, a numerous nation of the purest Ethiopian type, tall and slender in person, of a brown or reddish-brown complexion, with an elongated head, frizzly hair, oval face, and straight thin nose. The women are very handsome; they are much sought for as slaves and concubines, and fetch the highest prices.<sup>1</sup> Formerly the Gallas were, like the other tribes of this part of East Africa, a purely pastoral people, subsisting chiefly on the flesh, blood, and milk of their flocks and herds. Even now those of them who practise agriculture generally disdain to labour in the fields with their own hands and never allow their

<sup>1</sup> J. Deniker, *The Races of Man, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), p. 270.  
pp. 438 sq. ; Charles New, *Life,*

women to demean themselves by such toil. The work of tilling the ground is mostly left to slaves and hirelings. They will not eat the flesh of wild animals; fowls they reject as a species of vulture, and fish as a species of serpent.<sup>1</sup>

“In regard to marriage,” we are told, “they have a peculiar custom. They are divided into two tribes or classes, the Baretuma and the Harusi, and the men of each tribe have to select their wives from the other; the Baretumas marry the Harusi and *vice versa*. The marriage of their own tribespeople is considered highly improper, the relationship being too near. Herein the Gallas appear to advantage when compared with most other East Africans, who often marry over and over again into the same family; and perhaps this custom of the Gallas will account, in some measure, for their high physical development.”<sup>2</sup> This important statement appears to have been overlooked by subsequent writers on the Gallas.<sup>3</sup> If it is correct, it establishes the existence among the Gallas of exogamy based on the division of the community into two intermarrying classes. Marriages between near relations are unusual among the Gallas; yet in many cases they permit marriage between brothers and sisters.<sup>4</sup> If the latter state-

Exogamous classes among the Gallas.

Sister-marriages.

<sup>1</sup> Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die Materielle Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Somäl* (Berlin, 1893), p. 211; Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), p. 272. Compare J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa* (London, 1860), p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa*, pp. 273 sq.

<sup>3</sup> For example no notice of it, so far as I have observed, is taken by the author of the most systematic treatise on the Galla and Somali peoples, Dr. Philipp Paulitschke, in his valuable work *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die Materielle Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Somäl* (Berlin, 1893); *Die Geistige Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Somäl* (Berlin, 1896). Dr. Paulitschke speaks (*op. cit.*, *Die Materielle Cultur*, etc.,

p. 202) of two divisions of the Galla which are called respectively Luba (or Birmadu) and Wata, and which he appears to describe as endogamous, though his expression (“*Luba und Wata heiraten nur unter einander*”) is ambiguous and susceptible, so far as I understand the niceties of the German language, of the contrary interpretation, namely, that the divisions are exogamous. To these two classes he adds two others, the smiths and the sorcerers, “the members of which only marry among each other,” an expression equally ambiguous, but probably intended to convey that each of these professions is endogamous.

<sup>4</sup> Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die Materielle Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Somäl* (Berlin, 1893), p. 196: “*Die Ehen unter nahen Verwandten sind bei 'Afar und Somäl unerhört und verboten, bei*

The  
Levirate.

Absence of  
the classi-  
ficatory  
system of  
relation-  
ship among  
the Gallas  
and  
Somalis.

ment is correct, it bears out the view of the Rev. J. Roscoe that the royal families of the Baganda, the Banyoro, and the Bahima all belong to the Galla stock; since in the royal houses of these three tribes brothers are, or were till lately, allowed to mate with their sisters.<sup>1</sup> A man has a right to marry the widow of his deceased brother; if he does not exercise his right, she may not marry any one else without his consent.<sup>2</sup> Descent is traced in the male line; children belong to their father's family. No trace of mother-kin has been detected either among the Gallas or among the Somalis.<sup>3</sup> The Galla system of relationship appears not to be classificatory. The term for father (*abba*) is quite different from the term for father's brother (*wasilla*) as well as from the term for mother's brother (*gâja*). The term for mother (*hada*) is different from the term for mother's sister (*hadada*). Similarly the Somali system of relationship is also not classificatory. The term for father (*âba*) is different from the term for father's brother (*adêra*) as well as from the term for mother's brother (*apti*). The term for mother (*hojo*) is different from the term for mother's sister (*habr-jêr*) as well as from the term for father's sister (*eddo*).<sup>4</sup> Evidence for totemism appears to be totally lacking among the Gallas and Somalis, which so far confirms the observation that wherever totemism exists it is associated with the classificatory system of relationship.<sup>5</sup> The aversion which the Gallas entertain to fowls and fish and their refusal to eat them<sup>6</sup> are not totemic; for they are common to the whole people and are shared besides by many other African tribes quite independently of totemism.

*den Galla zwar auch ungebräuchlich, aber in manchen Fällen ist selbst die Schwesterehe erlaubt*"; compare *ibid.* p. 202. The expression *Schwesterehe* is ambiguous; lest I should have misunderstood the author, I quote his statement in full.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 469, 523, 538.

<sup>2</sup> Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die Materielle Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Somäl* (Berlin, 1893), p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die Geistige Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Somäl* (Berlin, 1896), p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Ph. Paulitschke, *op. cit.* pp. 188 sq.

<sup>5</sup> This is not to be understood to imply the converse proposition, namely, that wherever the classificatory system of relation exists it is associated with totemism.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 541.

## CHAPTER XIV

### TOTEMISM IN WEST AFRICA

#### § I. *Totemism in Senegambia*

THE following accounts seem to shew that totemism prevails widely among the tribes of Senegambia, particularly among the Mandingoes; and its occurrence here is all the more remarkable because some of the tribes who practise it are professing Mohammedans. Thus Dr. Tautain, speaking of the Banmanas (Bammanas), writes as follows: "Here though I know neither its range nor its origin, I would call attention to the belief held by all the peoples of Senegambia, that every family has a relative among the animals. The flesh of this relative, if it is an edible animal, is forbidden; if it is a dangerous animal, the man can brave it with impunity and heal the injuries which it inflicts on others. A Wassooloonke, a kinsman of a kind of scorpion reputed to be very dangerous, told us that one of these animals could run all over his body without stinging him; a Laobe, a kinsman of a *triganocephalus*, related that if anybody chanced to be bitten by the serpent he prided himself on healing him by simple touches. The animal sparing the man, the man ought to spare the animal, and I have seen a Mandingo of Bambook, kinsman of a python, offer the whole of his month's pay to save one of these serpents, which another man wished to kill. We caused the serpent to be given to him; he undid the noose which was strangling it, and flung it into the Senegal to let it escape. If he had not prevented this murder, the whole of his family would have perished. The python used to come and visit every child

All the peoples of Senegambia believe that each family has a relative among the animals; the members of the family may not eat their animal kinsman, and it will not hurt them.

who was born in that family within eight days after birth; and my Mandingo acquaintance was resolved to kill all his children who did not receive such a visit. Before handing the serpent over to him they had hurt the animal a little by dragging it to right and left; and for eight days the Mallinké most carefully avoided stepping on the points traversed by the python, I suppose from fear of injuring it."<sup>1</sup>

Again, speaking of the Mandingoes of the Upper Senegal, Dr. Bellamy observes that "each race has an animal among its ancestors. Some have the hippopotamus, others the crocodile, etc."<sup>2</sup>

Dr.  
Rançon's  
evidence  
as to  
totemism  
in Senegambia.

Again, Dr. Rançon, another French explorer of the interior of Senegambia, relates an incident which shews, as he remarks, that though the Malinkés have been subjected to the influence of Islam they have not abandoned their old heathen superstitions. He was lodging at Dikhoy, a village near the Gambia River, inhabited by Malinké Keitas, and it chanced that his servant was playing with a small bird, a kind of pretty sparrow which he had caught that morning on the march. Seeing him do so, the chief of a neighbouring village begged Dr. Rançon to set the bird at liberty. "That," said he, "would give me great pleasure; for I am a relation of the bird. My family name (*diamou*) is Sidibe." The French traveller consented on condition that the chief would tell him how he came to be a relation of the bird. Accordingly the chief told him that once his grandfather, the first of the Sidibes, was out hunting elephants, and having lost his way in the forest was like to die of thirst, till one of these little birds, fluttering before him, led him to a stream of water. "From that time," said he, "the Sidibes have been relations of the bird, since but for it our father would certainly have died. Hence we are all forbidden to kill it, to eat its flesh, and to allow any one to hurt it in our presence." To this Dr. Rançon adds that

<sup>1</sup> M. le Docteur Tautain (Ex-médecin de la Mission Gallieni), "Notes sur les Croyances et Pratiques religieuses des Banmanas," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iii. (1885) pp. 396 sq. The Banmanas (Bammanas) and the Mallinkes (Malinkes) are branches of the Mandingo family. See below,

p. 545. Dr. Tautain's information was collected during a residence at Segu on the Niger.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bellamy, "Notes Ethnographiques recueillies dans le Haut-Sénégal," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, v. (1886) p. 81.

“similar legends are handed down among all the families of the Soudan, and each family is allied to some animal or another. Thus the Keitas are relations of the hippopotamus, no doubt because their ancestor Soun-Dyatta, according to the tradition, was one day turned into a hippopotamus while he was bathing at Koulicoro, on the Niger; the N'Diaye are relations of the lion, and the Dialo of the partridge. Others again are allied to the scorpion, and others to the leopard.”<sup>1</sup>

Fuller details as to the totemic clans of the Mandingoes are furnished by Captain Binger. He tells us that the Mandingo (Mandé) stock is divided into many branches, each with its own family name and its fetish (*tenné*) or totem. Of these he enumerates four principal families or, as we may call them, totemic clans, namely:—

Captain Binger's evidence as to totemism among the Mandingoes.

(1) The *Bammama* or Crocodile clan, so called from their fetish (*tenné*) or totem the crocodile (*bamba* or *banma*). In the French Soudan this clan is commonly but incorrectly called Bambara, a word which means “infidel.”

(2) The *Mali-nké* or Hippopotamus clan, so called from their fetish (*tenné*) or totem the hippopotamus (*mali*).

(3) The *Sama-nké* or Elephant clan, so called from their fetish (*tenné*) or totem the elephant (*sama*).

(4) The *Sa-mokho* or Serpent clan, so called from their fetish (*tenné*) or totem the serpent (*sa*).

These four great totemic clans are further grouped in tribes, each with its tribal name (*diamou*) and one or more fetishes (*tenné*) or totems. Some of these tribes have again split up, and their fractions have totems of their own by which they distinguish themselves from each other. Thus the Crocodile clan (*Bammama*) has divided into several branches, one of which has for its totems cracked calabashes and often the dog; another branch has for its totems the lion, the dog, and the milk of wild beasts; and a third branch, which comprises the family of the Smiths, has for its totems the condiment *bandougou*, a species of ape (*koban*), and the dog. Again, the Hippopotamus clan (*Malinké*) has divided into several branches, of which one has the palm rat and panther for its totems (*tenné*); another

The Crocodile clan and its subdivisions.

The Hippopotamus clan and its subdivisions

<sup>1</sup> Dr. André Rauçon, *Dans la Haute-Gambie, Voyage d'Exploration Scientifique* (Paris, 1894), pp. 443 445.

has for its totem (*tenné*) the iguana ; and a third has for its totems (*tenné*) the boa, the *trigonocephalus* serpent, and the field rat.<sup>1</sup>

Totemic  
clans  
among the  
Fofana.

Further, the Fofana, another Mandingo people, are also divided into totemic clans. These Fofana are not so much a tribe as a sort of caste, the members of which live mixed up with the other Mandingoes. They have no external mark of difference. Some of them are Mohammedans, some are heathen. They enjoy a high reputation for probity throughout the Soudan. Their subdivisions or clans have, like the other Mandingo clans, their fetishes (*tenné*) or totems, "the practices in regard to which are more or less respected." These subdivisions or clans are four in number, namely :

(1) The Fofana-Kagoro, whose totem (*tenné*) is the panther.

(2) The Fofana of Nouroukrou, whose totem (*tenné*) is the elephant.

(3) The Fofana of Nyamina, of Bakhounou, and of Worodougou, whose totems (*tenné*) are the lion, the panther, and a species of serpent.

(4) The Fofana Souransa, who have for their totem (*tenné*) the boa (*maninian*).<sup>2</sup>

From these accounts it appears that in spite of Mohammedan influence the Mandingoes retain a strong sense of their relationship to their totemic animals, which they will neither themselves injure nor suffer others to injure, if they can help it. Whether their totemic clans are exogamous is not mentioned by our authorities.

Totemic  
clans  
among the  
Fulahs of  
Gambia.

Again, the Fulahs of Gambia are divided into families or clans called *bulendas*, which appear to be totemic. Each clan abstains from eating animals of a certain species. They believe that to eat of the forbidden animal would make them blind, and that to touch or spill its blood would cause a severe disease of the skin. Thus the Kandis and Kahs, two branches of one clan (*bulenda*), may not eat

<sup>1</sup> Le Capitain Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée* (Paris, 1892), ii. 375-377. Compare J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 448 *sq.* I have to thank Mr. J. Deniker for referring me to

Captain Binger's evidence of Mandingo totemism.

<sup>2</sup> Le Capitain Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, ii. 377.

partridges: the Baldehs, Bandens, and Bahs, three branches of another clan (*bulenda*), may not eat guinea-fowl; and so on with members of all the other clans. The head of a clan is always a man, and relationship is reckoned through males.<sup>1</sup>

### § 2. Totemism on the Ivory Coast

Viewed from the sea, the Ivory Coast has little to please the eye or attract the mariner. A long line of sands on which the great rollers break eternally in crawling, seething foam; beyond the sands a long narrow lagoon stretching parallel to the sea for miles on miles; and beyond the lagoon a low flat monotonous land relieved only by verdant groves of coco-nut palms, in which the native villages are embosomed:—these are the main features of this part of the African seaboard.<sup>2</sup> The French, who own this part of Africa, have extended the name of the Ivory Coast far into the interior, and among the inland population of this wide region totemism is found.

Thus in the district of Seguella we are told that "every family possesses a *tana*. The *tana* is the fetish which belongs to it, and its chief virtue is to cause the death of those who, for any reason, eat that which, when the fetish is an animal, ought to be sacred to them. According to tradition, the choice of the *tana* was determined by the intervention, whether beneficent or otherwise, of the particular animal in the family, so that through the principle of gratitude the creature has become sacred. That is why so many families have for their *tana* the lion, the panther, the hippopotamus, etc. Vegetable *tanans* are rare. However, Diorole and the people of Tieina have rice for their *tana* in a country which produces much of it; and the natives content themselves with maize and a soup of bananas."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Extract from a Report to the British Colonial Office by Mr. W. B. Stanley. I have to thank Mr. N. W. Thomas for sending me the extract and the authorities of the Colonial Office for their permission to make use of it.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, *Western*

*Africa, its History, Condition, and Prospects* (London, 1856), pp. 140 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française: Notices publiées par le Gouvernement Général à l'occasion de l'Exposition Coloniale de Marseille: La Côte d'Ivoire* (Corbeil, S. et O., 1906), p. 254. The word *tana* or

The Siena  
or Senofofo  
and their  
country.

Further, totemism is practised by the Siena, Senofofo, or Sienamana, a people who inhabit a great area in that portion of the French Soudan which lies between the Upper Niger and the Ivory Coast. Northward and westward their country does not reach to the valley of the Niger properly so called, though it approaches it in the direction of Segou a town situated on the great river. On the north the Siena territory borders on the district of Dienné, on the south-east it reaches the bend of the Black Volta River at Banda, while on the west it touches at one point the meridian which passes through Boogooni. The nature of the country is typical of the Soudan. It is a land where savannahs alternate with sparse woods, where brooks and rivers abound, their flood waters giving rise in the rainy season to vast marshes, which dry up with the growing heat of the sun from the month of January onwards. On the south the Siena do not encroach on the extreme northern limits of the great belt of tropical forests, which stretch away southward towards the Gulf of Guinea. Throughout this wide area the Siena form the great majority of the population, though dispersed among them dwell some alien peoples of the Mandingo stock, who have secured for themselves a dominant position either by force of arms or by their superior intelligence and civilisation. A certain number of Siena, especially members of the old native aristocracy, have aped the manners of the higher race in order to maintain their rank in the new order of society. These renegades have adopted the Mandingo language, the Mandingo costume, the Mandingo family names, and even the Mandingo religion, which is Mohammedanism. Many marriages have taken place between the aborigines and the newcomers, and the children born of such unions are sometimes tattooed with the mark of certain Siena tribes, which consists of three scars spread like a fan on each cheek. Hence some confusion has arisen in the minds of Europeans between the alien overlords and their native vassals; though in point of

The Siena  
and the  
Mandin-  
goes.

*tanan* (of which *tenné* is only another spelling, see above, pp. 545 sq.) is a Mandingo verb meaning "not to eat" or "not to drink." See M. Delafosse,

"Le Peuple Siéna ou Sénoufo," *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques*, i. (1908) p. 453.

fact, whether we consider their physical characteristics, their language, or their customs, the difference is profound between the Siena and the Mandingo. The Siena are in general tall and strong, though their muscles are not well developed. Their complexion varies from light to dark brown, but it is oftener dark than light. The hair is scanty; only the old men as a rule have beards. In many places persons may be seen with a light complexion and red hair. The head is commonly flat on the top, and the neck long and slender. The nose is fairly long but broad, and the lips are thick. Being better husbandmen than fighters, the Siena have always been the prey of slave-hunters, and having been sold and resold they are now found in great numbers in almost all the provinces of West Africa.<sup>1</sup> Agriculture is their chief occupation. They are diligent tillers of the soil. Everywhere, except where Mandingo influence is predominant, you see vast fields, regularly laid out and well kept, stretching away on the level and rising up the sides of the hills and mountains. Every spot of ground, except where the bare rock protrudes, is under cultivation. Even attempts at drainage and irrigation are to be met with, which are abundantly rewarded by the fine crops of the rice-fields. Other crops raised are yams, manioc, millet, and maize. Work at the fields goes on from year's end to year's end, men, women, and children all bearing a hand according to their several aptitudes. To prevent the impoverishment of the soil the crops are changed from season to season in the same field; and where the population is not too dense to admit of it the fields are suffered to lie fallow one year in three. But where the land does not suffice for this purpose, the natives do not hesitate to abandon their village and transport themselves and their belongings to a new village, perhaps ten or twelve miles away, in a region which is either wild or has been abandoned for many years. Indeed among some of

Physical appearance of the Siena.

The Siena are devoted to agriculture.

Shifting of the cultivation, when the land is exhausted.

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Delafosse (Côte d'Ivoire), "Le Peuple Siéna ou Sénoufo," *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques* i. (1908) pp. 16-18, 26. The same writer had previously contributed a notice of this people to the

volume entitled *Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, Notices publiées par le Gouvernement Général à l'occasion de l'Exposition Coloniale de Marseille, La Côte d'Ivoire* (Corbeil, S. et O., 1906), pp. 364, etc.

the Siena this shifting of cultivation has been carried to such a pitch that they may almost be regarded as nomads, for they often do not reside more than three years in the same place. Their migrations, rendered necessary by the nearly total absence of lime in the soil of this part of Africa, has not a little contributed to retard their civilisation by preventing the permanent establishment of large centres of population, which might in time have become cradles of culture. Yet large permanent villages, almost towns, do exist; but the families who dwell in them possess farms from five to twenty miles distant, on which some members of each family permanently reside. This dispersion of the population goes far to explain the political and social organisation of the Siena, who are split up into many tribes and subtribes as well as into totemic clans.<sup>1</sup>

Five  
totemic  
clans of  
the Siena.

The division of the Siena into totemic clans is independent of their division into tribes and subtribes. The number of the clans seems to be five. Each clan has its sacred animal or rather species of animal, and takes its name from the animal. The clan name is called *félé* in the Siena language; in the Mandingo language it is called *diamon* or more exactly *gyamû*. These five clan names are found indiscriminately among all the tribes and subtribes, though some names are commoner in certain tribes than in others. The five clan names (*félé*) of the Siena are as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

Leopard  
clan.

1. *Soroo*, *Sorouo*, or *Soro*, the name of the panther or leopard (*Felis pardus*). The Panther or Leopard clan seems to be considered the noblest.

Antelope  
clan.

2. *Yeo*, *Yio*, or *Yô*, the name of the red antelope with white stripes and spots (*Tragelaphus scriptus*). The Mandingoes call the animal *mina*.

Black Ape  
clan.

3. *Siluo* or *Silué*, the name of the black ape (*Colobus polycomus*). This clan has for its totem not only the black ape but a small black bird.

Earth-  
squirrel  
clan.

4. *Sekongo* or *Sekonho*, the name of the earth squirrel<sup>3</sup> (*Xerus erythropus*). There are many members of this clan

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Delafosse, "Le Peuple Siéna ou Sénoufo," *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques*, i. (1908) pp. 242 sq.; as to the Siena

tribes and subtribes, see *ibid.* pp. 22 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Maurice Delafosse, *op. cit.* p. 451.

<sup>3</sup> "Écureuil de terre."

in the castes of artisans and smith; but the clan is distributed among other classes of society also, for the division into castes is independent of the division into totem clans.

5. *Tuô* or *Tiô*, the name of the wart hog (*Phacochoerus Africanus*), or perhaps of the "red boar" (*Potamochoerus penicillatus*). The identification is uncertain. Wart Hog  
clan.

The members of each clan are forbidden to eat not only their totemic animal, whose name they bear, but also a variety of other foods, both animal and vegetable. Thus members of the Leopard clan are prohibited from eating not only leopards but also pythons and several species of birds. The Mandingoes who live among the Siena are also divided into totemic clans. One Mandingo clan, for example, has for its sacred animal or totem the hippopotamus; another clan has the crocodile. The Mandingo name for one of their totemic clans is *diamon*, corresponding to the Siena term *félé*. Some of the Siena have given up their own clan names and adopted the corresponding clan names of the Mandingoes, or have even dubbed themselves by Mandingo clan names which have nothing to correspond to them among the Siena.<sup>1</sup> Totemic  
taboos.

The explanation which the Siena give of the origin of their totemic clans is simply that the ancestor of each clan was helped in some way by an animal; and that out of gratitude for its help and in order to commemorate it he took the name of the animal and forbade his descendants to kill or eat creatures of that species. The Siena believe that if a man kills his totemic animal, another member of his clan dies instantaneously. As each clan numbers thousands of people scattered over thousands of square miles, it is equally difficult to confirm and to refute this superstition. If a man eats the flesh of his totemic animal, a cancer will, sooner or later, eat away his own mouth. If he even by accident sets foot on the carcass, he will fall ill, unless he offers an expiatory sacrifice, according to prescribed rites, on the very spot where the sacrilege was committed. They say also that when a man dies, his soul passes into an Explanation  
which the Siena  
give of  
their  
totems.

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Delafosse, "Le Peuple *Ethnographiques et Sociologiques*, i. Siéna ou Sénoufo," *Revue des Études* (1908) pp. 451, 452. Supposed  
effects of  
killing or  
eating the  
totemic  
animal.

The souls of people at death are believed to transmigrate into their totemic animals, and afterwards to be reborn in human infants.

Thus on the Siena view there is a constant interchange of souls between a clan and its totemic animals.

Sympathetic bond between each individual and his or her totem.

animal of the totemic species which happens to be born at that moment; and that when the animal in turn dies, the soul returns into the body of a newborn infant of the clan which bears the animal's name. "This belief," we are told, "sufficiently explains the horror which the Siena manifest at killing or eating the animal whose name their family bears; they would think that they were eating or killing one of their kinsfolk."<sup>1</sup>

Thus on the Siena theory the link between a totemic clan and its totemic animal is very close indeed; since the animals of that species are thought to be animated by the souls of the dead clanspeople, and on the other hand the living clanspeople are supposed to be animated by the souls of the dead animals. There is thus imagined to be a constant interchange of souls, a sort of spiritual seesaw, between the human beings and the beasts. A different and perhaps inconsistent article of the Siena totemic creed is the notion that when an animal of the totemic species is killed a member of the corresponding totemic clan dies instantaneously. This belief seems to imply that a sympathetic bond exists between each man and an individual of his totemic species, so that to injure or kill the one is to injure or kill the other. To put it otherwise, we may perhaps say that every member of the clan has an external soul lodged in the body of one of the animals, so that when the beast perishes so does he. We shall presently see that this belief in external human souls lodged in the bodies of animals occurs on the coast of Guinea and in other parts of Africa.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to find it on the Ivory Coast forming apparently an integral part of totemism and associated further with a theory both of transmigration and of reincarnation. Similarly among the tribes of Central Australia totemism goes hand in hand with a theory of reincarnation, though not of transmigration, and among these Australians too we find clear traces of a belief in external human souls lodged for safety outside of their bodies.<sup>3</sup> The independent occurrence of these various

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Delafosse, "Le Peuple Siéna ou Sénoufo," *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques*, i.

(1908) p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 593 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 124 *sqq.*

elements in the totemic systems of tribes so widely separated suggests that their combination can hardly be fortuitous, and that accordingly any hypothesis which is adequately to explain totemism must take account of them all.

It deserves to be noticed that another people of the Ivory Coast, the Neyaux, who are divided into many tribes or rather families, appear to possess the classificatory system of relationship. For among them, we are told, "the degrees of relationship are very ill defined. Long periphrases are necessary to determine them. Cousins, even very distant cousins, call each other brothers. The uncle is called father and the aunt mother, so that it is impossible to know which is which. When you shew a man one of his young nephews, he will say, 'He is my son.' He will often say the same thing even of a friend's son. However, one can always ascertain whether the person in question is his real son, for in that case he declares '*Na mlé a yo ko*,' 'He is the son of my flesh.'"<sup>1</sup>

Traces of the classificatory system of relationship among the Neyaux.

In this passage the writer does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncles and aunts, nor between nephews the sons of a brother and nephews the sons of a sister. On the analogy of the use of the classificatory terms elsewhere we may conjecture that it is the paternal uncle, the father's brother, who is called father; that it is the maternal aunt, the mother's sister, who is called mother; and that it is the sons of his brother, not the sons of his sister, whom a man calls his sons.

### § 3. Totemism on the Gold Coast

The system of totemism combined with exogamy appears to prevail among all the Tshi- or Twi-speaking tribes who inhabit the Gold Coast of West Africa. Of these tribes the best known are the Fantees on the coast and the powerful Ashantee nation in the interior. Less familiar to Europeans are the Ahantas on the coast, and the Wassaws, the Tshiforos or Tufels, the Assins, the Adansis, the Akims,

The Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast.

<sup>1</sup> *Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française: Notices publiées par le Gouvernement Général à l'occasion de l'Exposition Coloniale de Marseille: La Côte d'Ivoire* (Corbeil, S. et O., 1906), pp. 558, 560.

the Akwapims, and the Akwamus, all inland tribes. The Tshi-speaking peoples, whatever tribe they belong to, are all true negroes as distinguished from the negroids in the Mohammedan States to the north and the Bantu tribes of the Congo region to the south-east.<sup>1</sup> The greater part of the Gold Coast consists of low hills and ranges covered with dense, almost impenetrable forest. To the east and west of the Gold Coast the nature of the country changes, and instead of wooded hills there runs a long line of lagoons parallel to the sea and separated from it only by sand dunes. The Tshi-speaking tribes are essentially people of the forest, and appear never to have spread over the open country of the lagoons. They live in insignificant villages and hamlets, built in small clearings of the woods, between which communication is kept up by narrow footpaths through the jungle. Coomassie and Djuabin are the only purely native assemblages of houses worthy the name of towns. In such a country, where men live scattered in half-isolated communities, mere specks in a vast tract of tangled forest, ideas permeate but slowly, and in spite of an intercourse with Europeans which has lasted for more than four hundred years the social and moral condition of the Tshi-speaking tribes has changed but little since they were first discovered by the Portuguese mariners. Not least among the causes which have retarded progress must be reckoned the languor of a hot, enervating, unhealthy climate, which depresses the vital energies and renders every effort a burden.<sup>2</sup> So unfavourable to the best interests of man is a country where nevertheless prolific nature supplies his material wants with profusion, and the landscape often wears an aspect of soft beauty and richness, the low green hills receding, range beyond range, to the horizon, their verdurous sides and hollows interspersed with smiling fields and variegated with

They live in small villages scattered amidst the dense forest.

Their isolation and the hot enervating climate have combined to retard their progress.

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London, 1887), pp. 2 sq. The language is commonly called *Tshi*, but the word is pronounced *Tchwi* (Ellis, *op. cit.* p. 2). Messrs. Connolly and ffoulkes call the language *Twi*. See R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropol-*

*logical Institute*, xxvi. (1897) pp. 131, 134; A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), p. 394; E. Perregaux, *Chez les Achanti* (Neuchâtel, 1906), pp. 7 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 1-8.

graceful palms and umbrella-trees, on which the eye rests with pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

Yet the natives of these sweltering forests have advanced beyond the hunting stage and maintain themselves by the cultivation of the ground. But their agriculture is rude. The Fantee farmers do not occupy their lands permanently. They clear patches in the forest by burning down the trees, turn up the soil lightly with the hoe, and scatter the seed, which a few weeks' rain causes to spring up as if by magic. For three or at most five years they till the same plot, then abandon it to nature, which soon covers the fallow land with a rank tropical vegetation. Now, as in the days of Hanno, the ancient Carthaginian voyager, nothing is commoner in these regions than to see the column of smoke by day and of fire by night, which tells where the sable husbandmen are burning the forest to form their temporary fields. Among the crops which they raise are maize, cassava, yams, plantains, bananas, ground nuts, and palm oil.<sup>2</sup> The Fantees are also skilful canoe-builders and daring fishermen; they weave good native cloths, and make pottery of a simple kind. But the most honourable occupation with them is that of a goldsmith, and the delicacy of their filigree workmanship is surprising, when we consider the rudeness of their tools.<sup>3</sup>

The arts and industries of the Ashantees in the interior

<sup>1</sup> J. Leighton Wilson, *Western Africa* (London, 1856), p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) pp. 129, 147 sq.; E. Perregaux, *Chez les Achanti*, pp. 27 sqq. The Carthaginian Hanno, who was one of the first navigators to explore the west coast of Africa, relates that at one place where they landed they could see nothing but forest by day and many fires at night. See *Geographi Græci Minores*, ed. C. Muller, i. 11 sqq. Mungo Park observes that "the burning the grass in Manding exhibits a scene of terrific grandeur. In the middle of the night I could see the plains and mountains, as far as my eye could reach, variegated with lines of fire; and the light reflected on the sky made the heavens appear in a blaze. In the day time, pillars of

smoke were seen in every direction: while the birds of prey were observed hovering round the conflagration, and pouncing down upon the snakes, lizards, and other reptiles which attempted to escape from the flames. This annual burning is soon followed by a fresh and sweet verdure, and the country is thereby rendered more healthful and pleasant" (*Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*, London, 1807, pp. 387 sq.). There is reason to think that whole regions of Africa have been converted from forests into steppes by the custom of burning down the woods. See *The Geographical Journal*, xxxii. (1908) pp. 429 sq.

<sup>3</sup> R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) pp. 148 sq.

Rude method of agriculture practised by the Fantees.

The forest fires.

Arts and crafts of the Fantees.

Arts and industries of the Ashantees.

are similar ; they cultivate maize, sugar-cane, yams, plantains, bananas, ground-nuts, cotton, indigo, and coffee ; they build houses with walls of clay, weave cotton cloths of beautiful patterns and substantial texture, which they dye a fine indigo blue ; and like the Fantees they are expert gold-smiths. The soil of the country is impregnated with gold ; the precious metal is procured both by digging and washing, and forms one of the principal exports. But the gold mines are very imperfectly worked, indeed some of them are not worked at all, because they are sacred to certain fetishes.<sup>1</sup> Like the Baganda of Central Africa, the Ashantees combine a system of totemism with a barbarous civilisation and a powerful, though not unlimited, monarchy.<sup>2</sup>

The soil impregnated with gold.

The totemic clans of the Tshi-speaking tribes.

The Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast are divided into twelve principal exogamous and totemic clans or septs. The following is the list of the clans, with their taboos, as they have been recorded by the late Colonel Sir A. B. Ellis, one of our principal authorities on these tribes.<sup>3</sup>

The Leopard clan.

1. The *Tchwiden-fo* or Leopard clan, the name of which is derived from *ehitchwi*, "a leopard." The leopard is the real sacred animal of this clan, but members of it now abstain from the flesh of all feline animals. Should a member of the Leopard clan chance to touch a dead leopard, he must scatter shreds of white cloth on it and anoint the muzzle of the beast with palm-oil in token of respect and sorrow. If he happens to kill a leopard, he will say, "I have killed my brother," and will anoint its wounds. When a dead leopard is brought into a town, members of the Leopard clan smear themselves with chalk and bury the beast. If a member of

<sup>1</sup> J. Leighton Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 184-188 ; T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, New Edition (London, 1873), pp. 254 sqq. ; E. Perregaux, *Chez les Achanti*, pp. 27 sqq., 85 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> As to the Ashantee monarchy, see J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 175 sqq. ; A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 274 sqq. ; E. Perregaux, *Chez les Achanti*, pp. 139 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking*

*Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 206 sq. Compare T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), pp. 180-182 ; R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1896) pp. 132 sq. ; C. H. Harper and others, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 178-188 ; A. Ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), pp. 395 sqq.

the clan met a leopard on a journey, he would turn back.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, when a member of the Leopard clan dies, they scratch the picture of a leopard on the wall of the house and on the coffin, and the mourners make spots on their bodies with red, white, and black clay to represent a leopard. They also put spots on the neck of the corpse, for were this not done, the deceased would turn into a leopard. When the headman of the Leopard clan is dying, a leopard is heard crying in the forest.<sup>2</sup> To see or hear a leopard is unlucky; it portends the death of one of the Leopard clan. Sometimes members of the Leopard clan put out palm-oil mash in the forest and hang up a spotted cloth as an offering to the leopards.<sup>3</sup>

2. The *Unsünnna-fo* or Bush-cat clan. The bush-cat or civet cat is the sacred animal of this clan, members of which are bound to abstain from the flesh of the animal and of other animals akin to it, such as the genet. According to Mr. C. H. Harper, who calls this clan the *Nsonnafo*, members of it "respect the bush cat, the crow, and a red snake, *nson*, 'the terror of the Nsonnafo.' They would not hang a crow on their farms to scare birds. If they were to kill a crow or bush cat they would get sores on their bodies. In the old days if they were to find a crow or a bush cat dead they would bury a piece of white cloth with the crow and a piece of speckled cloth with the bush cat. Whenever the red snake appears it means certain death to one of the family."<sup>4</sup>

3. The *Kwonna-fo* or Buffalo clan. Members of the Buffalo clan abstain from the flesh of the buffalo.

4. The *Intchwa-fo* or Dog clan. The flesh of dogs is esteemed a delicacy by the natives, but members of the Dog

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 180 sq. Compare Mr. A. van Hieu, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 186, who tells us that, if a member of the Leopard clan has killed a leopard, women perform a funeral ceremony over the carcass, and the slayer has to observe a rite for the purpose of

appeasing the soul of the dead beast. The rite in question is probably that of anointing the leopard's wounds, as described in the text.

<sup>2</sup> C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Harper, *op. cit.* p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> C. H. Harper, *op. cit.* p. 181.

clan may not partake of it. Members of the Dog clan are forbidden to keep dogs as well as to eat them. They also respect a small bird and a small snake, and used to hang the small bird on the neck of a dog.<sup>1</sup>

The  
Parrot  
clan.

5. The *Annono-fo* or Parrot clan. Members of this clan may not kill or eat parrots.<sup>2</sup>

The  
Plantain  
clan.

6. The *Abradzi-fo* or Plantain clan. In the interior of the country members of the Plantain clan still abstain from eating plantains, but in the south such an abstention is no longer usual. This infringement of the totemic taboo may very well, as Ellis suggested, be due to the pressure of hunger; for the plantain is the staple article of food among the natives, so that an embargo laid on it naturally entails some inconvenience and hardship.

The Corn-  
stalk clan.

7. The *Abrutu-fo* or Corn-stalk clan.

The  
Servant  
clan.

8. The *Appiadi-fo* or Servant clan.

The Red-  
earth clan.

9. The *Yoko-fo* or Red-earth clan. *Yoko* is the native name for the red ochrous earth with which the northern tribes stain the lower part of the walls of their rooms and piazzas.

The  
Palm-oil  
Grove clan.

10. The *Agona-fo* or Palm-oil Grove clan.

The  
Abbahdzi-fo  
clan.

11. The *Abbahdzi-fo*. The etymology of the name is uncertain. It may perhaps mean "Cannibal clan" and be compounded of *abbah*, "child," and *dzi*, "to eat."

The  
Dumina-fo  
clan.

12. *Dumina-fo*. Colonel Ellis was unable to ascertain the meaning of this name.<sup>3</sup>

To this list of clans, recorded by Colonel A. B. Ellis, we may add on Mr. C. H. Harper's authority

The Bat  
clan.

13. The *Asini* or Bat clan; and

The  
Vulture  
clan.

14. The *Setchiri* or Vulture clan.<sup>4</sup>

Tradition says that the whole of the Tshi-speaking tribes are descended from the first twelve of these clans, and in point of fact members of the clans are found in tribes the most widely separated from each other. Indeed, these twelve

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> C. H. Harper, *l.c.*

<sup>3</sup> The above is Colonel Ellis's list of totemic clans (*The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 206 sq.), but it

does not profess to be complete. For some variations and additions see C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 179 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> C. H. Harper, *op. cit.* pp. 179, 180.

divisions are common to each one of the Tshi-speaking tribes. The first four clans, namely the Leopard, Bush-cat, Buffalo, and Dog clans, are said to be the oldest, and the rest are believed to be offshoots of them and inferior in dignity.<sup>1</sup> Members of each clan are very loyal to each other, whatever the tribe may be to which they belong. Thus, when a member of a clan dies, all the other people of the clan are liable to share the funeral expenses, although among the Fantees it is now customary for only the near relatives to defray them. Yet cases still occur in which it is the clan and not the family which bears the cost of burial. For example, if a Bush-cat man of Akwapem comes to Axim and dies there away from his family, the Bush-cat people of Axim will bury him and share the funeral expenses among themselves. Hence, when a stranger comes to a place, he always announces the totem clan to which he belongs, and he is thereupon received by the local members of his clan as if he had been born among them, though in fact he may belong to a tribe whose name is scarcely known in the district.<sup>2</sup> The clans have common burial-grounds and common lands, but they do not live in separate parts of the town. Every member has a right to a share in the clan lands, and in some cases the members help to pay each other's debts. When a captive enemy was about to be sacrificed and there happened to be a man of the same totemic clan among his captors, he would save the captive from death by exchanging another prisoner for him.<sup>3</sup>

The Leopard, Bush-cat, Buffalo, and Dog clans are said to be the oldest. Social relations of the members of a totemic clan to each other.

The totemic animal is called Grandfather (*nana*), a title of respect which was also used in addressing the kings of Ashantee.<sup>4</sup> But we are told that though the members of a clan respect their totem they do not worship it as a god; for example, a Fantee of the Leopard clan does not hesitate to shoot a leopard if it devours his sheep, and a member of the Plantain clan does not mutter a prayer when he eats a

Respect shewn for the totemic animals.

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 207; T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), pp. 181 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. Houlkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*,

vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), pp. 396 sq.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 183 sq.

<sup>4</sup> C. H. Harper, *op. cit.* p. 181.

Trans-  
migration  
or trans-  
formation  
of the  
clans-  
people  
into their  
totemic  
animals.

plantain.<sup>1</sup> However, food is said to be offered to the totemic animal ;<sup>2</sup> we have seen that members of the Leopard clan sometimes place palm-oil mash in the forest and hang up a spotted cloth as an offering to a leopard.<sup>3</sup> The totemic animal is not slain sacrificially.<sup>4</sup> According to Mr. A. van Hieu, there is a belief that the members of a totemic clan transmigrate at death into their totems ; and further "each tribesman or clansman reveres all members of the totem species equally, the old folks, however, believe every member has his particular totem for his protection, and his fate is so bound up in it, that if it dies he must himself die also, though not at the same moment."<sup>5</sup> If this account is correct, it would seem that totemism is here, as apparently also on the Ivory Coast,<sup>6</sup> based upon the doctrines both of transmigration and of external human souls lodged in the bodies of animals. The doctrine of transmigration or of transformation seems to be held especially by the Leopard clan. They think that if any member of the clan eats a certain plant called *susua* he will turn into a leopard ; also that a dead man of the Leopard clan will be transformed into a leopard and destroy the farms of the clanspeople or otherwise plague them, if they have incurred his displeasure by performing his funeral ceremonies negligently or failing to respect his wishes.<sup>7</sup>

Divisions  
(*ntoro*)  
hereditary  
in the  
paternal  
line, with  
their  
taboos.

Apart from their totemic clans (*ebussia* or *abusua*) with their taboos, which they inherit from their mothers, the Tshi-speaking people are divided into a number of other divisions with taboos, which they inherit from their fathers. These divisions, descending in the paternal line, are called *ntoro*. The four principal *ntoro* are these :—

<sup>1</sup> A. Foulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), pp. 398 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. van Hieu, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 184. See above, p. 557.

<sup>4</sup> A. van Hieu, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 187. One person told Mr. C. H. Harper "that the totem animal or

in its place a sheep is slain yearly" (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 184). But the statement cannot be accepted without further confirmation, though it is borne out by a reported similar practice of the Bini. See below, pp. 588 sq.

<sup>5</sup> A. van Hieu, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 187.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 551 sq.

<sup>7</sup> C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 182.

1. *Bosumprah*. Members of this division are forbidden to eat white fowls, Afasia yams, and to drink palm wine on Wednesdays. It is thought that leopards will not hurt members of this division, and that when a leopard is killed a human member of the division dies. These beliefs shew that the Bosumprah division is especially associated with leopards, and they seem further to indicate that each human member of the division is supposed to have an external soul, or at all events a vital part of him, in the body of a leopard.

2. *Bosumoru*. Members of this division are forbidden to eat the flesh of dogs and hyaenas.

3. *Bosumchwi*. Members of this division are forbidden to eat tortoise and deer and to drink palm wine on Sundays.

4. *Nketia*. Members of this division are forbidden to drink palm wine on Tuesdays.

If a member of any of these paternal divisions (*ntoro*) eats the forbidden food or drinks palm wine on the forbidden days, it is believed that he will fall sick, and in such cases a fowl and eggs must be sacrificed to the man's soul (*okra*) to make him well again. The prohibitions are passed on by a man to his children, so that he himself is rid of them. The maternal totemic clans (*ebussia* or *abusua*) and the paternal divisions (*ntoro*) with their prohibitions exist side by side and independently of each other, the *ntoro* being especially connected with fetish. The natives say that "you take your father's fetish and your mother's family."<sup>1</sup> Thus these two sets of social groups, the maternal *ebussia* and the paternal *ntoro*, are exactly analogous to what I have called the maternal clans and the paternal clans, the *omaanda* and the *otuzo*, of the Herero; and the analogy serves to confirm the view, which has been doubted or denied,<sup>2</sup> that the maternal *omaanda* of the Herero are really totemic clans with totemic taboos like the *otuzo*. However, the exact nature of the kinship group denominated by *ntoro* is uncertain. It comprises, apparently, the near blood relations

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 184 sq. Mr. Harper calls the maternal clans *abusua*. Mr.

foulkes calls them *ebussia* (*Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28, July 1908, p. 395).

<sup>2</sup> By Mr. E. Dannert. See above, p. 360.

Thus, like the Herero, the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast combine clans hereditary in the female line with taboos hereditary in the male line.

of the father, especially his cousins.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Harper, to whom we are indebted for the information about these paternal divisions (*ntoro*), did not ascertain whether they have any influence on marriage, in other words, whether they are exogamous or not. If they are not exogamous, this would apparently add to their resemblance to the *otuzo* of the Herero, which in like manner are reported to impose no restrictions on the marriage of their members.<sup>2</sup> We shall find a little later on that a similar system of clans inherited from the mother and taboos inherited from the father occurs also among some Bantu peoples of the Lower Congo.

The totemic clans of the Gold Coast are exogamous; a breach of the exogamous rule was formerly punished with death or slavery.

The totemic clans of the Gold Coast are exogamous; a man may neither marry nor have sexual intercourse with a woman of the same totemic clan as himself. In old days transgressors of these rules used to be beheaded or sold into slavery. At the present time, if such a breach of morality were committed, the case would be investigated by the head of the clan or the chief of the town; the guilty parties would be divorced and the man fined; moreover a sheep would be killed and the male culprit would have to walk in its blood, apparently as a mode of purification. Were a chief to have anything to do with a woman of the same clan as himself, he would be deposed. It is sometimes difficult to ascertain whom a man may marry, because the same clan is known by different names in different places. In case of doubt it is customary to consult an old man of the town. King Tachie of Accra, being appealed to in many matrimonial cases, is said to have given the matter up in despair and to have ruled that when people came from the forest and married people on the coast, an investigation of their clans was needless. And amongst the coast people, in point of fact, the exogamous laws of the clans are not strictly enforced, though there is a prejudice against marriage within the clan.<sup>3</sup> A man is free to marry a woman

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 184 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Harper, "Notes on the

Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 182 *sq.* The statement that a man should neither marry nor have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan is confirmed by Mr.

of any totem clan except his own.<sup>1</sup> The Fantees attribute the institution of the clans to a wise seer of old, and they are said to consider the practice of exogamy as very beneficial for the improvement of the species.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the children of parents who both belong to the same clan are thought not to live long.<sup>3</sup>

Children belong to the totemic clan of their mother.<sup>4</sup> In fact, "the custom, so prevalent among the lower races, of tracing descent through the mother and not through the father, also prevails among the Tshi-speaking tribes."<sup>5</sup> The Fantees apply the same name *ebussia* both to the totemic clan and to the family,<sup>6</sup> and "each family includes members on the mother's side only; thus the mother, and all her children, male and female, belong to her family; so do her mother and maternal uncles and aunts; but her father and all his relatives are nothing at all to her, nor are her husband nor any of his relatives; her daughters' children, male and female, are members of her family, but her son's children are not, as they belong to the family of the son's wife."<sup>7</sup> Every child bears the name of his mother's family as a cognomen in addition to the name given to him at birth by his father, while a person's first name is invariably taken from the day

Children belong to the totemic clan of their mother.

A. van Hieu and a negro informant (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 186, 188). Mr. A. Foulkes tells us that marriages within the clan (sept) do sometimes occur but are not countenanced (*Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), p. 399). Colonel A. B. Ellis does not mention the rule of exogamy.

<sup>1</sup> A. van Hieu, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 186. Mr. R. M. Connolly, in speaking of the exogamy of the clans, says that a Buffalo man may only marry a Bush-cat woman "and vice versa, and so with the others" ("Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) p. 133). This implies that the men of any clan are restricted in the choice of their wives to the women of one other clan only; but probably the statement is not to be pressed to mean more than that a man

may not marry a woman of his own clan. According to a negro informant "a man may not marry twice in each totem" (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 188).

<sup>2</sup> R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> A. van Hieu, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) p. 183; A. Foulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), pp. 400, 401.

<sup>5</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 297.

<sup>6</sup> A. Foulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), p. 395.

<sup>7</sup> A. Foulkes, *op. cit.* p. 399.

Women as  
chiefs or  
queens.

A man's  
heirs are his  
brothers  
and the  
sons of his  
sisters.

The throne  
of Ashantee  
also de-  
scends to  
brothers  
and the  
sons of  
sisters.

of the week on which he was born. The eldest living ancestor in the maternal line is the head of the family, but when the head is a woman she generally delegates her authority to her eldest son or to the eldest male of the family, especially when the family is a royal one. Women have, however, been known to occupy the stool or throne as reigning chiefs.<sup>1</sup> One such queen reigned some years ago in Daboasi, the chief town of an important district on the Lower Prah; she owned large tracts of mahogany-bearing land and exercised power through her elders and interpreter.<sup>2</sup> However, among all the Tshi-speaking tribes a man's heir is regularly his brother, born of the same mother, and, in default of such, his eldest sister's eldest son. Should these fail, the nephew next in order of descent is the heir, and in default of nephews the son inherits. But should there be neither nephew nor son, the principal native-born slave of the family succeeds to the property. Among the Fantees there is a variation of this general rule, for with them the slave succeeds to the exclusion of the son, who only inherits his mother's property.<sup>3</sup> Under native law a man may chastise his sister's children and sell or pawn them for his own debts, but under no circumstances may he do so to his own children, since they do not belong to his family, but to their mother's; and for a like reason he may neither punish nor pawn his brother's children.<sup>4</sup> The same rule of female descent which regulates the inheritance of private property determines the succession to the throne of Ashantee; the order of succession is the brother, the sister's son, the son, the chief vassal or slave to the stool. "This extraordinary

<sup>1</sup> A. Ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), pp. 399 sq.

<sup>2</sup> R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 298; E. T. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), p. 205. Compare R. M. Connolly, "Social Life in Fanti-land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) p. 146: "The rightful heir in

native law is the eldest nephew, *i.e.* the eldest sister's eldest son, who *invariably* succeeds to all the property and position of his uncle, including wives, children, slaves, if there be any, and who thus becomes liable for the debts of the deceased. In default of such an heir, the principal relatives of the deceased select one of their number to succeed, and the man so selected becomes the legal heir, just as if he had been the nephew."

<sup>4</sup> A. Ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 27 (July 1908), p. 405.

rule of succession," wrote Bowdich at a time when the wide prevalence of similar rules was unknown, "excluding all children but those of a sister, is founded on the argument, that if the wives of the sons are faithless, the blood of the family is entirely lost in the offspring, but should the daughters deceive their husbands it is still preserved."<sup>1</sup>

In Ashantee "the sisters of the king may marry or intrigue with whom they please, provided he be an eminently strong or personable man; that the heirs of the stool may be, at least, personably superior to the generality of their countrymen."<sup>2</sup> The same licence is or was granted all women of royal blood in Ashantee, but leave had first to be obtained before they might gratify their passions, otherwise their lovers and all who had abetted them were put to death. When one of the king's sisters had married, with his permission, a man of low rank, the baseborn churl was expected to kill himself when either his wife or his only male child departed this life. Should the poltroon dare to survive his noble wife or noble son, a significant hint would be dropped which generally induced him to anticipate the knife of the executioner.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the twelve principal totemic clans there are several other family divisions among the Tshi-speaking tribes; but these are all local, include comparatively few members, and are apparently of much more recent origin. Sometimes these more recent divisions preserve traditions of their origin, and in such traditions the founder of the family, from whom the name is derived, always figures as an actual animal, bird, or fish, who, however, possessed the power of assuming human shape at will. For example, in the town of Chama, at the mouth of the River Prah, there lives a family called *Sarfu-n'ennam*, which is a name compounded of *sarfu*, "horse-mackerel," *n'*, a negative, and *ennam*, "fish," that is, "the flesh of fishes," and means literally "no *sarfu* flesh." The foundress of this family is

The king's sisters and women of the blood royal in Ashantee are allowed to marry or intrigue with whom they please.

Other and more recent totemic clans or families.

The Horse-mackerel family.

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), pp. 185, 205. Compare E. Perregaud, *Chez les Achanti*, pp. 140 sq.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 287.

believed to have been a horse-mackerel (*sarfu*), and the following tale is told about her.<sup>1</sup>

Tale of the origin of the Horse-mackerel family. It is descended from a man who married a horse-mackerel wife, till they quarrelled and she returned to her kinsfolk the horse-mackerels in the sea.

A man of Chama, whose wife had lately died, was walking disconsolately by the seashore when he met a young woman, who asked him why he walked alone and looked so sad. He told her why, and at last, captivated by her beauty, he begged her to be his wife. She consented, and lived with him in his house. All went well for a time, but after some months she grew restless and uneasy and told her husband she must go away to see her folk at home. He made no objection, only stipulating that he should go with her. To this at first she would by no means agree, saying that alone she came and alone she must return. But he pressed her. They were walking on the seashore and she said, "I will not let you go with me, because you would laugh at me when we came back." But when he vowed and swore that never would he laugh at her or speak of her home and her folk, at long and at last she told him that her home was in the sea, and that her folk were fishes and she herself a fish. If he would go with her, he must count the breakers, as they burst in foam on the strand, and dive with her under the third. He did so and together they passed under the water to the home of her people the fishes. They welcomed her joyfully, and she told her tale, and made known her husband to them. A house was prepared for him, and he was warned not to stray outside of it. For a time he kept to the house, but one day he ventured out and as he rose towards the surface, some fishermen spied him shimmering with a phosphorescent light through the green water. They took him for a fish and speared him and would have dragged him out of the sea if a shark had not bitten the line and released him. His friends the fishes took him back to the house, and drew out the spear, and healed his wound. But when he was made whole again, fearing that some worse thing might befall him, they sent him and his wife away, giving him as a parting gift the spear, which they charged him to keep carefully hidden. So the two went back to their old house on the land, and the man hid the spear in the thatch of the roof. They

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 207 sqq.

lived together for some years, till the owner of the house, renewing the thatch of the roof, in an ill hour discovered the spear. He knew it for his own, which he had lost years before by throwing it into the sea at a fish. Being pressed to tell how he had come into possession of it, the husband of the fish-wife reluctantly told the secret of his strange adventure. No harm came at once of his broken promise to his wife; but he had lately taken a second wife and she, having one day quarrelled with the first wife, taunted her with being a fish. Sore at heart, the fish-wife resolved to return to her home in the sea and to be a fish again. Bitterly she upbraided her husband for betraying her secret, and said she would leave him to return no more. In vain he tried to dissuade her; she would not listen to his entreaties, but ran to the shore and bidding him a last farewell plunged into the sea with her youngest child in her arms. But her two elder children were left behind with her husband, and from them is descended the Horse-mackerel family, none of whom may ever eat a horse-mackerel; for the lost wife and mother was a fish of that sort.<sup>1</sup>

A family called Appei, belonging to the town of Appam, tell a similar story of their origin. They say that a man named Insanna, the last of his race, was fishing with a casting-net among the rocks at night, bewailing his solitary lot and his inability to buy a wife, when he caught a fine fish of the kind called *appei*. He was about to kill it when the fish said, "Do not kill me. I will be your wife and you my husband." So he carried it home and left it there, while he returned to the beach to fish. When he came back again to his house, he found a handsome young woman busy with the household work; she told him that she was the fish he had caught, and that she had been sent by his dead parents to be his wife. Further, she warned him that neither they nor their descendants might eat *appei* fish, or else they would have to return at once to the sea. So the family strictly observed the prohibition and multiplied till

The Appei family is said to have sprung from an *appei* fish, who was married to a man and bore him children.

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 208-211. The story is repeated, with merely verbal differences, in *Journal of the African Society*, No. 17 (October 1905), pp. 104-107.

they occupied the whole country, which after them became known as Appei m' or Appam.<sup>1</sup>

Duala  
story of a  
hunter who  
married a  
palm-  
squirrel.

Stories of the same type are reported from other parts of West Africa. The following is a Duala tale from Cameroon. A hunter once killed a palm-squirrel, brought it home, and gave it to his wife, who hung it up over the hearth. Soon after she died, and in the hunter's absence the palm-squirrel turned into a woman, dressed his meal for him, and then changed back into a squirrel. It puzzled the hunter on his return from the chase to find his meals ready for him until, by the spider's advice, he hid in a corner and saw the squirrel turn into a woman. He caught it, stroked it on the head with his hand, and said, "Beast that now standest as a human being before me, to-day I saw everything. Be not a beast again. I love thee. Be from to-day my wife." The palm-squirrel said to him, "I give thee a command. Thou must never say to me that I was once a beast, and am now a human being. If thou sayest so, it is all over with our marriage." The two married and lived together till now.<sup>2</sup> Another Duala story

Duala  
story of  
a hunter  
whose wife  
came forth  
from a  
*mpondo*  
fruit.

from the same region relates how a hunter clove a hard brown fruit called a *mpondo* and a woman came forth from it. He asked her to marry him and she consented, but warned him that he must never say she had come from a *mpondo* or she would go back to the fruit and he would see her no more. So they married; but one day when he was out hunting, his mother twitted the wife with having come from a *mpondo* fruit. She was very angry and said, "From a *mpondo* I came and to a *mpondo* I return." At these words the absent husband felt his body quake. He returned home heavy at heart and asked his mother where his wife was. She told him what had happened. Crying "Woe! woe! woe!" he hastened away to seek his lost wife. Wherever he went he called her and she answered him, but from far away, oh so far away. He said to her, "Come back. I have just returned from the hunt."

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 211 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. Lederbogen, "Duala - Mär -

chen," *Mittheilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902), dritte Abtheilung, pp. 139-142.

But she answered, "I will not come back." She conjured up a great sea between them, and she stood on one side of it and he on the other. He began to weep and said again to her, "Oh make the sea to vanish away." But she replied, "No, I will never, never have you for my husband again, because your mother said I came from a *mpondo*." Then she went away. Her husband also went away. He went home and drove his mother from his house. A solitary man he lived and a solitary man he died. He never married again.<sup>1</sup>

Another West African story sets forth how a fairy woman took compassion on a solitary hunter and turned herself into a forest-rat (*ntori*), which the hunter shot and brought back to his camp. Next day, when he was out hunting, the fairy crept out of the dead forest-rat, tidied up the camp, and cooked a dinner ready for the hunter. On his return from the chase the hunter was surprised to find the table spread for dinner. The same thing happened on three successive days, and the man was puzzled. He consulted a prophet, by whose advice he lay in wait for the fairy woman, seized her at her kindly labours when she was about to turn back into a rat, and throwing a magic powder over her body he persuaded her, struggling, murmuring, and sobbing, to be his wife. They married and the world went very well with him, for ships came and brought him wealth, and his wife bore him children; now the children of a fairy mother thrive and are very wise. But one day, when ships had come in and he had been drinking with the sailors, the heart of the hunter was lifted up and he reproached his wife with having come out of a rat. Next morning, when he was sober, she told him she was about to leave him for ever. He pleaded with her, and the two elder children pleaded for him, but all in vain. She took the two younger children and walked away down the path from the town. Her husband and the two elder children watched them receding in the distance, till they came to the bank of the river and wading into the water disappeared in the depths.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Lederbogen, "Duala-Märchen," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. (1902), dritte Abtheilung, pp. 142-145.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West*

West African story of a hunter who married a fairy wife in the shape of a forest-rat; how they lived happily together, and how they parted for ever.

Such stories belong to the same class as the tales of the Swan Maiden and Beauty and the Beast. Probably they all originated in totemism.

Similar tales have met us among the Dyaks of Borneo.<sup>1</sup> All such stories belong to the class of which the tales of the Swan Maiden and of Beauty and the Beast are typical examples.<sup>2</sup> Finding narratives of this sort told by totemic peoples to explain their totemic taboos we may conjecture that they all sprang, directly or indirectly, from the cycle of ideas and customs which centre round the institution of totemism. In some of these tales the husband, in others the wife is a fairy who shifts his or her shape from bestial or vegetable to human, and who will leave his or her sorrowing partner for ever to return to the beasts or the plants if a particular taboo relating to his or her animal or vegetable nature be infringed. Such stories are explained naturally and simply on the supposition that they referred originally to husbands and wives who, under a system of totemism and exogamy, would claim kindred with animals or plants of different kinds, the husband assimilating himself to one sort of creature and the wife to another. In such households husband and wife would naturally resent any injury done to their animal kinsfolk as a wrong done to themselves; and domestic jars would easily arise whenever one of the couple failed to respect the humble relations of the other. Among some totemic tribes, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> the danger of these intestine feuds is to some extent obviated by the rule that

*Africa* (London, 1904), pp. 351-358. The writer says nothing as to the people or place from which this story was obtained.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 205 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> On stories of this sort, especially in the folklore of civilised peoples, see Th. Benfey, *Pantashantra* (Leipsic, 1859), i. 254 *sqq.*; W. R. S. Ralston, Introduction to F. A. von Schiefner's *Tibetan Tales* (London, 1882), pp. xxxvii.-xxxix.; A. Lang, *Custom and Myth* (London, 1884), pp. 64 *sqq.*; S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* (London, 1884), pp. 561-578; E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de la Lorraine*, ii. 215-230; W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions* (Edinburgh and London, 1887), i. 182-191; Miss

M. Roalfe Cox, *Introduction to Folklore* (London, 1895), pp. 120-123. The classical fable of Cupid and Psyche (Apuleius, *Metamorph.* iv. 28-vi. 24) belongs to the same class of tales. Such stories have been rightly explained by Mr. Andrew Lang (*op. cit.*) as based on savage taboos, but so far as I know he does not definitely connect them with totemism. One of the oldest and most beautiful tales of this kind is the ancient Indian story of Pururavas and the nymph Urvasi. See the *Satapatha Brahmana*, translated by J. Eggeling, Part v. pp. 68 *sqq.* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xlv.). I shall recur to these stories and illustrate them further in the third edition of *The Golden Bough*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 27, 30, 53.

husband and wife must each pay due respect to the totem of the other, but such mutual obligations appear to be rare ; so far as we can judge from the accounts, the usual custom of totemic peoples is that men and women revere each their own totem, but are not bound to shew any reverence for the totems of their spouses. In these circumstances husband and wife are constantly liable to quarrel over their totems, and it would be natural enough that such bickerings should often result in a permanent separation. Totemism may have embittered many lives and broken many hearts. A reminiscence of such quarrels and estrangements is apparently preserved in the sad story of the fairy wife or the fairy husband who lives happily for a time with a human spouse, but only in the end to be parted for ever.

A story of a somewhat different type is told by the Parrot clan of the Fantees to explain why they revere parrots. The original ancestor of the clan is said to have been a woman who went to a far country and was there married. But she quarrelled with her husband and left him to return to her own land. On her way home she met a man who would have killed her if a parrot had not screamed at the moment, and her assailant, mistaking the cry of the bird for the voice of people coming to the rescue, fled and left her. Hence all the descendants of that woman respect parrots, because a parrot saved their ancestress from death.<sup>1</sup> In this narrative the reverence for the totem is explained, as often happens, by a service which the totemic animal is said to have rendered to the ancestor of the clan ; yet a reminiscence of the other and probably more primitive explanation appears to be contained in the quarrel of the wife with her husband.

The totemic system of the Fantees, one of the principal tribes of the Tshi- or Twi-speaking peoples, has been examined by Mr. Arthur ffoulkes, District Commissioner of the Gold Coast Colony. He finds seven principal totemic

Legendary origin of the Parrot clan among the Fantees.

Seven principal totemic clans among the Fantees.

<sup>1</sup> A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), p. 397. The name of the Parrot clan is here given as Agona. But elsewhere (p. 395) the writer, in agreement with

A. B. Ellis, gives Annona as the name of the Parrot clan and Agona as the name of the Palm-oil clan. Perhaps in the present passage Agona is a mistake for Annona or Annono, as Ellis spells the name.

clans or septs, as he calls them, namely, the Bush-cat, the Parrot, the Leopard, the Buffalo, the Plantain, the Dog, and the Silurus (*Adwinadzi*). Each of these principal clans, he tells us, has its branch or branches, and in some tribes the branch is regarded as the principal clan. For example, the Bush-cat clan is the principal one at Cape Coast Castle, Denkera, and Fanti Yankumase, and at Cape Coast Castle it has a branch called *Dwimina*, the name of which is derived from a plant. The Parrot clan has a Red-earth branch and a Palm-oil branch at Cape Coast Castle; but at Fanti Yankumase the Red-earth clan is the principal one and the Parrot clan and the Palm-oil clan are both subordinate. Further, at Fanti Yankumase there is another branch, namely, the Kite or Hawk (*Osansa*) clan. At Denkera, again, the Palm-oil clan is the principal one, and the Red-earth clan and the Parrot clan are both subordinate. At Cape Coast Castle the Leopard clan has a branch called the Corn-stalk (*Eburutu*) clan.<sup>1</sup>

The fetishes of the negroes are not always clearly distinguishable from their totems, especially when the fetishes are hereditary.

Amongst the negroes of Guinea, with whom we are here concerned, there exist many other superstitious practices and beliefs concerned with plants and animals which do not strictly fall under the head of totemism. Such customs and beliefs are commonly classed under the vague name of fetishism. How precisely the fetishes of the negroes are related, if indeed they are related, to their totems is by no means clear, nor is it always easy to draw a sharp line of distinction between them. On the one hand, totems commonly give their names to exogamous groups or clans of people and have been hereditarily revered by them time out of mind. On the other hand, fetishes do not give their names to persons or families, need not be hereditary, and do not regulate the marriage of the people who revere them. Yet these distinctions are not universally present; for many things, which seem entitled to be called totems, do not give their names to groups or clans of people and do not regulate marriage. The relation of totemism to fetishism in West Africa is one which requires further investigation. To discuss it here might lead me too far from my immediate subject.

<sup>1</sup> A. Houlkes, "The Fanti Family System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), pp. 395 sq.

I must content myself with briefly noticing those hereditary fetishes of families or of districts which most nearly resemble totems. Among the negroes of the Gold Coast the common names for a fetish seem to be *bossum* (*bohsum*, *bosoum*, *boossum*, *busum*) and *suhman* (*souman*, *sumang*), the distinction between them apparently being, that whereas a *suhman* is the fetish of an individual, the *bossum* is the fetish of a family, district, or town.<sup>1</sup> Yet when a *bossum* or fetish becomes hereditary in a family, it is obvious that, superficially at least, it approximates to a totem. Amongst the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast such hereditary fetishes are often deliberately adopted as a mode of maintaining the tie of kinship between members of a family who are about to part from each other. The mode in which the bond is in such cases cemented has been thus described by Colonel A. B. Ellis:—<sup>2</sup>

Hereditary fetishes adopted as a means of maintaining the bond of kinship.

“Besides the abstention from the flesh of certain animals, birds, fish, etc., by different families, such as has been already described, and which is a complete abstention at all times, one also finds upon the Gold Coast amongst certain families a fixed occasional abstention, as for instance, on one day of the week from a particular kind of food. This abstention originates in quite a different manner to the foregoing. When a family finds it necessary to separate, and perhaps to become split up into two or three sections, as the tutelary deity of the family can only remain with one section, and that the one to which the head of the family belongs, it is usual for all the members to assemble together, and a priest, after rinsing the tutelary deity in water in which he has placed some herbs, gives each member some of the fluid to drink. While they are so doing, the priest announces that it is the will of the god, that henceforth no one of the family shall ever partake of a certain article of food on a certain day or days, so that in years to

Mode in which an hereditary fetish of a family is instituted.

<sup>1</sup> W. Bosman, “Description of the Coast of Guinea,” in Pinkerton’s *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 348, 420; Brodie Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa* (London, 1853), ii. 129 *sqq.*; A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 17 *sqq.*, 79 *sqq.*, 176

*sqq.*; R. M. Connolly, “Social Life in Fanti-land,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897) p. 150; E. Perregaux, *Chez les Achanti*, pp. 270, 275.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 212 *sq.*

come, the remembrance of their being under his protection shall not be lost. Usually it is only on one day out of the seven that the article of food mentioned by the priest is prohibited, and the ordinary day for such an abstinence is Tuesday. Thus one continually meets persons, some of whom will not on Tuesday eat eggs, others fowls, others plantains, and so on. In some cases, though but rarely, people are found who have to abstain from two kinds of food or more. This is due to a second family separation; but more generally, with the adoption of the second variety of abstinence, the first is discontinued."<sup>1</sup>

Fetish animals on the Gold Coast, as hyaenas at Accra, crocodiles at Dix Cove, and vultures at Coomassie.

Amongst the *bossums* or hereditary fetishes which approximate to totems and might easily be confused with them, a conspicuous place on the Gold Coast, as in other parts of Guinea, is held by the sacred animals which are revered in particular districts. Thus, for example, hyaenas are sacred at Accra and crocodiles at Dix Cove. A native who should kill a hyaena at Accra would incur a serious penalty.<sup>2</sup> At Coomassie vultures are sacred to the royal family; in former days they might not be molested under pain of death. Hence the birds grew so bold that they would pounce upon the fish or meat which people carried

<sup>1</sup> It may be worth while to compare B. Cruickshank's account of this deliberate institution of an hereditary fetish. He says: "There is one peculiar form, which the Fetish worship of a family about to be separated takes, which deserves to be recorded, as in it we have no external representation of an idol. In view of a separation which will most probably prevent them from ever again worshipping the Boossum, to which they have made their devotions hitherto, they repair to the priest, or sofoo, and having explained their wants, he pounds up some Souman or Fetish substance, and mixes it with water into a drink, which the whole family swallow together. While partaking of this strange communion, the priest declares to them that his Boossum commands that none of this family shall ever after partake of such and such an article of food, naming, perhaps, fowl, mutton, beef, pork,

eggs, milk, or anything which he may choose to mention at the time. The Fetish edict, once pronounced against a particular article of food under such circumstances, no one of the family ever tastes it more; and thus we find one who will not taste a bit of chicken, another an egg, a turkey, and so on; and this abstinence from a particular species of food descends to the children, who are under the necessity of observing a similar abstinence. In this case the parties are supposed to have swallowed their idol, and to have him existing in their own persons, and the abstinence prescribed forms a continued act of worship" (B. Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, ii. 133 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), p. 216 note<sup>4</sup>; J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa* (London, 1856), p. 210.

on their heads.<sup>1</sup> These instances and others of the same sort<sup>2</sup> should warn us of the danger of hastily assuming that the hereditary worship of certain sacred animals in particular districts is identical with totemism. It is premature, for example, to conclude that the ancient Egyptian reverence for different animals in different towns and districts was necessarily totemic.

So far as I know, we have no exact account of the system of relationship prevalent among the Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast, but there are some slight indications that the system is classificatory. For the term "father" (*egya*) is applied also to the father's brothers;<sup>3</sup> and the following notice of the family system, though loose and vague, points in the same direction. "On the Gold Coast," says a Catholic missionary, "now as in the time of the patriarchs, the word family is understood in a much wider sense than that which is generally current in Europe. At Elmina the family is not composed only of the father, the mother, and the children; included in it are also the cousins, often very distant cousins, the uncles, the nephews, and even the slaves. You will hear all male cousins calling each other brothers, sometimes also the uncle and the nephew if they are about the same age, and more than that the children of the master and those of the slave. If there is too great a disparity of age between uncle and nephew, the latter calls the other his father. Similarly a Fantee applies the name of mother to his aunt, his grand-aunt, and his old female cousins. At first sight one is rather surprised on learning that a single man has so many children, and especially that a child can have so many fathers and so many mothers. If you would know of any one who is his father and who is his mother, you must put the question to him in these terms: 'Who is the father that begot you? Who is the mother that bore you?' If you ask him simply, 'What is the name of your father? What is the name of your mother?' it may be that he will give you

Indications of the classificatory system of relationship among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast.

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 213 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 583 sqq., 590 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> A. Foulkes, "The Fanti Family

System," *Journal of the African Society*, vol. vii. No. 28 (July 1908), p. 405.

successively four or five fathers and as many mothers without including the authors of his being in the number. Those whom he will give you as his fathers will be his uncles and his old male cousins who live in the same house with him, and his mothers will similarly be his aunts and old female cousins.”<sup>1</sup>

#### § 4. Totemism on the Slave Coast

The Slave  
Coast of  
West  
Africa.

The Slave Coast of West Africa extends from the Volta River on the west to the delta of the Niger on the east. Unlike the hilly and densely wooded region of the Gold Coast, the country is low, flat, and open, with but little true forest. Along the coast stretches a line of broad, shallow lagoons divided from the sea by a ridge of sand, which varies in breadth from a few yards to two or three miles. The valleys of the rivers are wooded, and the mangrove flourishes along the shores of the lagoons, but the prevailing feature of the landscape is a sandy grassy plain, dotted with clumps of trees and euphorbia. The climate is damp, hot, and very unhealthy.<sup>2</sup>

The Ewe-  
speaking  
peoples of  
the Slave  
Coast.

For a distance of some hundred and fifty miles along the coast and some two hundred miles or more inland the country is inhabited by negroes who speak a copious and expressive language called the Ewe, which differs both from the Tshi language spoken by their western neighbours and from the Yoruba language spoken by their eastern neighbours the Yorubas. The best known and most powerful of the tribes speaking the Ewe tongue are the people of Dahomey, till lately a warlike and aggressive kingdom, which acquired an infamous notoriety from its system of human sacrifices. That kingdom has now passed under the dominion of France; and the Togos, another Ewe-speaking tribe of the Slave Coast, have given their name to the German colony of Togo-land. According to native traditions the Ewe-speaking peoples

<sup>1</sup> Father Gallaud, “A la Côte d’or,” *Les Missions catholiques*, xxv. (1893) p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West*

*Africa* (London, 1890), pp. 1-5. Compare P. Bouche, *La Côte des Esclaves et le Dahomey* (Paris, 1885), pp. 2 sqq.; J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme, Material zur Kunde des Ewe-Volkes in Deutsch-Togo* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 12\* sqq.

are not aborigines, but migrated into their present territory from the north-east at no very distant period.<sup>1</sup> They support themselves chiefly by agriculture, raising crops of maize, yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, rice, beans, earth-nuts, and cotton. The staple food is maize. Men, women, and children share the labour of the fields. They turn up the soil with hoes, for the use of the plough is unknown. As a preparation for the crops the grass is burned every year, and the ashes serve to manure the ground. But the cultivation is shifted annually from place to place; and ten or twelve years commonly elapse before the same field is again planted and reaped. The oil-palm also plays an important part in the life of the natives; large tracts of country are covered with groves of this useful tree, and the natives turn every one of its products to account. They make pottery without the use of the wheel, spin cotton thread, weave excellent hanging mats of grey stuff shot with blue or red threads, and work iron, copper, and gold with a skill which is remarkable when we consider the rudeness of their tools. The people, both men and women, are keen traders and haggle over every penny.<sup>2</sup>

Their agriculture and arts.

The government of a Ewe-speaking tribe is in general aristocratic, resting in the hands of chiefs and a king. The chiefs acknowledge the supremacy of the king; but he is controlled by them, and can neither make peace nor war nor enter into any engagements or negotiations which affect the interests of the tribe without their consent. Such matters are always debated by the king and chiefs in council. The populace have no voice at all in the government. Each chief is a petty king in his own domain. But the government of Dahomey differed from that of other Ewe-speaking tribes in being an absolute monarchy. The king was a despot; his will was law; he was subject to no control whatever. Property of every kind, including land, belonged theoretically to him, and he might lawfully confiscate it to

Government of the Ewe-speaking tribes.

Absolute monarchy of Dahomey.

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, pp. 5 sqq.; J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, pp. 11\*, 53\* sq., 56\* sqq.; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, pp.

28\*, 55\* sq., 298 sqq., 319 sqq., 356 sqq., 706, 762 sqq., 780; J. Bouche, *La Côte des Esclaves*, pp. 53 sqq., 195 sq.; H. Klose, *Togo unter Deutscher Flagge* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 258 sq., 262 sq.

his own use. Whatever a man had he had only on sufferance so long as the king chose to let him remain in possession. The theory was pushed so far that parents were held to have no right to their own children; these, like everything else, belonged to the king, and their fathers and mothers were permitted to retain them only during his pleasure. All the women of the country, both native-born and captives, were his absolute property, to be disposed of by him at his discretion. No man might have a wife unless she was purchased from the king or conferred upon him as a reward of bravery. The king's person was sacred; his subjects affected to believe that he neither ate nor slept; it was criminal to say the contrary. He always ate in secret, and any man who was so rash or unfortunate as to see him in the act was put to death. When he drank in public, which he did on extraordinary occasions, every one turned his head aside and the women held up cloths to screen the monarch from the gaze of his subjects. In his presence there was no distinction of ranks: all were slaves before him. Even the highest chiefs had to prostrate themselves and grovel on the earth at his feet. For centuries the kings of Dahomey waged wars of aggression on their neighbours for the purpose of capturing slaves and human victims for sacrifice. The surrounding countries were desolated and exhausted by their ravages. In these wars a conspicuous part was taken by regiments of stalwart Amazons, armed and disciplined like regular soldiers, who fought with desperate valour. These viragos were considered to be the king's wives and were sworn to celibacy. Any one who proved to be frail was put to death with her paramour.<sup>1</sup>

Sanctity of  
the king's  
person.

Wars of  
Dahomey.

Totemic  
clans of  
the Ewe-  
speaking  
tribes of  
the Slave  
Coast.

The Ewe-speaking tribes of the Slave Coast, like the Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast, are divided into exogamous and totemic clans, and every community is heterogeneous, comprising members of several or even of all the various clans. Unfortunately our information on the subject is scanty; for Colonel A. B. Ellis, almost the

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 202-206; P. Bouche, *La Côte des Esclaves*, pp. 343 *sqq.*, 353 *sqq.*, 360 *sqq.*; A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, pp. 161 *sqq.*, 182 *sqq.*

only writer who appears to have observed and recorded Ewe totemism, lost a portion of his notes. The following are all the totem clans which he was able to remember:—

(1) The Leopard clan (*Kpo-do*, compounded of *kpo*, "leopard," and *do*, "people, clan, or tribe").

(2) The Snake clan (*Ordanh-do*, from *ordanh*, "snake").

(3) The Lion clan (*Dzata-do* or *Jahnta-do*, from *dzata* or *jahnta*, "lion").

(4) The Yam clan (*Tehvi-do*, from *tehvi*, a variety of yam).

(5) The Crocodile clan (*Elo-do*, from *elo*, "crocodile").

(6) The Monkey clan (*Eddu-do*, from *eddu*, a monkey with long black hair).

"The usual reverence is paid by the members of a clan to the animal or plant from which the clan takes its name. It may not be used as food, or molested in any way; but must always be treated with veneration and respect. The general notion is that the members of the clan are directly descended from the animal or plant—eponymous."<sup>1</sup>

Respect shown for the totems.

The Anglos are a Ewe tribe who inhabit the country between the delta of the Volta River and the Keta lagoon. One of the twelve subdivisions of the tribe is named Adsoviawo, after a species of fish (*adsovia*), which is never eaten by its namesakes, because they think that a fish of that sort once stuck in the throat of one of their ancestors and choked him. The Adsoviawo people are mostly fishermen.<sup>2</sup>

Totemism among the Anglos.

The totemic clans of the Ewe tribes are exogamous and the descent appears, at least among the common people, to be reckoned in the female line; that is, a man may not marry a woman of his own totem clan and the children belong to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. But our information on this subject is scanty. The late Colonel Sir A. B. Ellis says: "As is usual with people who are divided into totem-clans, the Ewe tribes are exogamous; marriage between members of the same clan being forbidden. This restriction is, however, not now always scrupulously observed by the sea-board tribes. Kinship is

The totemic clans of the Ewe tribes are exogamous with descent in the female line.

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> H. Seidel, "Der Fischfang in Togo," *Globus*, lxxxii. (1902), p. 112.

traced through females, and the order of succession to property, etc., is brother, sister's son. The eldest brother is the head of the family, and his heir is the brother next in age to himself; if he has no brother, his heir is the eldest son of his eldest sister."<sup>1</sup> However, in default of brothers and of sisters' sons the firstborn son succeeds to his father's property.<sup>2</sup> "In all cases of separation the children accompany the wife, who pays to the husband a sum to reimburse him for what he has paid for their maintenance. The general custom of regarding children as related to the mother and not to the father, does not apply, it must be observed, to the upper classes of Dahomi, in which the father is regarded as having the greater claim."<sup>3</sup>

But amongst the upper classes of Dahomey descent is traced in the male line.

The same writer suggests that among the Ewe tribes the transition from mother-kin to father-kin, so far as it has taken place among the higher classes, may have originated in an example set by the despotic kings of Dahomey, whose power enabled them to guard their wives so closely that they could be fairly sure of the paternity of their children. "Amongst the upper classes of Dahomi we find, as has already been stated, a different system of kinship existing, it being there traced through males. This, which carries with it a proprietorship of a father in his children not recognized elsewhere, has very probably been brought about by the exercise of arbitrary power. Owing to the manner in which the actual wives of the king are immured in palaces, hedged in by various restrictions, and guarded by women soldiers who are the king's wives in name, the paternity of the children borne by the king's wives would no longer be doubtful; and an autocratic ruler might well set aside custom and declare that his son should be his heir and successor, instead of his brother or nephew. The upper classes might follow his example, but, unless the new system were imposed by law, the masses would hardly do so; and in Dahomi we find that this system is confined to the upper classes, the

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> G. Zündel, "Land und Volk der Eweer auf der Sclavenküste in West-

afrika," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xii. (1877) p. 390.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, p. 206.

masses still retaining kinship through females only. That universally in Dahomi descent used formerly to be traced through females, the existence of such words as *no-vi-nutsu*, 'brother,' literally 'mother's son,' and *no-vi-nyonyu*, 'sister,' literally 'mother's daughter,' seems to show. The fact that the king's sons have no rank during the lifetime of their father may also be a survival of such a system."<sup>1</sup>

Amongst the Ewe people first cousins, the children of two brothers or of two sisters, may not marry each other; but on the other hand marriage is allowed between two first cousins who are the children of a brother and of a sister respectively.<sup>2</sup>

"When a man dies, his widows devolve upon his heir, whose wives they become, in name at all events, for it is not incumbent upon him to consummate the union. When a brother succeeds a brother it is more usual for the union to be consummated than when a nephew succeeds an uncle."<sup>3</sup> It appears to be only a younger brother who is entitled to marry his deceased brother's widow.<sup>4</sup> But while a man may marry his deceased brother's wife, he is not allowed to marry his deceased wife's sister.<sup>5</sup>

Amongst some of the Hos, a Ewe tribe in German territory, when a woman lives in her husband's house, he may not eat in the house of her parents and they may not eat in his. A breach of this rule is shameful; many people say it would prevent the wife from bearing children.<sup>6</sup>

In former times the women of the blood-royal of Dahomey were permitted to intrigue with any man they pleased; but in the latter half of the nineteenth century this custom was put down by King Galele on account of the scandals which it caused; since his reign women of the blood-royal have contracted ordinary marriages.<sup>7</sup> Similarly among the Yoruba-

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 209 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. Zündel, "Land und Leute der Eweer auf der Sclavenküste in Westafrika," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xii. (1877) p. 390.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> A. B. Ellis, *op. cit.* p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> G. Zündel, "Land und Leute der Eweer auf der Sclavenküste in Westafrika," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xii. (1877) p. 390.

<sup>6</sup> J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, p. 744.

<sup>7</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 204, 211 sq.

speaking peoples of the Slave Coast the daughters of kings or chiefs are free to live with or marry whom they like, and they may change their partners as often as the whim takes them.<sup>1</sup> The license thus accorded to princesses in many African kingdoms, including Ashantee, Uganda, and Unyoro<sup>2</sup> as well as Dahomey and Yoruba-land, may possibly be a relic of sexual communism, which survived in royal families after it had become extinct among the common people.

Traces of communism in land among the Ewe tribes.

Traces of a primitive communism may perhaps be detected among the Ewe tribes in other departments of social life than in the relations of the sexes. "By native law and custom there is no private property in land, but a family in occupation of land cannot be disturbed; and land so occupied only practically reverts to the community when it is abandoned or thrown out of cultivation. When once land has been allotted to a family, the usufruct belongs to that family for as long as it chooses to cultivate it; but the land cannot be sold by the occupiers or assigned to any third party. Amongst the inhabitants of the sea-board towns, however, the decisions of the colonial law-courts have fostered the notion of individual property in land, in so far as the land on which houses are built is concerned, and there are indications of its extending still further."<sup>3</sup>

A family responsible for the misdeeds of its members.

Again, the common responsibility of a whole family for the misdeeds of any of its members is almost certainly among the Ewe peoples a survival of a former time when the rights and interests of the individual were merged still more completely in the rights and interests of the community. On this subject we read: "The family collectively is responsible for all crimes and injuries to person or property committed by any one of its members, and each member is assessable for a share of the compensation to be paid. On the other hand, each member of the family receives a share of the compensation paid to it for any crime or injury committed against the person or property of any one of its

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1894), p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 471 sq., 523 sq.,

565.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 217 sq.

members. Compensation is always demanded from the family instead of from the individual wrong-doer, and is paid to the family instead of to the individual wronged. In respect to this custom of collective responsibility and indemnification, the Ewe family resembles the old Welsh 'kindred': the practice in Wales, however, has generally been regarded as being connected with the tenure of the family lands, whilst, amongst the Ewe-speaking peoples there is no private property in land, which all belongs to the tribe.

"It seems that this system of family responsibility was, amongst the Ewe and Tshi-speaking peoples, preceded by one of community responsibility; under which each member of a village, or other community, was assessable for a share of the fine to be paid in compensation of injuries committed by one of the community upon others not belonging to it. This wider responsibility only now survives amongst the Ewe tribes in the liability of any member of a village or town to be seized and held as a hostage for the payment of a debt owing by another member of the same community; and amongst the Tshi-speaking peoples in the right which every creditor has to seize, in payment of a debt, the goods or person of any third party who belongs to the same community as the debtor. This custom seems to show that the community preceded the family, which one would certainly expect to be the case, when it is remembered that men must have dwelt together in groups, long before any such notion as that of kinship had been formed."<sup>1</sup>

Trace of the responsibility of a whole community for the deeds of its members.

Distinct, apparently, from the totems of the clans are the local sacred animals which are revered in different districts of the country; for it would seem that while a totemic animal is respected only by the members of its particular clan, who form merely a fraction of the population of any one district, the local sacred animals in question are respected by all the inhabitants of the district without exception. Yet the local sacred animal is sometimes a beast of the same species as the totemic. Thus in Dahomey the leopard is regarded as sacred and is especially worshipped by the royal family. Theoretically a man who killed a

Local sacred animals on the Slave Coast.

Leopards sacred in Dahomey.

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 208 sq.

leopard was put to death; according to Forbes, he was sacrificed to the offended deity, but in reality the culprit escapes by paying a fine and performing certain ceremonies to propitiate the god. The leopard is thought to be animated by an indwelling spirit, so that he who slays one of these beasts does not destroy the object of his worship, he merely deprives the spirit of its bodily tabernacle, a serious offence which calls for a costly atonement. Shrines containing rude effigies and drawings of leopards are common in Dahomey, and at these the people pray and sacrifice to the leopard-god. Leopard's claws are deemed amulets and are highly prized. At the court of Dahomey some of the king's wives, usually the youngest and handsomest, bear the honourable title of Leopard Wives (*kpo-si*), and on state occasions wear striped cloths.<sup>1</sup>

Crocodiles  
sacred at  
Whydah,  
Porto  
Novo, etc.

The crocodile is worshipped at Bageida, Porto Seguro, Savi, Porto Novo, and Badagry. In the days of the former kingdom of Whydah there were two pools near the royal palace at Savi where crocodiles were bred, and a numerous priesthood was set apart for their service. But nowadays offerings to the crocodiles are as a rule made only by members of the Crocodile clan, or by persons whose business obliges them to sail on the lagoons. There are no longer temples and priests dedicated to the worship of crocodiles. The native notion seems to be that a crocodile is the abode of a spirit who, in default of a human body, has taken up his abode in the carcase of the reptile. Spirits in these reduced circumstances are believed to be generally malignant and to vent their spite on mankind by entering beasts of prey. However, opinions differ on the subject, and there is no well-established standard of crocodile orthodoxy. In districts where the animal is worshipped it may not be molested.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, pp. 74 sq. Compare F. E. Forbes, *Dahomey and the Dahomans* (London, 1851), i. 160 sq., 171-174. A Ewe hunter who kills a leopard has to observe many curious ceremonies. He is painted with red and white earth on the left side of his body in imitation of a leopard's spots, and he has, amongst

other things, to make a funeral feast for the animal and to tie up its head carefully; for the upward look of its eyes is believed to retard the rain. See H. Spieth, in *Mittheilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, ix. (1890) pp. 17-19; J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, p. 29\*.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, pp. 71-74.

Again, the python is worshipped as a sacred animal in Dahomey, especially at Whydah, also at Agweh, at Great and Little Popo, and in the kingdom of Porto Novo. Its Ewe name is *dangbe*, which means "life-giving snake" (*dan* "snake," *gbe* "life").<sup>1</sup> The worship of the serpent appears to have originated at Whydah, and thence to have spread over Dahomey. The python is esteemed the god of wisdom and of earthly bliss. He it was that opened the eyes of the first man and woman who came into the world; for our first parents, like puppies, were born blind. The temple or house of the python at Whydah is a round hut thatched with grass; it stands in a small oblong enclosure near the middle of the town. Inside the fence are a few sacred trees, a small round hut containing an image of Legba, the Priapus of these negroes, and on the ground calabashes and earthen vessels full of water, maize flour, palm-wine, cowries, and other offerings made by the worshippers. Holes are left in the walls of the temple to let the serpents crawl out and in. The sacred reptiles are free to range the town and the neighbourhood. When one of them has strayed into the house of a European, a priest goes to fetch the errant god, and having purified himself by rubbing certain fresh green leaves between the palms of his hands, he prostrates himself before the serpent, takes it up gently in his arms, and carries it home. A native of Whydah who meets a python in the path prostrates himself before it, rubs his forehead on the earth, and covers himself with dust in token of humiliation. "You are my master," he cries, "you are my father, you are my mother; my head belongs to you; be propitious to me." Amongst the Ewe tribes who worship the python, a native who kills a python, even by accident, is by custom liable to be burned alive, and formerly the punishment was invariably inflicted. But now, though a pretence is made of burning the culprit, he is allowed to escape with his life from a blazing hut, on condition of paying a heavy fine and of running the gauntlet of the python-worshippers, who belabour him with cudgels till he has purified himself by plunging into running water. In old days even Europeans have been put to death for killing a

Worship of the python at Whydah.

The temple of the python.

Respect shewn for the serpents.

Formerly any person who killed a python was burned alive; but the penalty has been mitigated.

<sup>1</sup> Father Baudin, in *Les Missions Catholiques*, No. 779, May 9, 1884, p. 232.

The sacred serpent has his human wives.

python. The sacred serpent has many human wives, whom he marries secretly in the temple; but it is the priests who consummate the union. The wives bring water for the pythons, and make grass mats; at festivals they decorate the temple and offer sacrifices. The festivities are usually kept up all night, and degenerate into unbridled orgies of lust, in which the wives of the god play their part. It is the serpent god, they say, who possesses them and makes them act thus; it is he, too, who gets them with child.

Schools of the python-god.

Opposite the temple are schools or seminaries of the python-god, in which any child who may happen to touch or be touched by one of the reptiles must be kept for a year at the expense of the parents and taught the songs and dances peculiar to the worship. Formerly adults, especially women, were liable to be similarly treated if they had the misfortune to touch a python; even the wives and daughters of powerful chiefs were not exempt from the penalty. But the scandalous abuses of the custom, together with the decline of the priestly power, have caused it to fall into desuetude. Common offerings to the serpent-god are iron rods bent to imitate the coils of a serpent. These represent the male animal, and a bell-shaped image of iron represents the female. They may be seen in sacred groves near lagoons and springs of water; and beside them are placed calabashes or covered earthen vessels containing water and other offerings for the serpents.<sup>1</sup>

Offerings to the python.

The local worship of sacred animals on the coast of Guinea

It is possible that the local worship of sacred animals on the Slave Coast, as on the Gold Coast and in the delta of the Niger,<sup>2</sup> has been developed out of totemism, but there is no positive evidence of such a derivation, and it would be

<sup>1</sup> P. Bouche, *La Côte des Esclaves*, pp. 385-397; A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, pp. 54-63. As Whydah is a seaport which has long been inhabited by European traders, the worship of the serpent there has often been described. For earlier accounts of it see W. Bosman, "Description of the Coast of Guinea," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 494-500; Labat, *Voyage du chevalier Des Marchais en Guinée, Isles Voisines, et à Cayenne* (Amsterdam, 1731), ii. 133-161; Astley's

*New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, iii. (London, 1746) pp. 28-37; J. Duncan, *Travels in Western Africa* (London, 1847), pp. 126 sq., 195 sq.; F. E. Forbes, *Dahomey and the Dahomans* (London, 1851), i. 107. Whydah is called Fida by Bosman, and Juda by Des Marchais. As to the human wives of the serpent-god at Whydah, see further my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 57 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 574 sq., and below, pp. 590 sqq.

rash to assume it. In the absence of proof to the contrary it is, therefore, better to treat as distinct, on the one hand, the worship paid to a species of animals by all the inhabitants of a district, and, on the other hand, the respect shewn for their totemic animal by all the members of a totem clan. In both cases we see a community bound together by a common reverence for a species of animals, but whereas in the former case the community is a local group, in the latter it is a kin.

### § 5. Totemism in Southern Nigeria

No unambiguous evidence of totemism, in the strict sense of the word, appears to have been as yet discovered among the pagan tribes who inhabit the delta of the Niger, a dreary land of fetid pestilential swamps and impenetrable forests, intersected by a vast network of turbid, sluggish streams and creeks.<sup>1</sup>

But a regular system of totemism and exogamy prevails among the Bini, the tribe which has given its name to the great city of Benin. The system has lately been investigated by Mr. N. W. Thomas, Government Anthropologist for West Africa, to whose courtesy I am obliged for the following particulars.<sup>2</sup> The name which the Bini use for

<sup>1</sup> Lieut.-Col. A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, *British Nigeria* (London, 1902), p. 4. For descriptions of the dismal scenery of the Niger delta, see (Sir) H. H. Johnston, "The Niger Delta," *Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society*, x. (1888) pp. 749 *sqq.*; Major A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes* (London, 1906), pp. 13 *sqq.* The last of these writers observes: "Yet although in many localities animals and reptiles represent the ancestral or protecting deities of the clan or community, no tribe or clan that I know of is named after any particular animal or reptile" (Major A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, p. 318). Lieut.-Colonel Mockler-Ferryman calls attention to "the very marked traces of totemism which are found in West Africa"; but the list of totemic clans which he gives is not said to be drawn from Nigeria,

and as it coincides, or nearly so, with the lists given by the late Colonel A. B. Ellis (see above, pp. 556 *sqq.*, 579), we may surmise that he was thinking rather of the natives of the Gold Coast and the Slave Coast than of the tribes of Nigeria. See Lieut.-Col. A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, *British Nigeria* (London, 1902), pp. 266 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Some indications of totemism among the Bini had previously been given by Mr. R. E. Dennett, from whose account we gather that certain animals and plants are tabooed as food to certain families, that these taboos (*awa* or *agwa*) are inherited by children both from their father and their mother, and, further, that in some cases, at least, a man may not marry a woman who has the same taboos as his father. Among animals thus tabooed to some people are snakes, antelopes, monkeys, and elephants; among plants are yams and

may perhaps have been developed out of totemism.

The delta of the Niger.

Totemism and exogamy among the Bini.

a totem or totemic taboo is *awa* (plural *awaiḡbe*). Each family or clan has one or more totems (*awaiḡbe*), which are generally animals or plants. As a rule no one may kill or eat his or her totemic animal nor use his or her totemic plant. Even food which has been touched by the totemic animal is occasionally prohibited to members of the clan. The totemic families or clans are also exogamous; that is, no man may marry a woman who has the same totem (*awa*) as himself. However, this rule is falling into desuetude. A woman may not cook nor eat her husband's totem if he is in the house; she may not even eat it after his death, so long as she is suckling his child. Descent of the totem is in the male line; that is, children belong to their father's totemic family or clan and observe his totemic taboo or taboos. Some clans tell stories to account for the origin of their totems. One clan, for example, says that the boa is their totem because it helped one of their members; another clan says that black seeds are their totem and are therefore tabooed to them, because black seeds brought disgrace on the clan. To the rule that the totemic animal or plant may not be killed, eaten, or used by members of the clan there are certain interesting exceptions, especially in connection with burial ceremonies. On the first day of the burial ceremonies some families make soup out of their totemic plant or animal with which to sacrifice to the feet of the dead man. Afterwards the soup which has been so made and sacrificed, or more usually the portion of it which remains over from the sacrifice, is either thrown away, or eaten by the family, or consumed by strangers. The sacrificed portion may also be put to the lips of members of the family and then thrown away. Further, the totemic leaf or rope may be used in various ways at the burial rites of a member of the family. Thus it may be employed to wrap or tie the body, or to wrap the yams brought by the sons-in-law; or it may be set at the feet of the corpse. If the burial rites are not properly performed, the Bini believe that the deceased will not get to heaven

A wife may not cook or eat her husband's totem while he is in the house.

Sacrifice of the totems at funerals.

a small fruit called *ihihihī*. See R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* (London, 1906), p. 231.

Mr. Dennett's brief account has in general been confirmed by Mr. N. W. Thomas's researches.

(*Elimi*); or that if he does, his sojourn in the realms of bliss will be brief, for his sainted relatives will expel him and appropriate to themselves the yams which were offered for his benefit at the funeral. "Very rarely the forbidden animal is sacrificed on occasions other than burial rites, instead of in the death customs; it is then (1) eaten by the family or (2) by strangers. The sacrifice is annual."<sup>1</sup>

The following is a list of Bini totems which have been discovered by Mr. N. W. Thomas:—

## BINI TOTEMS

- |                                                      |                                |                                                               |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Calabash seed.                                    | 16. Boa.                       | 31. Food touched by fowl<br>or over which fowl<br>has jumped. |
| 2. Antelope ( <i>eruhe</i> ).                        | 17. All snakes.                | 32. Black bean.                                               |
| 3. Tortoise.                                         | 18. Monkey with white<br>spot. | 33. Bush cat.                                                 |
| 4. Leopard.                                          | 19. Mashed yam.                | 34. <i>Emile</i> (wild yam?).                                 |
| 5. Bush cow.                                         | 20. Pumpkin.                   | 35. <i>Erhumoyi</i> bird (African<br>pheasant?).              |
| 6. <i>Osan</i> leaf.                                 | 21. <i>Ibugwache</i> leaf.     | 36. <i>Iyege</i> leaf for soup.                               |
| 7. <i>Umeche</i> leaf.                               | 22. Porcupine.                 | 37. <i>Oton</i> (squirrel).                                   |
| 8. Coco yam.                                         | 23. Calabash top.              | 38. Animals with heads<br>cut off.                            |
| 9. <i>Fufu</i> (pudding) cooked<br>on preceding day. | 24. Palm wine.                 | 39. Rat.                                                      |
| 10. Ants' nest as pot rest.                          | 25. Bush rat.                  | 40. <i>Ochwe</i> tree.                                        |
| 11. Fish.                                            | 26. Calabash spoon.            | 41. Kneeling on one knee.                                     |
| 12. <i>Irhieo</i> rope.                              | 27. <i>Arhumoto</i> snake.     | 42. Snail.                                                    |
| 13. <i>Eboso</i> leaf.                               | 28. Fowl.                      | 43. Kite.                                                     |
| 14. Dog.                                             | 29. <i>Oliwu</i> leaf.         |                                                               |
| 15. Eating in squatting<br>position.                 | 30. <i>Oho</i> fruit.          |                                                               |

The foregoing account of Bini totemism, which we owe to the researches of Mr. N. W. Thomas, suggests some observations. In the first place the prohibition laid on a wife to cook or eat her husband's totem while he is in the house seems to be a precaution to prevent domestic brawls from arising between husband and wife over their different totems, and so far the rule confirms my theory of the totemic origin of the widely diffused group of tales which conform to the type of the Swan Maiden, or Beauty and the Beast, or Cupid and Psyche.<sup>2</sup>

In the second place the annual sacrifice of the totem is the first example of such a custom which we have met with in our survey of totemism; for the catching and killing of their totems by the Arunta and other tribes of Central

<sup>1</sup> From Mr. N. W. Thomas's manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 570 *sq.*

W. Robert-  
son Smith's  
theory.

Australia is not strictly speaking a sacrifice at all.<sup>1</sup> Further, the sacrifice of the totemic animal or plant to a dead member of the clan, and the eating of it by his kinsfolk, or the touching of their lips with the sacrificed portion of it at a funeral, seems to be plainly sacramental; it is to all appearance a solemn communion with the totemic animal or plant, which is effected both by eating a portion of the sacred and at other times tabooed food, and also by offering it at the same time to the corpse, in order that the dead as well as the living members of the clan may partake of its blessed influence. Thus these sacrifices and this form of communion with the totem furnish a strong confirmation of the theories which the late W. Robertson Smith, with the acumen of genius, propounded as to the nature and purpose of a totemic sacrament long before any actual example of such a rite had been discovered.<sup>2</sup> It seems probable that further researches in this part of Africa would bring many more instances of such sacraments to light.

Totemism  
in Fugar.

The territory of Fugar, which forms part of the Idah District in Southern Nigeria, contains twenty compounds, each with its prohibited animal or plant. In only one case is the prohibited animal sacrificed; a dog is killed in the family of Ebozua, the head chief. In the Wepa country, opposite Idah, on the west side of the Niger, there are two great exogamous divisions named Ego and Atzikia.<sup>3</sup>

Local  
worship of  
sacred  
animals in  
Southern  
Nigeria.  
The sacred  
leopard of  
Idah.

Apart from the existence of regular totemism among the Bini, the inhabitants of certain districts of Southern Nigeria revere particular species of sacred animals. Thus the leopard is held in great veneration by the Igaras of Idah, who call it "father" (*atta*), though they do not object to kill it in the chase. When a dead leopard is brought into Idah, it is dressed up in white and borne on the heads of four men from house to house, with singing and the beating of drums. Each householder gives a present of cowries or cloth to the owner of the leopard, and at last the carcase is buried with

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 109 *sqq.*, 230 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See W. Robertson Smith, article "Sacrifice," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, vol. xxi. (1886) pp. 137 *sq.*; *id.*, *Lectures on the Religion*

*of the Semites*, New Edition (London, 1894), pp. 295, 405.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. N. W. Thomas, in a letter to me dated Benin City, October 25th, 1909.

great ceremony and firing of guns. Were this custom neglected the people think that the beast's spirit would punish them. The kings (*Attas*) of Idah are buried in a place called the Grave of the Leopard.<sup>1</sup> Again, we are told that in the delta of the Niger "each little community had its 'totem,' or sacred animal, in whose species the ancestral spirit—the soul of the tribe, so to speak—was supposed to dwell. Thus, in Brass, they worshipped the python snake; in Bonny, the monitor lizard. Only nine or ten years ago this animal worship was so real that the British authorities in the Oil Rivers were compelled to afford it a certain amount of recognition. Europeans were forbidden to kill the sacred lizard of Bonny, or the still more sacred serpent of Brass, and were heavily fined by their consul if they infringed this prohibition. . . . At Bonny the monitor lizards became a sickening nuisance. They devoured the Europeans' fowls, turkeys, ducks, and geese with impunity; they might lie across the road or the doorways of houses with their six feet of length, and savagely lash the shins of people who attempted to pass them with their whip-like serrated tails, and if you wounded or killed one of them then there was no end of a to-do. You were assaulted or robbed by the natives, harangued by the Consul on board a man-of-war, and possibly fined into the bargain. In other parts of the delta it might be the shark, or the crocodile, or some water-bird that was worshipped, but nowhere was this zoolatry carried to greater lengths than at Bonny and Brass. For its effectual abolishment, which has been of the greatest benefit to the well-being of Europeans and natives alike, we owe our thanks, not to the intervention of naval or consular officials, nor to the bluff remonstrances of traders, but to the quiet, unceasing labours of the Church Missionary Society, who, by winning the natives from these absurd practices, have brought about such a change of affairs that now the python is promptly killed at Brass whenever it makes its appearance, and the monitor lizard is relegated to the woods and swamps. . . . Before that time, if a python seized a child in the streets in its coils, and slavered it with its viscous saliva, the mother—so far

Worship of  
the python  
at Brass  
and of the  
monitor  
lizard at  
Bonny.

<sup>1</sup> A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, *Up the Niger* (London, 1892), pp. 308 sq.

from interfering to save it—must stand by and call out her thanks, and summon her friends and relations to rejoice with her that the god-python had so honoured her family as to devour her child.”<sup>1</sup>

Sacred  
pythons at  
Fishtown.

Penalty for  
killing a  
sacred  
python.

Sacred  
fish-hawks.

Possible  
traces of  
totemism  
among the  
Cross River  
natives.

Down to the year 1894 Fishtown, a town of the Brass tribe, was overrun with sacred pythons, but in that year a fire broke out which not only demolished all the houses, but destroyed so many of the divine reptiles that the new town has been comparatively free of them ever since. Formerly the penalty for killing a sacred python, or any other of the local sacred animals, was death; and even powerful and wealthy chiefs could not escape condign punishment for so heinous an offence. At present any person who by accident or design destroys one of these reptiles must report the affair to the high priest, who sits in judgment on him and imposes a fine. Moreover, the culprit must purify himself by daubing his body with sacred chalk or mud, which is afterwards washed off with water. When a python died a natural death it used to be customary to levy contributions and bury it with the funeral rites and honours accorded to a chief. A similar custom is said to be still observed in other parts of the country when any sacred animal has given up the ghost.<sup>2</sup> All the coast tribes are reported to revere the fish-hawk and to observe towards it all the usages which are customary in regard to sacred pythons, monkeys, and the rest of the divine menagerie. Hence these hawks have grown almost tame and allow the natives to go close up to them.<sup>3</sup>

Among the pagan negroes of the Cross River, in the interior of the Niger delta, the Assistant District Commissioner, Mr. C. Partridge, has noted some customs and beliefs which may possibly be connected with totemism. At Nkimboma, a village of the Eshupum tribe, on the right

<sup>1</sup> H. H. Johnston, H.M. Vice-Consul for the Oil Rivers, “The Niger Delta,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, x. (1888) pp. 760 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Major A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, pp. 328-332. The writer’s account is general and does not apply to Fishtown only.

The custom of daubing the body of the python-killer with chalk may be intended to ward off the angry ghost of the dead serpent; for we are told that in Benin “evil spirits are all kept off by bedaubing oneself with chalk” (H. Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, p. 61).

<sup>3</sup> Major A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, p. 322.

bank of the Aweyong River, the head-chief's hut contains a painted board with three figures in relief representing a man, a woman, and a lizard. In answer to Mr. Partridge's questions the chiefs said: "Our forefathers said the lizard was their forefather, and they would not kill or eat it, but we do not now pay regard to that law. No, we don't punish a man who kills a lizard. Yes, we still give drink and *fufu* (yam pudding) to this juju. It is the juju of the town, not of the Eshupum tribe."<sup>1</sup> Further, in some of the towns of the Cross River there may be seen carved wooden poles, which Mr. Partridge compares to the totem-posts of North American Indians. These poles are carved with figures of men, women, and animals, such as crocodiles, dogs, snakes, and lizards; they may be twelve or fifteen feet high, and are sometimes surmounted by a human skull and surrounded by a circle of stones. One such great post will stand in the open square of a town. The one at Ogada, in the Eshupum tribe, is said to be the chief fetish of the place. Figures of animals are also carved on the big drums which some Cross River towns possess.<sup>2</sup> But there is no proof that any of these carvings are totemic.

Sacred lizards in the Eshupum tribe of the Cross River.

Carvings of crocodiles, dogs, snakes, and lizards among the Cross River natives.

In discussing the question whether totemism exists among the tribes of Nigeria, it is well to notice a remarkable belief which some of them cherish as to an intimate relation between the souls of men and the bodies of animals. They think that the souls of living people may be lodged temporarily or permanently in the bodies of animals, so that any injury done to the beast is felt by the man or woman whose soul is housed in its carcase, and the death of the one entails the death of the other. Thus among several tribes on the banks of the Niger, between Lokoja and the delta, there exists "a belief in the possibility of a man possessing an *alter ego* in the form of some animal, such as a crocodile or a hippopotamus. It is believed that such a person's life is

Belief among the tribes of Nigeria that a man may have an animal double, on which his life depends.

<sup>1</sup> C. Partridge, *Cross River Natives* (London, 1905), pp. 217 *sq.* Juju is the native term for fetish.

<sup>2</sup> C. Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, pp. 219-224. Mr. Partridge inclines to regard as totemic also the clay figures of men and animals modelled in low

relief, which may be seen on the walls of houses and verandahs in the Cross River district. Among the animals so represented are the leopard, serpent, crocodile, lizard, dog, iguana, and rat, but never the elephant. See C. Partridge, *op. cit.* p. 176.

The hippopotamus woman.

bound up with that of the animal to such an extent that whatever affects the one produces a corresponding impression upon the other, and that if one dies the other must speedily do so too. It happened not very long ago that an Englishman shot a hippopotamus close to a native village; the friends of a woman who died the same night in the village demanded and eventually obtained five pounds as compensation for the murder of the woman."<sup>1</sup>

Belief in external or bush-souls among the Calabar negroes. A man's bush-soul is supposed to exist in a wild animal, such as a leopard or a tortoise; and if the animal is hurt or killed, the man will fall ill or die.

In like manner every Calabar negro believes that he has four souls, one of which always lives outside of his body in the form of a wild beast of the forest. This external or bush soul, as Miss Kingsley calls it, may be almost any animal, for example, a leopard, a fish, or a tortoise; but it is never a domestic animal, and never a plant. Sometimes when a man sickens, it is believed to be because his bush-soul is angry at being neglected, and a witch-doctor being called in will advise him to make an offering to the offended soul. Wandering in the Calabar forests you will often see little dwarf huts with these offerings in them. They are made wherever the bush-soul was last seen by the witch-doctor; for a man cannot see his own bush-soul unless he possesses the second-sight. If the angry soul is appeased by the offering, the man recovers; but if not, he dies. When a man learns from a diviner what sort of creature his bush-soul is, he will thereafter be careful not to kill any animal of that species, and he will strongly object to any one else doing so; for if the animal is killed or injured he himself will die or be ill. Conversely, when the man dies, his bush-soul can no longer find a good place, but goes mad and rushes into the fire or charges people and is killed, and that is the end of it, for the bush-soul is not immortal. A man and his sons have usually the same sort of animals for their bush-souls, and so with a mother and her daughters. But sometimes all the children of a family take after the bush-soul of their father; for example, if his external soul is a leopard, all his sons and daughters will have leopards for their external souls. And, on the other hand, sometimes they all take after their mother; for instance, if her external

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Robinson, *Hausaland* (London, 1896), pp. 36 sq.

soul is a tortoise, all the external souls of her sons and daughters will be tortoises too. Such is the account which Miss Kingsley gives of the bush-souls of the Calabar negroes.<sup>1</sup> Some additional particulars on the subject are furnished by Mr. Richard Henshaw, Agent for Native Affairs at Calabar. He tells us that a man may only marry a woman who has the same sort of bush-soul as himself; for example, if his bush-soul is a leopard, his wife also must have a leopard for her bush-soul. Thus it would seem that endogamy rather than exogamy is the marriage rule in regard to bush-souls. Further, we learn from Mr. Henshaw that a person's bush-soul need not be that either of his father or of his mother. For example, a child with a hippopotamus for his bush-soul may be born into a family all of whom have wild pigs for their bush-souls; this happens when the child is the reincarnation of a man whose external soul was a hippopotamus. In such a case, if the parents object to the intrusion of the alien soul, they may call in a medicine-man to check its growth and finally abolish it altogether, after which they will give the child their own bush-soul. Or they may leave the matter over till the child comes of age, when he will choose a bush-soul for himself with the aid of a medicine-man, who will also select the piece of bush or water in which the chosen animal lives. When a man dies, then the animal which contains his external soul "becomes insensible and quite unconscious of the approach of danger. Thus a hunter can capture or kill him with perfect ease." Sacrifices are often offered to prevent other people from killing the animal in which a man's bush-soul resides. The tribes of Calabar which hold these beliefs as to the bush-soul are the Efik and Ekoi.<sup>2</sup>

A man may only marry a woman who has the same sort of bush-soul as himself.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 459-461. My lamented friend the authoress was kind enough to give me in conversation (1st June 1897) some details which do not appear in her book; among these are the statements, which I have embodied in the text, that the bush-soul is never a domestic animal, and that when a man knows what kind of animal his bush-soul is,

he will not kill an animal of that species, and will strongly object to any one else doing so. Miss Kingsley could not say whether persons who have the same sort of bush-soul are allowed or forbidden to marry each other.

<sup>2</sup> John Parkinson, "Notes on the Efik Belief in 'Bush-soul,'" *Man*, vi. (1906), pp. 121 *sq.* This belief of the Calabar negroes has been briefly re-

The Ibos also think that a man's soul may during his life take up its abode temporarily in the body of an animal, and that if the animal is killed the man dies.

A similar belief in the external souls of living people is entertained by the Ibos, an important tribe of the Niger delta, who inhabit a country west of the Cross River. They think that a man's spirit can leave his body for a time during life and take up its abode in an animal. This is called *ishi anu*, "to turn animal." A man who wishes to acquire this power procures a certain drug from a wise man and mixes it with his food. After that his soul goes out and enters into the animal. If it should happen that the animal is killed while the man's soul is lodged in it, he dies; and if the animal be wounded, his body will presently be covered with boils. This belief instigates to many deeds of darkness; for a cunning fellow will sometimes surreptitiously administer the magical drug to his enemy in his food, and having thus smuggled the other's soul into an animal will destroy the animal and with it the man whose soul is in it.<sup>1</sup> A like belief is reported to prevail among the tribes of the Obubura Hill district on the Cross River. Once when Mr. Partridge's canoe-men wished to catch fish near a town of the Assiga tribe, the people objected, saying, "Our souls live in those fish, and if you kill them we shall die."<sup>2</sup>

Similarly the Cross River natives in German territory believe themselves to be so

Similar beliefs are entertained by the natives of the Cross River valley within the German province of Cameroon. Groups of people, generally the inhabitants of a village, have chosen various animals, with which they believe themselves to stand on a footing of intimate friendship or relationship. Amongst such animals are hippopotamuses,

corded by a missionary, the Rev. Hugh Goldie. He says: "*Ukpong* is the native word we have taken to translate our word *soul*. It primarily signifies the shadow of a person. It also signifies that which dwells within a man, on which his life depends, but which may detach itself from the body, and visiting places and persons here and there, again return to its abode in the man. . . . Besides all this, the word is used to designate an animal possessed of an *ukpong*, so connected with a person's *ukpong* that they mutually act upon each other. When the leopard, or crocodile, or whatever

animal may be a man's *ukpong*, gets sick or dies, the like thing happens to him. Many individuals, it is believed, have the power of changing themselves into the animals which are their *ukpong*" (Rev. Hugh Goldie, *Catobar and its Mission*, new edition, Edinburgh and London, 1901, pp. 51 sq.). Compare Major A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, p. 217.

<sup>1</sup> John Parkinson, "Note on the Asaba People (Ibos) of the Niger," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 314 sq.

<sup>2</sup> C. Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, pp. 225 sq.

elephants, leopards, crocodiles, gorillas, fish, and serpents, all of them animals which are either very strong or can easily hide themselves in the water or a thicket. This power of concealing themselves is said to be an indispensable condition of the choice of the creatures for the purpose, since the animal friend or helper is expected to damage an enemy by stealth ; for example, if he is a hippopotamus, he should pop up suddenly out of the water and capsize the enemy's canoe. Between the animals and their human friends or kinsfolk a sympathetic relation is supposed to exist such that the moment the animal dies the man dies also, and similarly the moment the man perishes so does the beast. From this it follows that the animal kinsfolk must never be shot at or molested for fear of injuring or killing the persons whose lives are bound up with the lives of the brutes. This does not, however, prevent the people of a village, who have elephants for their animal friends, from hunting elephants. For they distinguish between human-elephants and elephant-elephants, and while they take great care not to injure the former they have no objection, but rather the contrary, to killing the latter. They say that a hunter who has the elephant for his friend always knows a human-elephant when he meets him ; indeed the recognition is mutual, and animal and man go their several ways without harming each other. And to avoid mistakes the hunter regularly sacrifices to the elephant-fetish before he sets out for the chase ; after that if he meets a human-elephant, the beast will lift up one of its fore-feet and hold it before its face, which is as much as to say, "Don't shoot." This belief in the sympathetic relation between animals and men, whose lives are inseparably bound up with each other, is said to be nowhere so strongly held as among the natives of the upper Cross River, particularly in the German district of Ossidinge. This is a land of hills, covered in parts with virgin forest and dense underwood, and cleft by many deep ravines and romantic mountain glens, affording ample cover to the wild beasts with which the simple natives imagine their fortunes to be linked. Some of these shy creatures, having not been molested by man for ages, have ceased to fear him and even

sympathetically related to certain animals (hippopotamuses, elephants, leopards, crocodiles, gorillas, fish, serpents) that when the animal dies the man dies and vice versa.

live on a certain footing of intimacy with their human brethren. At least we are told that the inhabitants of one little village are on very friendly terms with a herd of sacred hippopotamuses which have their abode in a stream not far off. A German official, on promising not to kill any of the beasts nor to reveal their lair to others, was privileged to witness the unwieldy monsters disporting themselves in a pool, after the beams of the morning sun, striking down over the tree-tops, had dispelled the mist which lay on the surface of the water. The chief who acted as guide called to the animals, and they seemed to answer to the call and followed him as he moved along the bank like a flock of sheep following their shepherd.<sup>1</sup>

Similar beliefs as to animal doubles or human souls existing in animal bodies are found in other parts of Africa.

Nor are such notions confined to the tribes of the Niger delta. At the town of Paha, in the northern territories of the Gold Coast, there are pools inhabited by crocodiles which are worshipped by the people. The natives believe that for every death or birth in the town a similar event takes place among the crocodiles.<sup>2</sup> Among the Angass, of the Kanna District in Northern Nigeria, "when a man is born, he is endowed with two distinct entities, life and a *kurua* (Arabic *rin*). . . . When the *rin* enters a man, its counterpart enters some beast or snake at the same time, and if either dies, so also does the body containing the counterpart. This, however, in no wise prevents a man from killing any game, etc., he may see, though he knows full well that he is causing thereby the death of some man or woman. When a man dies, his life and *rin* both leave him, though the latter is asserted sometimes to linger near the place of death for a day or two."<sup>3</sup> The Balong of Cameroon, in German West Africa, like the Calabar negroes, think that every man has several souls, of which one is in his body and another in an animal, such as an elephant, a wild pig, a leopard, and so forth. When a man

<sup>1</sup> Alfred Mansfeld, *Urwald-Dokumente, Vier Jahre unter den Crossflussegern Kameruns* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 220-223. For a description of the country, see *ibid.* pp. 1 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Daily Graphic*, Tuesday, October 7, 1902, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Extract from a Report by Captain Foulkes to the British Colonial Office. My thanks are due to Mr. N. W. Thomas for sending me this extract and to the authorities of the Colonial Office for their permission to publish it.

comes home, feeling ill, and says, "I shall soon die," and is as good as his word, the people aver that one of his souls has been killed by a hunter in a wild pig or a leopard, and that the death of his external soul has caused the death of the soul in his body. Hence the corpse is cut open, and a diviner determines, by an inspection of the inwards, whether the popular surmise is correct or not.<sup>1</sup> In the Congo region some chiefs link their destiny with that of an animal. Thus the chief Bankwa of Ndolo, on the Moeko River, had conferred this distinction on a certain hippopotamus of the neighbourhood, at which he would suffer no one to shoot.<sup>2</sup> At the village of Ougek, in the Gaboon, a French missionary slept in the hut of an old Fang chief. Awaking in the middle of the night he saw a huge black serpent of the most dangerous sort ready to dart at him. He was about to shoot it when the chief stopped him, saying, "In killing the serpent, it is me that you would kill. Fear nothing. The serpent is my *elangela*."<sup>3</sup>

What is the relation of such beliefs and practices to totemism? When a whole family—parents, children, and children's children—believe that their external souls are in a certain species of animals, and for that reason abstain from killing, eating, or injuring the creatures, it is obvious that the relation in which the family stands to the species of animals bears at least a superficial resemblance to totemism. Elsewhere I have conjectured that the origin of totemism is to be sought in the belief of the possibility of thus depositing the soul for safety in an external object;<sup>4</sup> and we have seen that among the Sienas of the Ivory Coast the belief in human souls lodged in the sacred animals appears to form an integral part of totemism.<sup>5</sup> To that question we shall return later on. Meanwhile I will observe that probably superstitions of this sort are much more widely diffused than the evidence to hand would lead us to suppose. In particular the widespread belief in were-

Relation of such beliefs and practices to totemism.

<sup>1</sup> J. Keller (missionary), "Ueber das Land und Volk der Balong," *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, October 1, 1895, p. 484.

<sup>2</sup> *Notes analytiques sur les Collections ethnographiques du Musée du Congo*, i. (Brussels, 1902-1906) p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Father Trilles, "Chez les Fangs," *Les Missions catholiques*, xxx. (1898) p. 322.

<sup>4</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 389 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 551, 552 *sq.*

Were-wolves, were-tigers, etc.

wolves, were-tigers, and other animals of that sort, may perhaps on analysis be found to resolve itself into a belief in the external soul. For it should be noticed that, at least in some cases, the owner of a bush-soul is thought to be able to turn himself temporarily into an animal of the kind in which his bush-soul is lodged.<sup>1</sup> Now this faith in the temporary transformation of a man into a beast is the essence of the were-wolf superstition.<sup>2</sup>

### § 6. Totemism in Northern Nigeria

Traces of totemism among the Hausas and Fulani of Northern Nigeria.

In recent years enquiries pursued by Mr. H. R. Palmer, Resident in Charge of Katsina, among the Hausas and Fulani of Northern Nigeria have elicited a good deal of evidence tending to shew that, despite the spread of Mohammedanism in this part of Africa, many of the natives still entertain beliefs and observe customs like those which we have found widely diffused over Western Africa from Senegambia to Cameroon. With regard to these customs and beliefs a doubt may indeed be raised as to whether they should be classed under the head of totemism or not; but in many points they resemble true totemism so closely that it seems desirable to take account of them in the present work. A system of superstition like totemism is founded on modes of thought so loose and vague that any attempt to lay down its boundaries with rigorous precision would necessarily be futile; and if we wish to penetrate to its inner meaning and ultimate source, we must not circumscribe the scope of our enquiry by rigid definitions, which, however appropriate to a philosophical treatise, are out of place in the exploration of a region so hazy and indefinite

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 596, with the Rev. H. Goldie's account in the footnote.

<sup>2</sup> As to were-wolves, were-tigers, and creatures of that sort, see W. Hertz, *Der Werwolf* (Stuttgart, 1862); W. H. Roscher, "Das von der Kynanthropie handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side," *Abhandlungen der philolog.-histor. Classe der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, xvii. No. 3 (Leipsic, 1896); J. J. M. de Groot, "De Weertijger in onze Koloniën en op het oostaziatische

Vastelande," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xlix. (1898) pp. 549-585; *id.*, *The Religious System of China*, iv. 156 *sqq.*; A. C. Kruijt, "De weerwolf bij de Toradja's van Midden-Celebes," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde*, xli. (1899) pp. 548-567; J. Knebel, "De weertijger op Midden-Java," *ibid.* pp. 568-587; A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel* (The Hague, 1906), pp. 109 *sqq.*

as the mind of a savage. In researches of this sort it is safer to take too wide than too narrow a view of the matter in hand, since it often happens that light is thrown on the dark recesses of the subject by something which at first sight might seem to lie wholly outside of its boundaries.

For the following account of indications of totemism among the Hausas and Fulani I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. H. R. Palmer, who has very liberally placed his manuscript materials at my disposal.

From the earliest times apparently the northern portion of Hausaland has been inhabited by two distinct races, a nomadic people of Berber blood and a settled people of negro or negroid blood. The nomadic Berbers are now known as Fulani, the settled negroes as Hausas. Yet the Hausas themselves appear to be a cross produced by the fusion of Berber invaders with the aboriginal negro or negroid population of the country. The *lingua franca* of Hausaland is Hausa. At the present day almost all the peoples called Hausas are Mohammedans, but nevertheless there exist among them some communities which have not yet been converted to the dominant faith and still retain to a certain degree the customs of their forefathers. These communities are known as Maguzawa, a word which seems to mean "idolaters." Though they do not profess Islam, the Maguzawa have been so far influenced by their Moslem rulers and conquerors that they have abandoned many of their old ways, and what they retain of them is in fact, though not in name, a crude monotheism with some local spirit in the place of Allah. However, enough of their ancient paganism lingers to indicate roughly the nature of the beliefs which Islam has displaced and is steadily displacing. Besides these Maguzawa there are a certain number of pagan Fulani and other heathen peoples of Berber affinity, who have migrated into Hausaland at various times in the past.

In manners and customs as well as in race the Fulani and Hausas differ from each other. The Hausa is polygamous and exogamous; the Fulani is monogamous and endogamous. The Hausa buys his wife and takes her to his own house; the nomadic Fulani does not expect his wife

The Fulani are Berbers; the Hausas are negroes or negroids. Most of the Hausas are now Mohammedans, but some communities of heathens remain.

Different marriage customs of the Fulani and Hausas.

to come and live with him until two years have elapsed after the wedding. Indeed the sexual relations among these nomads closely resemble those which are observed by the Tuaregs, among whom the husband goes to live with his wife, not the wife with her husband. In both peoples there is the same loose morality before marriage and the same strict morality after it. The first-born son of a Fulani always lives with his mother's kinsfolk till his father dies. He is called his father's shame (*kunya*). Among some of the pagan Fulani marriage between half brothers and sisters is allowed, provided that the common parent is the father ; but marriage between half brothers and sisters, the children of the same mother, is forbidden. Precisely the same rule was followed by the ancient Athenians.<sup>1</sup> Such a custom is probably a relic of mother-kin, that is, of the mode of tracing relationship through the mother and not through the father ; for under that system in its rigid form the children of the same father but not of the same mother are not related by blood and are therefore free to marry each other. At the present day, however, the practice of tracing descent in the female line hardly exists south of the country occupied by the Kelgeres. But in Mr. H. R. Palmer's opinion it is certain that mother-kin anciently prevailed alike among the Hausas, the Fulani, and the Tuaregs. According to him, the evidence available in the Soudan tends to shew that the custom of reckoning descent on the female side only was particularly characteristic of the Berber or Hamitic peoples.

Both the heathen Fulani and the heathen Hausas practise a rite, probably very ancient, which savours of sexual communism and is intended, if Mr. Palmer is right, to ensure the fecundity of the clan. Among the Fulani the ceremony is called *Girêwali* ; it is held at the end of the year. The youths and maidens gather in the forest. When the young men have formed a line, the girls come up to them and each chooses her partner. Food is cooked and eaten and the couples pass the night together. The observance of this custom is deemed of great importance for

Marriage of half brothers and sisters.

Mother-kin formerly prevalent among the Hausas, Fulani, and Tuaregs.

Traces of sexual communism among the Fulani and Hausas. The Fulani ceremony called *Girêwali*.

<sup>1</sup> Philo Judaeus, *De specialibus the Early History of the Kingship*, p. *legibus* (vol. ii. p. 303, ed. Th. 245. Mangey). Compare my *Lectures on*

the prosperity of the clan. Any father who prevented his children from taking part in the orgy would be expelled from the community.

Among the pagan Hausas the custom is similar in substance though different in details. It is called *Fitā Furra*. In the autumn several girls and as many boys are shut up together in an enclosure and left there for a month. Food is brought them by an attendant called a dog (*karre*). The whole expense is borne by some rich man, who thinks he thereby confers a benefit on the community. A long upright pole called *jigo* or *gansami* is set up inside of the enclosure, and sacrifices of goats, sheep, fowls, and so on are offered to the spirits Kuri and Uwagona. Of these spirits Kuri is the Hausa Pan, a woodland deity who wears a goat's skin and barks like a dog in the forest. Uwagona is a female divinity who has been compared to Cybele or Demeter. At the end of the month any of the girls who are found to be with child are considered to be the wives of their youthful partners.

The Hausa custom called *Fitā Furra*.

Traces of totemism or of something like it occur both among the heathen Fulani and among the heathen Hausas. There is only one equivalent in the Hausa language for the words totem and taboo, which we have borrowed from the savages of North America and Polynesia. It is *kan-gidda* and means "head of the house" or "that which is upon the house." The totems, if we may call them so, of such pagan Fulani as are to be found in the northern portion of Hausaland appear to be chiefly birds, as for example the partridge and the dove, but some people have an animal totem in addition to a bird. Among the animal totems is the iguana. All the Fulani believe that if they were to kill their totemic birds or animals, they would die.

Totems of the pagan Fulani.

All the pagan Hausas confess to having at least one totem or taboo. Persons who have the same totem or taboo constitute a clan, but these totemic clans bear no fixed relation to the political divisions of the country, as these divisions exist and have existed for five or six hundred years. Each political division has its badge, which is tattooed on the faces of the children without regard to their totemic clan.

Totems of the pagan Hausas.

The following examples of Hausa clans with their

totems and taboos have been collected by Mr. H. R. Palmer.

The black  
snake  
totem.

1. *The Mahalbawa, a Katsina Hausa hunter community.*—Their totem is a short black snake called *kwakia*. They believe that they are descended from the snake and that if they killed it they would die. The clan is exogamous with descent in the male line; in other words, no man may marry a woman who has the black snake *kwakia* for her totem, and children take their totem from their father, not from their mother. If the snake is friendly, it lives among the rafters, and when a boy is born, the reptile crawls down to the floor of the hut. Should the snake kill an animal, the flesh of the animal may not be eaten by any member of the clan. Thus the Mahalbawa seem to be a typical totemic clan; for the totem is hereditary, they believe themselves to be descended from the totemic animal, they will not kill it, and they will not marry women who have the same totem as themselves.

The hippo-  
potamus  
totem.

2. *The Yan Dorina Hausas*, "children of a hippopotamus."—Their totem is the hippopotamus, and they sacrifice to the beast on the banks of a stream a hen which is coloured like an ostrich.

The  
featherless  
fowl totem.

3. *The Biritchi Hausas, Maguzawa called "kai na fara."*—Their totem is a featherless fowl. Mr. Palmer's informant said that this fowl (*kuduku kaza*) is sacrificed on very special occasions once a year. Members of the clan may not eat food which has been touched by iron. If fire has burnt the town, they will not eat what is left of the corn. They do not carry fire in a calabash (*kworia*) but only in an earthenware dish (*akwoshi*). These Hausas do not work on Sunday, but offer sacrifice on that day.

The frog  
totem.

4. *The Garubawa of Keffindukuduku, Katsina.*—They say they are of Berber origin. Their totem is a frog (*kwado*), which they will not touch. They think that after death a bad soul wanders about, but that a good soul is born again of a woman in the family, generally reappearing as a grandson of the deceased. There is a village pole at which wrestling matches take place. They say that so long as the pole stands the powers of the village youth remain unshaken. If the pole should be blown down, it will not

be set up till the next generation. The name of the pole is *gansami*, which means "son of the Queen."

5. *The Kutumbawa, Hausas of Kuzauri and Kano.*—The blackthorn, tamarind, and large green snake totems. Their totems are two trees, the black thorn (*dashi*) and tamarind (*tsamia*). They may not cut nor burn these trees. Another totem of theirs is a large green snake (*dau magurji*), which they will not kill nor touch. They sacrifice on the top of a crag near by to "the spirit that turns bones white" (*dodo ba farin kasshi*). Their prosperity was believed to be bound up with a black rock poised on the top of the crag. The rock used to warn them of coming war by shrieking thrice; when it fell, they were conquered.

6. *The Baawa.*—By race and religion they are Fulani pagans, by profession they are nomadic herdsmen. They do not kill their cattle except for a feast, and then the animals must be slaughtered at the foot of a tree which has little sap. But on the contrary trees with much sap are given to cattle to eat as a medicine. In contrast to the Biritchi, they may only take up fire in a calabash (*kworia*); if a woman with child should be so imprudent as to take up fire in an earthen vessel, she would have a miscarriage. The totem of Mr. Palmer's informant was a fox (*yanyawa*).

7. *The Baban Dammo.*—These are Hausas of the earliest Katsina stock. Their totem is an iguana (*dammo*), and they believe themselves to be descended from the animal. They will not eat hot food out of a calabash and they will not use a calabash to carry fire in. They think that souls live after death and kill the living, if they are not placated. In order to prevent the soul from getting out of its earthly tabernacle and doing a mischief, they lay thorns on a corpse. Unable to escape through the prickly barrier without scratching its tender substance, the poor soul perforce remains quiet in the rotting body.

8. *The Romawa, Hausas of Kano.*—Their totem is a snake (*dan bida*). It descends in the male line from father to children. A woman keeps her own totem after marriage. They will not marry women who have the same totem as themselves; in other words, the clan is exogamous.

9. *The Kiawa, Hausas of Kano.*—Their totem is an

Elephant totem. elephant. They sacrifice at the foot of a tamarind tree (*tsamia*) to Kuri and Uwadawa.

Iguana totem. 10. *The Darbawa Hausas of Baurenia in Katsina.*—Their totem is an iguana (*dammo*). They now marry within the clan, but say that formerly they did not do so. They think that the soul of a dead man enters into a woman and is reborn in a grandson.

*Kamuchi* totem. 11. *The Yan Tugamma, Hausas of Maradi.*—Their totem is *kamuchi* (?). They will not wear any clothes of a light blue colour, believing that if they did they would grow poor.

Lion totem. 12. *The Berawa, Hausas of the district of Yaudaka (Katsina).*—Their totem is a lion, which they dare not touch. They kill all snakes. They will not burn a silk cotton tree nor carry fire in a calabash.

Black snake totem. 13. *The Geauaskawa, Hausas of Dan Gani Katsina.*—Their totem is a black snake (*kwakia*), and they think that the soul of the snake dwells in their king.

Lion, tree, and hawk totems. 14. *The Dubawa of Wawalkaza, Katsina Hausas.*—Their totems are a lion, a tree (*kiria*), and a hawk (*shirua*). They will not take up fire in an earthen pot (*kasko*), believing that to do so would cause headache. So they carry fire on two sticks.

Partridge totem. 15. *The Sarikin Machira* (Chief of the Blacksmiths) has for his totem the partridge (*makorua*) and thinks he would die if he killed the bird. One of his ancestors killed a partridge, took it home, ate it, and died the very same night. Not only so, but the whole family were burnt to ashes in a fire soon afterwards, all but one woman, who never would eat partridge again. When people asked her why she would not eat partridge, she replied, "It is the totem (*kangidda*) of my grandfather. He ate it, and see what happened!" The blacksmiths, potters, and other industrial clans seem to have been originally servile Berber peoples. They are commonly called "slaves of the Fulani."

Python totem. 16. *The Yan Gido, Katsina Hausas.*—Their totem is the python (*kasa*). At the beginning of the year, which falls in autumn, they hold a great feast, at which they sacrifice to Kuri, the woodland deity who wears a goat's skin, and also to Uwardawa, who causes men to go sideways

like a crab. Children take their totem from their father. A man prefers to marry a woman who has the same totem as his mother; in other words, the men of this clan prefer to intermarry with the women of one particular clan only. In regard to the marriage of cousins, children of sisters or of half-sisters may not marry each other; children of brothers or of half-brothers may not marry each other; but the child of a brother or of a half-brother may marry the child of a sister or of a half-sister.

Other Hausa and Fulani clans with their totems, as ascertained by Mr. H. R. Palmer, are as follows:—

Other  
totemic  
clans.

#### HAUSA AND FULANI CLANS AND TOTEMS<sup>1</sup>

Clans.	Districts.	Totems.
17. Yan Maisa .	Metazu in Katsina	a snake ( <i>dan bida</i> )
18. Tannawa .	Kano	crocodile
19. Yan Tuga .	Kano	lion
20. Ba Daffawa .	Katsina	black snake ( <i>kwakia</i> )
21. Dásawa .	Katsina	black snake ( <i>kwakia</i> )
22. Dogarawa .	Remin Gado in Kano	crocodile ( <i>kadda</i> ) and black snake ( <i>kwakia</i> )
23. Kimbawa (probably Fulani mixed with Hausas) .	...	crow ( <i>hankaka</i> ) and black snake ( <i>kwakia</i> )
24. Tosawa .	Jikamshi Katsina	black snake ( <i>kwakia</i> )
25. Damfawa (Fulani)	Zamfara	crested crane ( <i>gamraka</i> ) and crow ( <i>haukaka</i> )
26. Sulibawa (Fulani)	Katsina	a dove ( <i>kurchia</i> )
27. Rungumawa .	Katsina	black snake ( <i>kwakia</i> ) and tamarind tree
28. Arawa .	Daura	snake ( <i>dan magurji</i> )

In the preceding list the number of clans which have snakes, especially the black snake (*kwakia*), for their totems is remarkable. Mr. Palmer is of opinion that these snake people represent the negroid element in the population.

Many  
black snake  
totems.

The Hausa states are seven in number, each of them ruled by a king. Down to the nineteenth century the daughters of the king of Daura were always married to slaves, and the king

Seven  
Hausa  
kingdoms.

<sup>1</sup> In this list all the clans are Hausa except Nos. 23, 25, and 26, which are Fulani.

Marriage  
of king's  
daughters  
to slaves.

was always chosen from their children, not from the children of the late king. The Queen Mother was always a most powerful personage. This shews that in Daura, as in Ashantee, royal blood was traced only in the maternal line, and that the lineage of the king's father was deemed a matter of no consequence.<sup>1</sup>

Death and  
burial of  
Hausa  
kings.

The manner of the death and burial of Hausa kings is worthy of notice. In three of the kingdoms, namely Gobir, Katsina, and Daura, the customs observed on such occasions were these. On the first signs that a king was failing in health or becoming infirm, an official who bore the title of Killer of the Elephant (*Kariagiwa*) appeared and throttled him by holding his windpipe. The entrails of the dead king were then removed and his body was smoked over a slow fire for seven days. By that time the election of a successor was complete. The king elect was conducted to the centre of the town, called Head of the Elephant (*kan giwa*), and was there made to lie down on a bed. A black ox was next brought and slaughtered over the prostrate prince, the blood being made to run all over his body. Then the ox was flayed, and the dead king, being wrapped up in the hide, was dragged along the ground to the place of burial, which was a circular pit, where he was buried in a sitting posture. After his bath of ox blood the new king had to reside for seven days in his mother's house, where he was washed daily. On the eighth day he was conducted in state to the palace. In Daura the new king had besides to cross over the body of the dead king.<sup>2</sup>

New Year's  
festival  
among the  
Hausas.

At the New Year's feast (*Wasan Worwo*) among the Hausas it is still the custom for a man to put on a mask with the horns of an ox fixed above his head and to dance in this costume. The Hausas believe that the dance promotes a good crop of corn.<sup>3</sup> This custom suggests that the Hausas imagine the spirit of the corn to be incarnate in an ox or a bull. A similar belief has been held by many other peoples.<sup>4</sup> It seems to be quite independent of totemism.

<sup>1</sup> As to the rule of succession to the throne of Ashantee, see above, pp. 564 sq.; and my *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> These particulars as to the death and burial of Hausa kings are derived

from Mr. H. R. Palmer's manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> From Mr. H. R. Palmer's manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, ii. 277 sqq., 294 sqq.

## § 7. Totemism in Congo and Angola

The Bakalai or Bakele are a large Bantu tribe inhabiting the lower valley of the Ogowe River in French Congo, who swarmed down from some unknown part of the interior about eighty years ago. Formerly nomads, they have now become carriers and merchants. Their settlements are widely scattered; communities of them are often found living in independent towns surrounded by other tribes. They cultivate the soil to a certain extent, possess a few goats and chickens, and subsist in part by hunting and fishing.<sup>1</sup> Like many other Bantu peoples, the Bakalai appear to be divided into clans which are both totemic and exogamous. At least this seems to follow from an account given of their customs by Du Chaillu, who spent some time among them. His testimony is all the more valuable because, writing at a time when neither totemism nor exogamy was commonly known, he records his discovery of totemism with evident surprise. The passage runs thus: "This day I had a glimpse at another curious superstition of these people. One of the hunters had shot a wild bull, and when the carcass was brought in the good fellow sent me an abundant supply of the best portions. The meat is tough, but was most welcome for a change. I had a great piece boiled for dinner, and expected Quengueza to eat as much as would make several hungry white men sick. Judge of my surprise, when, coming to the table and seeing only the meat, he refused to touch it. I asked why? 'It is *roondah* for me,' he replied. And then, in answer to my question, explained that the meat of the *Bos brachicheros* was forbidden to his family, and was an abomination to them, for the reason that many generations ago one of their women gave birth to a calf instead of a child. I laughed; but the king replied very soberly that he could show me a woman of another family whose grandmother had given birth to a crocodile—for which reason the crocodile was *roondah* to that family. Quengueza would never touch my salt-beef, nor

The Bakalai of French Congo.

Du Chaillu's evidence as to totemism and exogamy among the Bakalai.

Belief of the Bakalai that women have given birth and can still give birth to animals of the totemic species.

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 300 sq.; P. B. du Chaillu, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (London, 1861), p. 383; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 459.

even the pork, fearing lest it had been in contact with the beef. Indeed, they are all religiously scrupulous in this matter; and I found, on inquiry afterwards, that scarce a man can be found to whom some article of food is not *roondah*. Some dare not taste crocodile, some hippopotamus, some monkey, some boa, some wild pig, and all from this same belief. They will literally suffer the pangs of starvation rather than break through this prejudice; and they very firmly believe that if one of a family should eat of such forbidden food, the women of the same family would surely miscarry and give birth to monstrosities in the shape of the animal which is *roondah*, or else die of an awful disease. Sometimes I find that the fetich-man forbids an individual to touch certain kinds of food for some reason, or no reason rather. In this case the prohibition extends only to the man, and not to his family. It is astonishing how strictly such gross feeders as they are adhere to their scruples. It shows the power a superstitious faith has even over a lawless people as these are. I am certain nothing in the world would have induced the old king to eat the flesh of the wild bull, or even to eat out of a dish in which that had been cooked or otherwise contained.”<sup>1</sup>

The  
Bakalai  
taboos  
(*roondah*)  
are totemic.

In this passage Du Chaillu clearly distinguishes purely personal taboos, arbitrarily imposed on individuals, from the hereditary taboos (*roondah*) which have been observed by whole families for many generations. These hereditary taboos appear to be strictly totemic. The term *roondah*, which Du Chaillu applies to them, is plainly identical with *orunda*, the form of the word employed by Dr. Nassau and Miss Kingsley. The word means “prohibited,” and has been adopted by the missionaries as the nearest native equivalent they could find for “sacred” or “holy.”<sup>2</sup> Further, the totemic families or clans of the Bakalai appear to be exogamous; for, speaking of this tribe, Du Chaillu observes again with surprise: “It is a curious fact, that, though they will take

<sup>1</sup> Paul B. Du Chaillu, *Explorations in West Africa*, pp. 456 sq.; R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa* (London, 1861), pp. 308 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels*

(London, 1904), pp. 78-80, 211.

their brother's or father's wives in marriage, they will not marry a woman of the same *family* or clan with themselves. This is the case also among other tribes." <sup>1</sup> As he indicates in this last sentence, Du Chaillu found the rule of exogamy observed by other tribes of the Gaboon region besides the Bakalai. Elsewhere he says: "Tribes and clans intermarry with each other, and this brings about a friendly feeling among the people. People of the same clan cannot marry with each other. The least consanguinity is considered an abomination; nevertheless, the nephew has not the slightest objection to take his uncle's wives, and, as among the Bakalai, the son to take his father's wives, except his own mother." <sup>2</sup>

Exogamy among the tribes of the Gaboon region.

From all this we may conclude that the Bakalai have totemism of the common type; that is, that they are divided into clans, and that the members of each clan are forbidden to marry each other and to eat the flesh of a particular species of animal. With regard to the descent of the Bakalai clans we have not definite information, but since in this tribe the son inherits his father's property, <sup>3</sup> we may perhaps infer that the clan also is inherited by children from their father and not from their mother. In this respect the Bakalai differ from their neighbours; for among the surrounding tribes all clans are considered to descend on the female side, and a man's heirs are first his brothers and next his nephew, the eldest son of the eldest sister. Among these tribes, moreover, the headship of the clan is hereditary, and descends like property in the female line from a man to his brothers and his sisters' sons. <sup>4</sup> In short, the tribes among whom the Bakalai live have the system of mother-kin as opposed to father-kin.

Thus the Bakalai have totemism of the ordinary type. Descent among them seems to be in the paternal line.

The explanation which the Bakalai give of the origin of their totemic clans deserves our particular attention, for it has all the appearance of being primitive. In substance it agrees with the system of conceptional totemism which

The explanation which the Bakalai give of their totems

<sup>1</sup> P. B. Du Chaillu, *Travels and Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, p. 388.

<sup>2</sup> P. B. Du Chaillu, *A Journey to Ashango-land* (London, 1867), p. 427.

<sup>3</sup> P. B. Du Chaillu, *op. cit.* p. 429.

<sup>4</sup> P. B. Du Chaillu, *op. cit.* p. 429. The writer here remarks that, so far as he knows, the Bakalai are the only tribe of this region among whom a son inherits his father's property.

appears to be primitive and agrees in principle with the beliefs of the Banks' Islanders as to their conceptional totems.

prevails among the Banks' Islanders.<sup>1</sup> In both of these widely-separated regions it is believed that a woman can be impregnated by and bring forth an animal or plant. Among the Banks' Islanders the imaginary animal or plant so born is identified with the real child whom the woman gives birth to, and henceforth animals or plants of that sort become tabooed or sacred to the child; they are his personal or individual totem, being peculiar to him and not transmitted by him to his descendants. This is, if I am right, the absolutely primitive stage of totemism. The Bakalai have advanced beyond that stage, for among them the totems have become hereditary; but the tribe still retains the primitive belief that women can give birth to animals of the totemic species, and that they would surely do so if they ate of the totemic animal. This again confirms the view, which a consideration of the Central Australian evidence led me to suggest, that conception may often have been thought to be caused by the animal or plant which a woman has eaten of, and which accordingly becomes the totem of her child when it is born.<sup>2</sup>

The Fans, or Fangs, of French Congo.

The Fans, or Fangs, are a large and vigorous tribe or nation who occupy a vast region of French Congo from Cameroon on the north to about the fourth parallel of South latitude. They are estimated to number many millions, and are said to be multiplying fast. Their language, which comprises many dialects, belongs to the Bantu family, but differs considerably from other languages of that stock. It is believed that the Fans, or Pahouins as they are called by the negroes of the Gaboon, are recent immigrants into the country. Their habits are nomadic, for though they build villages they shift the sites of them from time to time. They collect ivory, make pottery and baskets, and are skilful workers in iron.<sup>3</sup> They possess an elaborate system of taboos or *eki*, as they call them, some of which appear to be totemic. For we are told that some

The Fans have a system of taboos

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 89 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 316 *sqq.*; J.

Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 458 *sq.*; Father L. Martrou, "Les *eki* des Fang," *Anthropos*, i. (1906) pp. 745 *sqq.*

individuals and some tribes bear the names of animals, such as Elephant, Panther, Gorilla, Crocodile, Eagle, and so forth; and that a man may not eat the animal whose name he bears, it is taboo (*eki*) to him. Such taboos may be common to a whole tribe, the members of which pay particular respect to a certain animal and will not kill it.<sup>1</sup> But details of their totemic system, if such it is, are lacking. The Fan villages are exogamous; in other words, a man may not marry a woman of the same village, she is taboo (*eki*) to him. It happens, indeed, that such marriages sometimes take place when the village is large and the relationship between the couple is distant; but persons contracting these unions are looked at askance, and any misfortune which befalls them is regarded as a punishment of their misdeed.<sup>2</sup> The marriage of cousins, apparently both on the father's and the mother's side, is also forbidden among the Fans.<sup>3</sup>

(*eki*), some of which seem to be totemic.

Marriage with cousins forbidden.

Another people of this region among whom totemism or traces of it may perhaps be detected are the Bantu tribes, which once composed the great native kingdom or empire of Congo, with its several provinces, including the provinces of Loango, Cacongo, and Ngoio to the north of the river Congo, and the province of Songo, Sonio, or Sonho to the south of it.<sup>4</sup> The general name which these Bantu tribes apply to themselves is Ba-fioti or the Dark-skinned People; the special name applied to the inhabitants of the Loango coast is Bavili.<sup>5</sup> As all these tribes were for centuries

The Ba-fioti or Bavili of the ancient kingdom of Congo.

<sup>1</sup> Father Trilles, "Mille lieues dans l'inconnu, à travers le pays Fang," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xxxiv. (1902) pp. 287 sq.; Father L. Martrou, "Les *eki* des Fang," *Anthropos*, i. (1906) pp. 747-761, especially pp. 755 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Father L. Martrou, "Les *eki* des Fang," *Anthropos*, i. (1906) p. 754.

<sup>3</sup> Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> J. B. Labat, *Relation historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale* (Paris, 1732), i. 19 sqq. The dismemberment of the empire resulted in the formation of separate kingdoms of Loango, Cacongo, Ngoio, etc. Compare Dapper, *De-*

*scription de l'Afrique* (Amsterdam, 1686), pp. 320 sqq.; Astley's *New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, iii. (London, 1746) pp. 212 sqq., 234 sqq.; Angelo and Carli, "Voyage to Congo," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 158; Proyart, "History of Loango, Kakongo, and other kingdoms in Africa," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 549 sq.; J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 315; A. Bastian, *Ein Besuch in San Salvador* (Bremen, 1859), p. 170; R. E. Dennett, *Seven Years among the Fjort* (London, 1887), pp. 72 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> R. E. Dennett, *Notes on the Folk-*

subject to Portugal and professed the Catholic faith,<sup>1</sup> it is almost inevitable that their native customs and beliefs should be tinctured by European influence. However, they still possess an elaborate system of taboos (*bina*, singular *xina*), some of which may perhaps be totemic in origin. Thus the several tribes, provinces, and districts have their tabooed or sacred animals. The whole tribe of Congo has for its sacred animal the leopard; and the three subtribes of Sonio, Cacongo, and Loango have for their sacred animals respectively the cricket, the eel, and the wild ox or bull. Further, each province under the rule of its chief (*fumu*) has two sacred animals; for example, the province of Xibanga has for its sacred animals the fowl and the duiker, or gazelle. Again, each district under its headman (*Kongo Zovo*) has its sacred animal; for example, the chief district of the Xibanga province has for its sacred animal the chimpanzee. Further, families have also their sacred animals, which are forbidden to them as food. Every person with any pretensions to good birth should have four sacred animals, namely, that of his father, that of his mother, and those of two grandparents. For example, one man has the antelope and the chimpanzee as the sacred animals of his father and mother respectively, and the pig and otter as the sacred animals of two grandparents. Another has the antelope and partridge as the sacred animals of his father and mother respectively, and the pig as the sacred animal of his grandparents.<sup>2</sup> Sickness is often attributed to the patient's rashness in partaking of the flesh of the animal

The several tribes, provinces, and districts have their sacred animals, such as leopards, wild bulls, gazelles, and chimpanzees.

Families! have also their sacred animals, such as antelopes, chimpanzees, otters, pigs, and partridges.

*lore of the Fjort* (London, 1898), p. 1; *id.* "Bavili Notes," *Folk-lore*, xvi. (1905) p. 371, note; *id.*, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* (London, 1906), pp. 3 sq.; A. H. Keane, *Africa*,<sup>2</sup> ii. 145-147 (Stanford's *Compendium of Geography and Travel*); E. Pechuël-Loesche, *Die Loango-Expedition*, Dritte Abteilung, Zweite Hälfte (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 1 sq. One of our chief informants on these tribes is Mr. R. E. Dennett, who resided for many years on the coast of Loango. He gives the tribal or national name as Fjort, Fioti, or Fiote.

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 313 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> R. E. Dennett, "Bavili Notes," *Folk-lore*, xvi. (1905) pp. 390, 395-397; *id.*, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, pp. 144, 152-154. The writer's statements lack clearness and precision, and I cannot feel sure that I have interpreted them aright. He does not define the terms tribe, sub-tribe, province, and district; and he does not know whether the grandparents in question are the two grandfathers or the two grandmothers, or one grandfather and one grandmother.

which is forbidden to his family.<sup>1</sup> A man belongs to his mother's family, and he may not marry any woman who has the same sacred animal as his mother. It is believed that the deity punishes breaches of this marriage law by withholding the rains in due season.<sup>2</sup> Hence it would seem that the Fiot families are totemic, exogamous, and hereditary in the maternal line. A man's heirs are, first, his brothers; next, his sister's son; third, his mother's relations; and failing all these his own children.<sup>3</sup> The mother alone has the right to pawn her children, but she must first consult the father; he cannot himself pawn his children.<sup>4</sup> A man may not marry his first cousins, the daughters of his father's brothers; but he may marry his first cousins, the daughters of his father's sisters.<sup>5</sup> Apparently, the Ba-fioti have the classificatory system of relationship; for a man applies the same term, *tata*, to his father and to his father's brothers, and the same term, *mama*, to his mother and to his mother's sisters.<sup>6</sup> Besides the taboos which appear to be totemic, the Ba-fioti observe many others of various sorts. Some of these are associated with certain offices, others with sacred groves (*bibila*, singular *xibila*), others with the possession of certain sacred fetishes. Others, again, are purely individual or personal, being arbitrarily imposed on sick people by the priest or medicine-man (*ganga*), or on children at birth by the priest or the parents.<sup>7</sup>

A man may not marry any woman who has the same sacred animal as his mother.

Mother-kin.

Cousin-marriages.

The classificatory system.

Taboos of various sorts.

The taboos enjoined on people from their infancy appear to be very common, if not universal, and to be rigidly observed. On this subject an old missionary to the Congo writes as follows: "It is a custom that either the

Merolla's account of taboos in Congo.

<sup>1</sup> A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste* (Jena, 1874-1875), ii. 166.

<sup>2</sup> R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, pp. 36, 52.

<sup>3</sup> R. E. Dennett, *op. cit.* p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> R. E. Dennett, *op. cit.* p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> R. E. Dennett, *op. cit.* p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> R. E. Dennett, *op. cit.* p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> Merolla, "Voyage to Congo," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 237 sq.; Proyard, "History of Loango, Kakongo, and other kingdoms in

Africa," Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 595; A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste* (Jena, 1874-1875), i. 183-187, 356, ii. 165 sq.; R. E. Dennett, "Bavili Notes," *Folk-lore*, xvi. (1905) pp. 398 sqq.; *id.*, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, pp. 155 sqq.; E. Pechuel-Loesche, *Die Loango-Expedition*, Dritte Abteilung, Zweite Hälfte (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 455 sqq.; Sir Harry Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo* (London, 1908), ii. 672 sq., quoting Bentley's *Kongo Dictionary*, s.v. "mpangu."

parents or the wizards give certain rules to be inviolably observed by the young people, and which they call *chegilla*; these are to abstain from eating either some sorts of poultry, the flesh of some kinds of wild beasts, such and such fruits, roots either raw or boiled after this or another manner, with several other ridiculous injunctions of the like nature, too many to be enumerated here. You would wonder with what religious observance these commands are obeyed. These young people would sooner chuse to fast several days together, than to taste the least bit of what has been forbidden them; and if it sometimes happen that the *chegilla* has been neglected to have been given them by their parents, they think they shall presently die unless they go immediately to receive it from the wizards." To illustrate the superstitious respect with which these taboos are observed the missionary tells us of a young negro who, on discovering that he had unwittingly partaken of his forbidden animal (in this case a wild hen) four years before, at once fell atrembling and died within four-and-twenty hours.<sup>1</sup> Even such necessities of life as manioc and bananas may be included among the tabooed foods, though the burden is sometimes considerably lightened by restricting the prohibition, for example, to certain kinds of bananas, or to bananas cooked in one particular way, as roasted or boiled, or to the eating bananas on one day of the week but not on the others, and so forth. But the range of these taboos is not limited to foods; it extends to other things, such as colours and articles of dress, or to actions of various kinds. One man, for example, may be forbidden to travel on a certain day of the week; another man may not smoke anywhere but in his hut, or he may not smoke in the presence of strangers; another man may be forbidden to see his newborn infant until the child can stand by itself; and so on.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that these and similar prohibitions laid on children from infancy may be ultimately derived

<sup>1</sup> Merolla, "Voyage to Congo," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 237 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, i. 183-185.

According to Bastian, these superstitious prohibitions are called *xina* on the Loango coast, but *quixilles* further south. *Quixilles* is no doubt the same with *chegilla*, the form of the word used by Merolla.

from totemism of the conceptional kind, though the link which perhaps once united them appears now to be broken. But the evidence does not warrant us in assuming this derivation.

On this subject the Rev. J. H. Weeks, who has lived as a missionary for twenty-seven years among the Bantu peoples of the Lower Congo, especially in the neighbourhood of San Salvador, writes as follows: "As regards totemism, after very careful enquiries I have come to the conclusion that, while it may very probably have been at one time in vogue in this region, the only indication of such prevalence still surviving is to be found in certain tribal names, of which up to the present I have been able to procure the following:—

The Rev. J. H. Weeks on traces of totemism among the peoples of the Lower Congo.

"*Esi kia ntu mia nzenze*, or the people belonging to the heads of the mole-cricket (*nzenze*). The people are proud of the name, because the *nzenze* always sticks its head up, even when being cooked; but they hunt, cook, and eat the mole-cricket.

"*Esi kimfulu*, or the tortoise people, who catch and eat tortoises.

"*Esi kinanga*, or the cowrie people, who live in a town near Kitovola."<sup>1</sup>

Such names certainly do not of themselves afford any proof or even presumption of totemism. Traces of, or perhaps rather analogies to, totemism are to be found in the hereditary taboos (*mpangu*) observed by the people. These taboos are transmitted from a father to his sons; daughters observe them so long as they are in their father's house, but when a daughter marries she generally drops her father's taboo and adopts that of her husband. "In one family the inherited tabu was not to eat any wild animal or fish with spots on it, such as the striped antelope, certain gazelles, civet cats, leopards, shrimps, etc., and the penalty for breaking this tabu was a very bad skin disease—a form of leprosy. The idea here was simply to avoid any flesh food that had a spotted skin. The *mpangu* of another lad was not to eat hippopotamus flesh or yams, the penalty being elephantiasis; not to eat crayfish, the

Hereditary taboos (*mpangu*) transmitted from a father to his children.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. H. Weeks, "Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People," *Folk-lore*, xx. (1909) p. 63.

penalty being a skin disease on the hand ; not to eat raw palm nuts, the penalty being an outbreak of scald head ; not to eat a spotted fish called *nlumbu*, the penalty being ophthalmia and loss of eyelashes ; not to eat the *ezunda* or great bull frog, the penalty being that the eyes will bulge out like the frog's. Here the penalties are in accord with the broken prohibitions ;—eating hippopotamus will cause elephantiasis or a leg like the legs of a hippopotamus ; eating the *nlumbu*, a fish with opal eyes, causes ophthalmia, and eating the frog causes bulging eyes.”<sup>1</sup>

If Mr. Weeks is right, as he seems to be, in his explanations of these taboos, they are based on the now familiar tenet of sympathetic magic that a man partakes of the qualities of the animal whose flesh he eats. When these qualities are undesirable, as in the cases cited by Mr. Weeks, the flesh of the animal in question is naturally avoided, and such avoidance may be wholly unconnected with totemism. Yet the restriction of each of these taboos to a particular family and its hereditary transmission in the family are totemic in principle. However, it is somewhat remarkable that among these peoples, while hereditary taboos are inherited from the father alone, according to the custom of the country children belong to their mother's family, not to their father's, and inherit the property of their maternal uncle, not the property of their father. Hence when a lad grows up, his maternal uncle will one day bring a calabash of palm wine to the town and claim him, and the father has no power to prevent his son from going away with his uncle. However, the lad himself may refuse to go and may remain under the tutelage of his father as long as he likes. But if he elects to go with his uncle, the father's responsibility for him is at an end.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the people are divided into clans called *ekandas*, which appear to be hereditary in the maternal line. “The difference between *ekanda* (clan) and *vumu* (family or dynasty, lit. stomach, womb) is that *ekanda* is the name for all the *vumu* of a clan. The tree is the *ekanda* and the branches are the *vumu*. The clan does not

But while taboos are inherited from the father only, children belong to their mother's family and inherit the property of their maternal uncle.

Moreover, the clans (*ekandas*) are hereditary in the maternal line.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. H. Weeks, “Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People,” *Folk-lore*, xx. (1909) pp.

307 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. H. Weeks, *op. cit.* xix. (1908) pp. 414, 415, 423, 425, 427.

originate with the man, but has its origin in the woman only; and it is the same with the subdivisions of the clan into families, each division or subdivision starts from a woman. . . . Every woman with children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren would be the originator of a *vumu*, as all her descendants would be considered as coming from her womb."<sup>1</sup> With regard to marriages between members of different clans "it is not a hard and fast rule, but it is a rule very generally followed, for the sons and daughters of one clan to marry only the daughters and sons of one other clan, and not to intermarry with several different clans. By thus intermarrying within the limits of one clan they think better treatment is ensured for the women of each clan."<sup>2</sup>

Similarly we have seen that a Python clan of the Hausas prefers to intermarry with one other clan only.<sup>3</sup> Among the Australian aborigines also we have met with tribes in which men of any one totemic clan are restricted in their choice of wives to the women either of a few clans or of one only,<sup>4</sup> and a like restriction is observed by the Kondayamkottai Maravans of Southern India.<sup>5</sup> Parallel to these restrictions on marriage is "the curious way Kulin Brahmins have of marrying into only a *pālṭi* or 'corresponding' family. Hence if there are many girls in one family and only one marriageable male in the *pālṭi* family, he must marry all the girls. If there are no males in the *pālṭi* family, the girls can never be married. This has actually happened within my own experience in Jessore. The other occurrence (of only a few *pālṭi* males) is the cause of Kulin polygamy, the existence of which was angrily denied by several correspondents of the *Times* not long ago. If ever polygamy was excusable, it was this. It is a sin to allow a Kulin maid to remain unmarried, and if there is only one *pālṭi* male available, why, he has to do his duty like a man."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. H. Weeks, "Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People," *Folk-lore*, xix. (1908) pp. 425, 426.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. H. Weeks, *op. cit.* p. 410. Mr. Weeks omits to say whether a man may marry a woman of his own clan, that is, he does not tell us whether the clans are strictly exogamous, but he

implies that exogamy is the general custom.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 607.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 176, 177 note<sup>1</sup>, 374, 387, 388, 407 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 249.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. J. D. Anderson, Teacher of Bengali in the University of Cambridge, formerly Magistrate and Collector of

Such restrictions are probably late rather than primitive. This seems to be true of the marriage customs of Kulin Brahmans.

It seems probable that all such extreme restrictions on intermarriage between clans or families are late rather than primitive. There is positive evidence that this is so in regard to the marriage of Kulin Brahmans: the rule which allows a Kulin family to intermarry only with one or two corresponding families appears to have been adopted as an extension of a reform instituted in the fourteenth century of our era. On this subject Sir Herbert Risley writes as follows: "The reforms undertaken in the fourteenth century by Devi Vara, a *ghatak* or genealogist of Jessore, extended only to the Kulins. These were divided into three grades:—(1) Swabháva, or original Kulins, (2) Bhanga, (3) Bansaja. The Swabháva grade was further subdivided into 36 *mels*, or endogamous groups, each bearing the name of the original ancestor of the clan or of his village. This restriction of the marriage of Kulins to their own *mel* was the leading feature of Devi Vara's reform. Its principle was adopted and extended, it is believed, by the Kulins themselves, in the singular arrangement known as *Pálti-Prakriti*, or preservation of the type, by which families of equal rank were formed into triple groups as it were, for matrimonial purposes, and bound to observe a sort of reciprocity. Thus Mukhuti families were bound to marry their sons to the daughters of the Chatterji and Banerji families, and *vice versa*. All kinds of complications are said to have arisen from this understanding. If, for example, the Mukhuti had only one marriageable son and the Chatterji or Banerji ten daughters approaching puberty, the former must marry all ten, or all must remain spinsters. . . . With the spread of education among the upper classes of Bengal an advance in social, morality has been made and the grosser forms of polygamy have fallen into disrepute. But the artificial

Chittagong, in a letter to me dated 22nd December 1909. In another letter (26th December 1909) Mr. Anderson says that "the custom is, or should be, known to all Bengal civilians," and for native authority he quotes Śyāmā Carañ Sirkar's *Introduction to the Bengali Language* (1861), pp. 406 sq. The correspondence in the *Times* and the Report of a Com-

mittee appointed by the Government of Bengal on the subject of Kulin polygamy are reprinted by Sir Herbert Risley in his book *The People of India* (Calcutta, 1908), Appendix VII. pp. cxxxix. sq. No impartial reader who glances over the correspondence and the Report of the Government Committee can doubt on which side truth lies.

organization of the caste still presses hard on a Kulin father who is unlucky enough to have a large family of daughters. These must be married before they attain puberty, or disgrace will fall on the family, and three generations of ancestors will be dishonoured."<sup>1</sup> But to return to Africa.

From the foregoing account we gather that the social system of the Bantu people of the Lower Congo presents some analogies to the social system of the Herero, a Bantu tribe of South-West Africa.<sup>2</sup> For both the Congo people and the Herero are divided into clans which descend in the maternal line; both sets of clans appear, though this is not quite certain, to be exogamous; and they bear names (Congo *ekanda*, Herero *eanda*) which closely resemble each other. Further, both the Congo people and the Herero have, quite independently of their maternal clans, a number of hereditary taboos which, unlike the clans, descend in the paternal line from a father to his children, and which are apparently not subject to a rule of exogamy; in other words, so far as the evidence goes, there is no objection to the marriage of a man and woman who have inherited the same taboo from their respective fathers.<sup>3</sup> Further, the two sets of taboos resemble each other in this, that both among the Congo people and among the Herero a woman regularly adopts the hereditary taboo of her husband at marriage.<sup>4</sup> These resemblances between the social systems of two Bantu peoples so widely separated from each other as the Herero of South-West Africa and the tribes of the Lower Congo can hardly be accidental; they point to a fundamental community of institutions, which further research may prove to be shared by many other Bantu tribes. This curious double system of clans inherited from the mother and taboos inherited from the father deserves to be studied with more attention than it has yet received. We have seen that it occurs also among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast.<sup>5</sup>

Thus in respect of clans inherited from the mother and taboos inherited from the father the people of the Lower Congo resemble the Herero. A similar double system occurs also among the people of the Gold Coast.

<sup>1</sup> (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Ethnographic Glossary* (Calcutta, 1892), i. 147 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 357 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> I was perhaps wrong in doubting this for the Herero (above, p. 364).

<sup>4</sup> As to this rule among the Herero, see above, p. 364.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 560 *sqq.* Amongst the Wagogo, also, there are two sets of taboos, one of which attaches to the clan and the other is inherited from the father. See above, p. 404.

Individual  
or personal  
taboos  
among the  
Congo  
people.

In addition to the hereditary taboos (*mpangu*) which descend in families through the males, the Congo people observe a number of individual or personal taboos, to which they apply quite a different name (*nlongo*), which seems to mean "medicine" or "poison." When a person is ill, the medicine-man is called in and forbids the patient to eat a certain food for the rest of his life. Thus one man will be debarred from eating cassava, another from eating pig or the snout of a pig, another from eating goat or the head of a goat, another from eating a certain kind of fish, and another from eating a certain kind of vegetable. The forbidden food is the person's *nlongo*. Sometimes the prohibition lasts only a certain time, say six months. Sometimes it is put on an unborn child and remains in force until the child's hair is cut and his nails trimmed, or until he or she marries, or until the first child is born to him or her. The choice of the forbidden thing appears to be purely arbitrary; it is determined by the whim of the medicine-man and bears little or no relation to the nature of the malady. Nevertheless to violate the taboo would, the natives think, be sure to cause the sickness to return.<sup>1</sup>

Club-  
houses for  
lads and  
unmarried  
men.

Down to about twenty-five years ago there were club-houses for lads and unmarried men in all important villages; on reaching the age of twelve years every boy had to take up his abode in the bachelors' club-house of the village or town. Unbetrothed girls visited the house in the dark by arrangement with the young men, but they might not reveal the secrets of the place. Their parents encouraged the girls to resort thither, believing that if they did not go they would be barren.<sup>2</sup>

The  
levirate.

These people practise the levirate; that is, when a man dies, his widow is married by one of his surviving brothers.<sup>3</sup>

Avoidance  
of a wife's  
mother.

A man may not speak to his mother-in-law. If it is necessary for him to communicate with her, he must employ a messenger. If he meets her on the road by accident, no fine is inflicted; but if he sees her coming and does not slink out of her way, public opinion will condemn him so strongly

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. H. Weeks, "Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People," *Folk-lore*, xx. (1909) p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. H. Weeks, *op. cit.* xix. (1908) p. 418, xx. (1909) p. 201.

The name for such a club-house is *nzo* a *mbongi* or *nzo* a *toko*.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. J. H. Weeks, *op. cit.* xix. (1908) p. 413.

that he will be compelled to send her a goat as a peace-offering and to beg her pardon. Mr. Weeks is probably right in thinking that this custom of avoidance was instituted, and is enforced, for the purpose of preventing incest.<sup>1</sup>

The Ovakumbi are a pastoral tribe in the extreme south of the Portuguese colony of Angola. Their country, known as Humbe, is a plateau about three thousand feet high on the right bank of the Kunene River. The language of the tribe belongs to the Bantu family. The wealth of the people is in their herds, to which they are fondly attached. Their villages, like those of many other pastoral Bantu tribes, consist of round huts arranged in a circle about the cattle pen and surrounded by a fortification of thorns and pales. The government is in the hands of a king (*sobba*) assisted by a council of nobles; his powers are very extensive, and he transmits his dignity, not to his own son, but to the eldest son of his uterine sister or, in default of such a nephew, to his uterine brother. The veneration paid to him amounts almost to worship. He is supposed to possess the power of making rain; and his subjects imagine that a breach of chastity committed by the unmarried youth would, if left unpunished, entail the king's death within the year. Hence all such offences are capital crimes. However, of late years the rigour of the law has been relaxed, and the culprits are now suffered to escape with the payment of a fine in cattle. Among the Ovakumbi all families which trace their descent from a common ancestor are dedicated to a bird or beast, which they may neither kill nor injure. Any breach of this law is rigorously punished. The sacred bird of the royal family is revered by the whole tribe. A white trader who dared to kill one of these birds was brought to trial and had to atone for his crime by forfeiting almost all his stock-in-trade.<sup>2</sup> These facts seem to indicate that the Ovakumbi, like many other Bantu tribes, are divided into totemic clans.

The Ovakumbi, a pastoral tribe of Southern Angola.

Traces of totemism among the Ovakumbi.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. H. Weeks, "Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People," *Folk-lore*, xx. (1909) p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Wunenberg, "La

Mission et le royaume de Humbé, sur les hords du Cunène," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xx. (1888) pp. 224, 235, 251 sq., 261 sqq., 271 sq.

The  
Baluba,  
a Bantu  
people in  
the Congo  
Free State.

Traces of  
totemism  
among the  
Baluba.

The Baluba are an important nation in the southern part of the Congo Free State.<sup>1</sup> Their territory lies between the Sankuru and Kasai rivers. The language which they speak belongs to the Bantu family.<sup>2</sup> Apparently some of the Baluba tribes or clans have totemism. At least this seems to follow from the account which the missionary-traveller, Mr. F. S. Arnot, gives of their tribal divisions. He says: "Not far distant from these parts many of the Luba people have the combination *bashila* in their family name. For instance, the Ba-shilange (Kalamba's people), Ba-shilambwa, Ba-shilanzefu. M. Le Marinel and I were talking over the probable meaning of the combination. We knew that *Ba* was a plural prefix, but it was not until after some thought that I remembered that the word *shila* (sometimes *chila* or *jila*) is that which the Luba people use for 'antipathy.' If I were to ask the Yeke people why they do not eat zebra flesh, they would reply, '*Chijila*,' i.e. 'It is a thing to which we have an antipathy'; or perhaps better, 'It is one of the things which our fathers taught us not to eat.' The Biheans use the word *chi-kola* to express the same thing. The words *nge*, *mbwa*, *nzefu* in the above combination mean respectively leopard, dog, elephant. So it seems as though the word *Ba-shilange* means 'The people who have an antipathy to the leopard'; the *Ba-shilambwa*, 'Those who have an antipathy to the dog'; the *Ba-shilanzefu*, 'Those who have an antipathy to the elephant.'<sup>3</sup> We called a native, and after a great deal of questioning he understood what we were driving at, and we found our conclusion to be correct. He then told us how the Ba-shilambwa and Ba-shilanzefu got their names. At one time they were only known as the Ba-shilambwa because they considered it was wrong to eat the dog. But one day a number of them went across the Lubi River to hunt elephants and stayed many days, during which rains had fallen, the river became much swollen, and when the hunters returned they could not cross. While they were wondering what to do an elephant came

<sup>1</sup> J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo* (London, 1908),

ii. 830.

<sup>3</sup> "An alternative translation might be, 'Those who hold the elephant sacred'—F. S. A."

past, and seeing that they were troubled, asked what was the matter. They were all much surprised, of course, to hear the elephant speak. But it went on, saying they must not be surprised, for it was a human being like themselves; *they* could not cross the river, but *it* could very easily, and advised them to get on its back, which they did, and reached the other side in safety. Ever since that time they have refused to eat the flesh of the elephant, and are now known as the Ba-shilanzefu."<sup>1</sup> In this passage the word *shila*, *chila*, or *jila*, seems only another form of *kissille*, *keshila*, or *kesila*, which, like *xina*, means "taboo" in the Fiot language;<sup>2</sup> and the account points to the existence among the Baluba of at least three clans, which have for their totems respectively the leopard, the dog, and the elephant.

To the north of the Baluba nation is the Bakuba or Bushongo tribe, occupying the valley of the Sankuru River, the waters of which find their way to the Congo. An anthropological expedition organised by Messrs. E. Torday and T. A. Joyce has lately investigated the Bambala subtribe of the Bushongo or Bakuba tribe, and has discovered among them a rather decayed form of totemism. In this subtribe the totems are hereditary, and persons who have the same totem may not marry each other, though in the present generation the prohibition is being disregarded. The institution is said to be very old and to have been instituted by the Creator, the first of the hundred and twenty-three chiefs who have ruled over the nation.<sup>3</sup>

Totemism among the Bambala subtribe of the Bushongo or Bakuba tribe.

Still further to the north, in the region of the Upper Congo and its northern tributaries, a system of exogamy and of something very like totemism is reported to prevail among the Ababua, the Mabinza, the Basoko and Mougelima, the Mogbwandi, the Maele, the Bakere, the Balesa, the Upoto, the Bangala, the N'Gombe, and the

Totemism and exogamy among the northern tribes of the Congo area, the Ababua,

<sup>1</sup> F. S. Arnot, *Bihé and Garenganze, or Four Years' further Work and Travel in Central Africa* (London, n.d.; preface dated March 1893), p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> E. Pechuel-Loesche, *Die Loango-Expedition*, Dritte Abteilung, Zweite Hälfte (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 456.

Adolph Bastian uses *quixilles* as equivalent to *xina* (*Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, i. 183).

<sup>3</sup> For this notice of Bambala totemism I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. T. A. Joyce.

Mog-  
bwandi,  
Upoto, etc.

Belief  
that the  
clanspeople  
at death  
are re-  
incarnated  
in the  
bodies  
of their  
totemic  
animals.

Relation  
of mutual  
respect and  
protection  
between a  
man and  
his totem.

Ababua  
totems.

Azande  
totems.

Mog-  
bwandi  
totems.

Bobangi. Each of these ethnical groups or nations is divided into a number of independent tribes, which live quite apart from each other in spite of the resemblances of language and customs which may be observed between them. Every tribe again is subdivided into exogamous subtribes or clans, each of which occupies its own well-marked geographical district, and traces its descent from a common ancestor, whose name it bears. Among these peoples every man believes that after death he will be reincarnated in the body of an animal, the kind of animal being that into which the soul of his father transmigrated at his decease; for the totems, as we may call them, are inherited by children from their fathers. The particular kind of animal is the same for all members of a tribe, though they belong to different exogamous clans. For example, the Moganzulu tribe of the Ababua nation has for its sacred animal or totem the hippopotamus; and the Molisi tribe of the same nation has for its totem the chimpanzee. The relation between a man and his totem is one of mutual help and protection. The totemic animal will not hurt the tribesman, and on his side the tribesman will not kill, eat, or touch his totemic animal nor even pass the spot where one of the species has died. The animals which serve as totems are sometimes imaginary; for the natives conceive certain natural phenomena, such as thunder, the rainbow, and the echo, to exist in the form of animals, and these fanciful beings are totems of some tribes. Sometimes, but rarely, the totem is a plant. Among the totems of the Ababua tribes are the leopard, hippopotamus, yellow-backed *Cephalophus* antelope, spiny ant-eater (pangolin *tricuspis*), jerboa, small white-bellied rat, black swallow, plant called *nsâbi*, thunder, and echo. In the Azande nation the totems of tribes include the lion, leopard, serpent, and thunder personified as an animal. In the Mogbwandi nation the totems of tribes include the leopard, elephant, wart-hog, and black serpent. Sometimes a subtribe or clan will allow fugitives from another tribe to settle on their land; and as these fugitives continue to respect their old totemic animal, it follows that two different totems may be found coexisting in the same local subtribe

or clan. Much more rarely the protector or totem of the women differs from that of the men. It seems to do so, for example, among the Bawenza and Moodungwale, two Ababua tribes, and also among the Bakango. In such cases apparently the protectors of the men and women respectively are sex totems or sex patrons, such as we have hitherto met with only in South-East Australia.<sup>1</sup> But details as to these African sex totems or sex patrons, if such they be, are wanting. Further, it appears that individual men or women sometimes have animal-guardians of their own, which generally differ from the totemic animal of the tribe. And apart from the prohibition to eat the flesh of the animal-guardian there exist many taboos on food which might easily be confused with totemic taboos.<sup>2</sup>

The same region in the north-east of the Congo Free State was investigated in the years 1907 and 1908 by an anthropological expedition which was sent out by the Duke of Mecklenburg and led by Mr. J. Czekanowski. The object of the expedition was to explore the tribes which occupy the territory between the head-waters of the Congo and the Nile. Roughly speaking, the region in question forms a vast triangle bounded on the east by the great lakes and the Upper Nile, on the north by the Uele River, and on the south-west by the Upper Congo. Among the tribes which it embraces are (1) the small tribes of the Babembo, Babwari, Bagoma and Bahororo on the western shore of Lake Tanganyika; (2) the Bakondjo in the mountains about the western shore of Lake Albert Edward; (3) the Bakusu, Manyema, and Bakumu on the Upper Congo; (4) the Mabudu, Malika, Banyari, Mubali, Bapaye, Turumbu, and Basoko, scattered over the country which is intersected by the fourth parallel of North latitude and stretches from the great bend of the Congo eastward to near Lake Albert Nyanza. All these tribes speak languages belonging to the great Bantu family. North of them dwells (5) the group of tribes known under the general name of Mangbetu

Sex totems  
or sex  
patrons.

Personal  
totems.

Mr. J.  
Czeka-  
nowski's  
researches  
in the  
north-east  
of the  
Congo  
Free  
State.

The tribes  
of this  
region.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 47 *sq.*, 390 *sq.*, 456 *sq.*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> A. de Calonne Beaufaict, "La Zoolatrie chez les peuplades septen-

trionales du Congo," *Le Mouvement Géographique*, 13 juin 1909, coll. 277-280; *id.* in *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques*, ii. (1909) pp. 193-195.

(Monbutto) and comprising the Balele, Bakere, Niapu, Medje, Maberu, and Mangbele. The little-known Barumbi (Urumbui) tribe, between the Tshopo and Lubila rivers, speaks a language of the Mangbetu family. The Mangbetu are the traders and fishermen of the Uele River valley. Akin to the Mangbetu in material culture, though otherwise isolated, is (6) a group of tribes including the Bangba, Mabudu, Mayogu, Mundu, Abarambo, and Madyo; also (7) another group of tribes to the eastward, which comprises the Momvu, Balese, Bambuba, and Mombutu. (8) The Azande occupy the northern part of the Congo basin and part of the basin of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Lastly, in the extreme north-east, the coal-black Nilotic negroes of the Upper Nile fall into three groups, namely (9) the Madi group, (10) the Bari group, and (11) the Acholi group, and each of these groups includes a number of separate tribes. Thus the Madi group comprises the Madi in the narrower sense, the Kaliko, Logo, Avokaya, Moru, Lugware, and Lendu; the Bari group includes the Bari, Fadjulu, Yambara, Kuku, and Kakwa; and the Acholi group comprises, amongst others, the Lur or Alur, whose country lies immediately to the north of Lake Albert Nyanza.<sup>1</sup>

These tribes are divided into totemic and exogamous clans with paternal descent.

So far as these tribes were investigated by the Duke of Mecklenburg's Expedition they were found to be divided into totemic and, with very few exceptions, exogamous clans, variously known in different tribes as *enganda*, *ekihanda*, *tunga*, *muliango*, etc., with descent in the paternal line. The single exception to the rule of exogamy is presented by some of the Azande clans, including the Avungura clan, which is the royal clan of the reigning dynasty. In this as in so many royal African clans endogamy is customary, and sexual intercourse between fathers and daughters appears to be not uncommon. With these few exceptions the rule of clan exogamy prevails throughout the entire area visited by the expedition; and nowhere was descent found to be traced in the maternal line. Each clan possesses its own lands and is held together mainly by the law of the blood-feud; wherever that law is suppressed, the clan falls to pieces. If the

Law of the blood-feud.

<sup>1</sup> J. Czekanowski, "Die anthropologisch-ethnographischen Arbeiten der Expedition S. H. des Herzogs Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg für den

Zeitraum vom 1 Juni 1907 bis 1 August 1908," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xli. (1909) pp. 591-611, with the map.

clans live mixed up together, blood revenge assumes the form of secret murder ; if the clans live apart, it takes the character of open war. Further, every clan has an object which it reveres, that is, a totem. The totem is often an animal or plant, and in such cases it may not be eaten and the animal may not be killed by members of its totemic clan. One tribe (the Balera) seems even to take blood revenge for the killing of their totems. In some tribes, such as the Azande, Abarambo, Mayogu, and Bangba, the dead are believed to turn into their totems ; for example, some of the Azande fancy that at death they are transformed into Colobus monkeys, water-snakes, leopards, shrew-mice, lizards, and lightning, according to the particular totemic clan to which they belong. This belief in the transformation or transmigration of the dead into their totems was repeatedly assigned as the reason for not eating the totemic animal ; in eating its flesh the people do not know but that they may be eating one of their deceased relations. The number of clans composing a tribe varies greatly ; among the Bakondjo twelve or fourteen clans were ascertained by the expedition ; among the Banyoro seventy.<sup>1</sup>

Respect  
shewn  
for the  
totem.

Trans-  
formation  
of the  
dead into  
their  
totems.

Thus one result of the Duke of Mecklenburg's Expedition has been greatly to extend the area of Central Africa over which totemism and exogamy are reported to prevail. It is to be hoped that full details as to the totemic systems of these tribes may soon be published.

Of their other marriage customs we know very little. Among the Babembo or Wabemba and the Wahorohoro, two tribes to the west of Lake Tanganyika, even the most distant cousinship forms a bar to marriage. More than that, among the Wahorohoro a man is bound to avoid his female cousin. He may not speak to her nor remain in her company. If she enters a house where he chances to be, he will at once depart.<sup>2</sup> Yet among the Wabemba a man may marry his paternal aunt (*mama ngazi*), though never his

Cousin-  
marriages  
forbidden.

Mutual  
avoidance  
of cousins.

<sup>1</sup> J. Czekanowski, "Die anthropologisch-ethnographischen Arbeiten der Expedition S. H. des Herzogs Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg für den Zeitraum vom 1 Juni 1907 bis 1 August 1908," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xli.

(1909) pp. 596-598. The number of Banyoro clans ascertained by Mr. Roscoe was forty-six. See above, pp. 516-518.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Delhaise, *Notes ethnographiques sur quelques peuplades du Tanganyika* (Brussels, 1905), pp. 10, 35.

maternal aunt.<sup>1</sup> Among the Watumbwes and Watabwas, two other tribes of Lake Tanganyika, there is said to be a curious limitation of time set to marriage. When a wife has borne two children, her husband deserts her and takes a new wife, but only to abandon her in turn as soon as he has had two children by her; and so on.<sup>2</sup> Both the Wabemba and the Wahorohoro practise the levirate; when a man dies, his oldest brother marries the widow.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, among the Wabemba when a man's wife dies he has the right to marry her younger sister, if she is still unmarried. But if all his deceased wife's sisters are married, the widower sends through his father-in-law a present to the husband of his late wife's younger sister, and the woman is ceded to him by her husband for a single day; were that not done, the widower could not get any other woman to marry him. Afterwards the widower restores his deceased wife's sister to her husband and looks out for another wife for himself.<sup>4</sup>

The  
levirate.

Right  
to marry  
a wife's  
younger  
sister.

Avoidance  
of wife's  
mother.

Among the Upoto, who inhabit the banks of the Congo between 20° and 22° East longitude, a man may never look at his mother-in-law, and she may not look at him. If he meets her by chance, he must turn his head away. Were he to look at her, he would have to pay her a fine.<sup>5</sup> Of this common rule there is a curious variation among the Ba-Huana, one of the principal peoples inhabiting the banks of the Kwilu, a tributary of the Kasai, which in its turn flows into the Congo from the south-east. In this tribe a man must avoid both his wife's parents. He may never enter their house, and if he meets them on the road, he must turn aside into the bush to avoid them. On the other hand, the wife may visit her husband's parents, and indeed is expected to show them great respect; but she is bound to avoid her husband's maternal uncle in the same way as her husband avoids her parents.<sup>6</sup>

Avoidance  
of hus-  
band's  
maternal  
uncle.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Delhaise, *Notes ethnographiques sur quelques peuplades du Tanganika* (Brussels, 1905), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Delhaise, *op. cit.* p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. Delhaise, *op. cit.* pp. 18, 36. It is not quite clear whether by "his oldest brother" (*son frère le plus âgé, son frère aîné*) is meant a brother older than the deceased, or merely the

eldest surviving brother. Probably the latter is the meaning.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. Delhaise, *op. cit.* p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> M. Lindeman, *Les Upotos* (Brussels, 1906), p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Huana," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 272, 274, 285 sq.

## CHAPTER XV

### ANALOGIES TO TOTEMISM IN MADAGASCAR

THE question whether totemism exists among the Malagasy, or inhabitants of Madagascar, has been carefully discussed by Mr. A. van Gennep in a learned monograph.<sup>1</sup> After fully considering the evidence he comes to the conclusion that totemism in the strict sense of the word has not yet been found in Madagascar.<sup>2</sup> With that conclusion I agree, and, accordingly, in a treatise on totemism I might dismiss the subject without further remark. Yet if, nevertheless, I have decided to notice some of the Malagasy facts which might be interpreted as totemic, it is because a good deal of uncertainty still exists as to the distinction which is to be drawn between totemism and other systems of superstition which resemble it; and, accordingly, light may be thrown on the line of demarcation by observing some of the cases which lie on the border and, so to say, simulate totemism without really being identical with it. For a similar reason, in dealing with West African totemism I have called attention to the local worship of sacred animals and to the conception of the bush-soul, because these superstitions might easily be confounded with totemism, and may indeed be more or less remotely connected with it, though in practice it is desirable to treat them as different.<sup>3</sup>

Nowhere, perhaps, in the world at the present day are systems of taboo more rife and more elaborate than in Madagascar,<sup>4</sup> and as these taboos (*fady*) are often laid on

Mr. A. van Gennep on the question of totemism in Madagascar.

Systems of taboo (*fady*) prevalent in Madagascar.

<sup>1</sup> Arnold van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar* (Paris, 1904). 590 sqq., 593 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> A. van Gennep, *op. cit.* pp. 314 sqq. <sup>4</sup> The common Malagasy word for taboo is *fady*. See W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar* (London, n.d., preface

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 574 sq., 583 sqq.,

All Malagasy families seem to have their sacred species of animal which they will not eat.

Sacred animals among the Sakalava.

Sacred animals among the Betsimisaraka.

animals and plants, it is no wonder that some of them should pass at first sight for evidence of totemism. Thus we are told that "all the Malagasy in general regard as sacred (*fadinrazana*) some animal which varies with the family. They do not worship the animal, but they do not eat it from fear of death, because their ancestors (*razana*) never ate of it, and this *fady* is transmitted from father to son. Whence comes this belief? The most intelligent natives among the Malagasy cannot explain it. Among the sacred animals are mentioned the pig, the eel, the babacoote (a species of lemur), the dolphin, the green pigeon, the sheep, the kid, etc. But what is sacred for one family is not so for another. So when a Malagasy is invited to a strange house, he begins by asking his host whether his *fadinrazana* is in the house, in order that he may not approach it and much less eat it."<sup>1</sup> Among the Sakalava of Northern and Western Madagascar "each tribe, each village, each family has adopted a special *fady*; for some it is fowls, for others fish; some will never kill a crocodile, or a wild boar, or a scorpion, or a centipede; in fact, they have gone so far as to live only on rice and fresh or dried beef, and to allow all noxious animals to swarm about them."<sup>2</sup> Again, among the Betsimisaraka, "owing to some connection with their ancestors, certain animals are revered by various tribes: *e.g.* one family claims to be descended from a woman who was born of a cow, and therefore does not eat beef; another shews the greatest respect for the *babakoto* (*Lichanotus brevicaudatus*), the largest species of lemur, because one was said to have saved

dated 1838), i. 402 *sq.*; H. F. Standing, "Malagasy *fady*," *The Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, vol. ii. (Antananarivo, 1896), pp. 252-265 (reprint of the first four numbers); and especially A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, pp. 12 *sqq.*

<sup>1</sup> L. Crémazy, quoted by A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> M. Faucon, quoted by A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 210. Similarly, speaking of the Sakalava, the Rev. A. Walen

observes: "Each family regards certain things as forbidden to itself only, for things forbidden to one family may be allowed in another. Great differences exist in this matter; even in the self-same tribe the things forbidden to each family may be totally different. Yet there are rules regarding this that pertain to the whole clan, and even to the whole tribe, which all must obey, lest the wrath of the ancestors be excited and vengeance come upon them" (A. Walen, "The Sakalava," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, vol. ii. (Antananarivo, 1896), p. 241).

an ancestor from a severe fall ; the dead body of this lemur they bury with the honours paid to a human being, and any person having shot one would find it hard to get a night's lodging in one of the villages of the tribe." <sup>1</sup> In one village of this tribe Dr. Catat, who had killed a babacoote, was accused by the inhabitants of having killed "one of their grandfathers in the forest," and he had to promise not to skin the animal in the village. <sup>2</sup> The Betsileo also revere the babacoote as an ancestor of their own, and accord it a solemn funeral, digging a grave for it, wrapping its body in a shroud, weeping and sobbing over it, and making it offerings of their hair. <sup>3</sup> The Betanimena tribe likewise believe the babacoote to be an embodiment of the spirits of their ancestors, and they look with horror on the slaughter of one of these pretty and engaging animals. <sup>4</sup> Hence both they and the Betsimisarakas ransom the animals, alive or dead, in order to set them at liberty or give them an honourable burial. <sup>5</sup> The name *babacoote* means "the old man"; and the grave aspect and sedate manners of the creature, which is found only in the densest parts of the forest, give him a venerable appearance. <sup>6</sup>

The babacoote (a large lemur) is regarded as an ancestor by several tribes.

Again, some tribes in the south of Madagascar claim to be descended from wild boars and will not kill or eat these animals. Accordingly wild boars swarm in their country and ravage the crops without any attempt being made to destroy them. Every man prefers to watch his fields day and night rather than assassinate his grandfather the wild boar. <sup>7</sup> Others of the Malagasy boast of being

Some tribes claim to be descended from wild boars, and others from sheep.

<sup>1</sup> G. H. Smith, "Some Betsimisaraka Superstitions," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, No. 10 (Antananarivo, 1886), p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> Abinal and La Vaissière, quoted by A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, pp. 215 sq.; Father Abinal, "Croyances fabuleuses des Malgaches," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xii. (1880), p. 526.

<sup>4</sup> J. Sibree, *The Great African Island* (London, 1880), p. 270. As to the large ruffed lemurs (babacootes?) see W. Ellis, *Three Visits to Madagascar*

(London, 1858), pp. 437 sqq., who describes one of them in captivity as "gentle and sociable, seemingly grateful for any trifling notice or kindness."

<sup>5</sup> A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 215; H. W. Little, *Madagascar, its History and People* (Edinburgh and London, 1884), p. 321.

<sup>6</sup> H. W. Little, *Madagascar, its History and People* (London, 1884), p. 321.

<sup>7</sup> Father Abinal, "Croyances fabuleuses des Malgaches," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xii. (1880) p. 527; A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 228.

akin to sheep, and they have a horror of eating mutton. They say that all their illnesses and misfortunes come through inadvertently touching the flesh or fat of sheep, or treading on the wool which has fallen from the backs of their woolly fathers. The missionary who reports this tells us that once at a picnic which he gave to his pupils, some sly youths dressed up a stew of mutton and called it veal to amuse themselves at the expense of one of their companions, who was descended from a sheep. The sheepish victim of this practical joke ate heartily of his kinsman and sported about for an hour afterwards, but on being told what he had eaten he broke out into a cold sweat, fell down, vomited, and had to be carried back to the village, where he was sick for three days.<sup>1</sup> Again, "the serpent is honoured by the people in some parts of the island with a superstitious awe, founded upon the extraordinary belief that the spirits of their fathers often inhabit the forms of the reptiles after they leave the body. This horrible idea is very strong among the Betsileo. . . . Many of the Betsileo families have small enclosures near their dwellings, where they maintain numbers of these reptiles, and regard them still as being in a way family connections." One of these serpents used to come daily from the forest to be fed with milk by a family who addressed it by name and treated it as one of themselves. A Catholic priest killed it and had to flee for his life; the whole country rose against him.<sup>2</sup> The Betsileo, we are told, believe in the transmigration of souls, and think that dead Hovas change into a harmless and beautifully marked species of serpent which they call *fangany*. When one of these serpents is found, the people assemble and ask if it is the serpent of So-and-So, mentioning in succession the names of various chiefs who are dead, and the reptile is said to nod its head when the right name is mentioned. The relations of the deceased chief then carry the reptile carefully to his house, where oxen are killed and a funeral feast given. A little of the blood is

Belief of the Betsileo that serpents contain the spirits of the human dead.

<sup>1</sup> Father Abinal, "Croyances fabuleuses des Malgaches," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xii. (1880) pp. 527 sq.; A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme*

à Madagascar, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> H. W. Little, *Madagascar: its History and People* (London, 1884), pp. 86 sq.

presented to the serpent, after which the creature is set free near the chief's grave. Chiefs of lower rank are thought to turn into crocodiles.<sup>1</sup> In one Betsileo town the eel is tabooed (*fady*). Once when a stranger had caught an eel and cooked it in the town, the natives threw away the cooking-pot and all the spoons and plates which had come into contact with the animal.<sup>2</sup> According to Father Abinal, the souls of plebeian Betsileo are supposed to transmigrate into eels, and in order to facilitate this spiritual transformation they open the corpse, extract the inwards, and throw them into a sacred lake; the eel which swallows the first mouthful becomes the domicile of the soul of the departed, and it may not be eaten by the Betsileo.<sup>3</sup> Again, the curious nocturnal animal called the aye-aye (*Cheiromys madagascariensis*) is supposed by many Betsimisaraka to be an embodiment of their forefathers; hence they will not touch it, much less do it an injury. It is said that when they find one of the creatures dead in the forest, they make a tomb for it and bury it with all the forms of a regular funeral. They believe that if they tried to trap it they would die.<sup>4</sup> Again, a species of falcon (*Tinnunculus Newtonii Gurm.*) is deemed sacred by certain families in the neighbourhood of Anorotsangana; a naturalist having killed one of these birds was told by a native that he had committed a sacrilege, and was asked to give up the body that it might be buried in a sacred place.<sup>5</sup> Another species of falcon (*Falco minor*) gives its name (*Voromahery*, "powerful bird") to a tribe which inhabits Antananarivo and its neighbourhood; hence the Malagasy Government has adopted this bird as its crest. They stamp its image on the seals and affix it to the pinnacle of the great

Souls of the dead in eels.

Souls of the dead in the nocturnal animal called an aye-aye.

Sacred falcons.

<sup>1</sup> G. A. Shaw, "The Betsileo, Religious and Social Customs," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine, Reprint of the First Four Numbers* (Antananarivo, 1885), p. 411. See, further, Father Abinal, "Croyances fabuleuses des Malgaches," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xii. (1880) pp. 550 sq., who speaks of the revered serpent as a boa.

<sup>2</sup> H. F. Standing, "Malagasy *fady*," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar*

*Magazine*, vol. ii. (Antananarivo, 1896) p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Father Abinal, "Croyances fabuleuses des Malgaches," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xii. (1880), p. 551.

<sup>4</sup> G. A. Shaw, "The Aye-aye," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, vol. ii. (Antananarivo, 1896) p. 203. See, further, A. von Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, pp. 223 sq.

<sup>5</sup> A. van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 261.

Sacred  
dolphins.

palace.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, the dolphin is deemed sacred by the inhabitants of the Isle Sainte Marie, off the eastern coast of Madagascar. They never chase the dolphin, kill it, or eat its flesh, because a dolphin is believed to have rendered a service to one of their ancestors.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. van  
Gennep  
thinks  
that the  
character-  
istics  
of true  
totemism  
are lacking  
in Mada-  
gascar.

Evidence of the same sort could be multiplied, but the foregoing examples may suffice. Their superficial resemblance to totemism is obvious; yet various considerations seem to shew that the facts do not suffice to prove the existence of totemism proper in Madagascar. Among the considerations which have weighed with Mr. van Gennep in coming to this conclusion are the following:—

(1) The Malagasy have no general word like *totem*, *kobong*, and *siboko* for a tabooed animal.

(2) Apparently the group of people to whom a species of animals or plants is tabooed do not as a rule among the Malagasy bear the name of the forbidden animal or plant.

(3) The tabooed animal is not regarded as the protector of the family or clan who are bound to respect it.

(4) Whereas totemic clans are generally exogamous, among the Malagasy, on the contrary the clans are in the immense majority of cases endogamous.

(5) Among really totemic peoples rites of initiation commonly play a great part; but such rites apparently are and have always been unknown among the Malagasy.<sup>3</sup>

Rather we  
should say  
that some  
of the

For these and other reasons Mr. van Gennep concludes that "none of the characteristics of true totemism are to be found in Madagascar."<sup>4</sup> I should prefer to say that, while

<sup>1</sup> A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> G. Ferrand, *Contes populaires Malgaches* (Paris, 1893), pp. 145 sq.; A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> A. van Gennep, *op. cit.* pp. 306 sqq. With regard to endogamy, the Malagasy in general are divided into three social classes, the nobles (Andrians), the commoners (Hovas), and the slaves (Andevos); and these three classes do not marry with each other. Further, the nobles and commoners are again subdivided into clans, each of which as a rule marries within itself and

not with another clan. See J. Sibreé, "Relationships and the Names used for them among the Peoples of Madagascar, chiefly the Hovas," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) pp. 47 sq.; *id.*, *The Great African Island*, pp. 180-185; A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, pp. 125 sqq., 130, 136 sq., 160 sqq. The rule that totemic peoples practise rites of initiation is subject to large exceptions. Such rites are not found, for example, among the Baganda in Africa, nor among many tribes of North American Indians.

<sup>4</sup> A. van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 314.

some characteristic features of totemism, such as the hereditary respect for certain species of animals, together with traditions of descent from them, or of help given by them to their human kinsmen, are certainly found among the Malagasy, other characteristic features are apparently lacking, and that in their absence it is safer not to assume the existence of totemism in Madagascar.

characteristics are present, but not all.

While marriage in Madagascar is regulated by endogamy rather than exogamy, certain degrees of kinship are nevertheless commonly recognised as bars to marriage. Thus among the Betsimisaraka we are told that marriage is only permitted between persons of entirely different stocks; the union of even ninth or tenth cousins with each other would create a scandal.<sup>1</sup> With regard to first cousins the general Malagasy rule is that the children of two brothers or of a brother and a sister may marry each other, but that the children of two sisters may not. The rule is thus stated by Mr. Sibree: "Marriage between brothers' children is exceedingly common, and is looked upon as the most proper kind of connection, as keeping property together in the same family (the marriage of two persons nearly related to each other is called *lova-tsi-mifindra*, i.e. 'inheritance not removing'); and there does not seem to result from such marriages any of those consequences in idiocy and mental disorder of the offspring which are frequently seen in European nations as arising from the marriages of first cousins. . . . Marriage between brothers' and sisters' children is also allowable on the performance of a slight prescribed ceremony, supposed to remove any impediment from consanguinity; but that of sisters' children, when the sisters have the same mother, is regarded with horror as incest, being emphatically *fady* or tabooed, and not allowable down to the fifth generation, that is, to the great-great-grand-children of such two sisters."<sup>2</sup> Among the Sakalava of the south and the Mahafaly the children of two sisters

Certain degrees of kinship are recognised as bars to marriage.

Cousin-marriages. The children of two brothers, or of a brother and a sister, may marry each other, but not the children of two sisters.

Avoidance of cousins.

<sup>1</sup> A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, pp. 248 sq.; *id.* "Relationships and the Names used for them

among the Peoples of Madagascar, chiefly the Hovas," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) p. 39. As to cousin-marriages, see, further, A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, pp. 162 sq.

Avoidance  
between  
brothers  
and sisters  
and  
between  
mothers  
and sons.

may not even sit together on the same mat, much less marry each other.<sup>1</sup> Among the Betsimisaraka, with whom, as we have seen, any degree of kinship is a bar to marriage, a brother may not speak with his sister alone in the house nor sit beside her; and the same rule of avoidance applies to a mother and her son.<sup>2</sup> We have met with similar rules of avoidance between brother and sister, mother and son, in other parts of the world;<sup>3</sup> and, as I have already pointed out, it is probable that all such customs of avoidance have been adopted in order to prevent incest between near relations. The instinct, superstition, or whatever it was which led men to observe these rules, lies at the root of exogamy. It is interesting to observe that instinct, superstition, or whatever it is, operating among a people like the Malagasy, who have not applied the rule of exogamy to their clans.

Incest  
between  
brothers  
and sisters  
among the  
Antambahoaka.

On the other hand, the incest of brother with sister is said to be common among the Antambahoaka, a tribe of cruel and savage manners in South-eastern Madagascar; indeed, such criminal intercourse is believed by the people to lead to fortune. But, apparently, it is nevertheless illicit and practised only in secret.<sup>4</sup> We cannot, therefore, infer from its frequent occurrence that there was a time in the history of the tribe when the marriage of brothers with sisters was legitimate, as it was, for example, in ancient Egypt.<sup>5</sup> But a trace of an older custom of sexual promiscuity, or of something like it, may perhaps be detected in the orgies of shameless licentiousness which formerly celebrated the birth of a child in the royal family. On such an occasion, we are told, the streets and lanes of the Malagasy capital resembled one vast brothel, and the days during which the debauchery lasted were called *andro-tsi-*

Trace of  
sexual pro-  
miscuity in  
the orgies  
at the birth  
of a child  
in the royal  
family.

<sup>1</sup> A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, pp. 163, 164.

<sup>2</sup> A. van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 542, 565; vol. ii. pp. 77 *sqq.*, 124, 131, 147 *sq.*, 189.

<sup>4</sup> Gabriel Ferrand, *Les Musulmans à Madagascar et aux Iles Comores*, Deuxième Partie (Paris, 1893), pp. 20 *sq.*; A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 161. In cases of hard labour, Mr. Ferrand

tells us, the sorcerer often declares that the expectant mother cannot be delivered unless she confesses any frailty of which she may have been guilty; and in one such case the woman, after a long silence, confessed at last to an intrigue with her brother. This anecdote clearly implies that commerce with a brother is criminal.

<sup>5</sup> See my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, pp. 395 *sqq.*

maty, literally "days not dead," by which was meant that the law could not condemn nor the penalty of death be inflicted for any offence committed at this time. The practice was abolished in the reign of King Radama at the earnest remonstrance of Mr. Hastie, the British agent in the capital, who threatened to expose the king and his government to the disgust and contempt of England if similar scenes should be repeated.<sup>1</sup>

The custom of the levirate is observed by the Malagasy. To die without posterity is reckoned by them as a great calamity; so when a man dies childless, his next brother must marry his widow in order to keep the deceased in remembrance. The children of such a marriage are counted the heirs and descendants of the dead elder brother.<sup>2</sup>

The levirate among the Malagasy.

There are some indications that the Malagasy have the classificatory system of relationships. Thus we are told that among them "the words for 'father,' *ray*, and 'mother,' *rény*, are used with a very wide signification, and are applied not only to the actual father and mother, but also to step-father and step-mother (who are also called *raikély* and *rénikély*, 'little father,' and 'little mother'), and to uncles and aunts, with their wives and husbands; so that it is almost impossible to get to know the exact relationship people bear to one another without asking, 'Is he the father who begat him?' or, 'Is she the mother who bore him?' (It may not be unworthy of remark here that the same word, *mitéraka*, is used both for begetting and for bearing children.) Consequently there are no single words in Malagasy corresponding to our 'uncle' and 'aunt'; one must say 'father's brother,' or 'sister,' or 'mother's brother,' or 'sister,' as the case may be. And so it naturally follows that there are also no single words for 'nephew' or 'niece'; these are all *sànaka*, 'children,' and if more minutely described are distinguished as children of their father's or mother's brothers or sisters. . . . Then the word for 'child,' *sànaka* or *ànaka* (the latter is a more affectionate and

Indications of the classificatory system of relationship among the Malagasy.

<sup>1</sup> W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, i. 150 sq.; J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 253.

"Relationships and the Names used for them among the Peoples of Madagascar, chiefly the Hovas," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> J. Sibree, *op. cit.* p. 246; *id.*

respectful word used in direct address), is used in an equally wide sense for children actually borne or begotten, for step-children, and for nephews and nieces, for which last relationship, as already remarked, there are no distinct words."<sup>1</sup> But precise information on this subject is wanting.

<sup>1</sup> J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, pp. 243 sq., 245; *id.* "Relationships and the Names for them among the Peoples of Madagascar,

chiefly the Hovas," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1880) pp. 35 sq., 37.

END OF VOL. II

6

# Totemism and Exogamy

A Treatise on Certain Early Forms  
of Superstition and Society

BY

J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., LIT.D., F.B.A.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL.

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. III

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED  
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AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY  
OF TOTEMISM (*Concluded*)



## CHAPTER XVI

### TOTEMISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

#### § 1. *Distribution of the Totemic Tribes*

THE institution of totemism was first observed and described by Europeans among the Indian tribes of North America, and it is known to have prevailed widely, though by no means universally, among them. Within the great area now covered by the United States and Canada the system was most highly developed by the tribes to the east of the Mississippi, who lived in settled villages and cultivated the soil; it was practised by some but not all of the hunting tribes, who roamed the great western prairies,<sup>1</sup> and it was wholly unknown to the Californian Indians, the rudest representatives of the Redskin race in North America, who had

Totemism prevailed among the tribes to the east of the Mississippi, who lived in settled villages and tilled the soil; it was practised by some, but not all, of the

<sup>1</sup> On this subject Mr. James Mooney, speaking of the Arapahoes, the most westerly of the Algonkin tribes, observes: "There seems to be no possible trace of a clan or gentile system among the Arapaho, and the same remark holds good of the Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche. It was once assumed that all Indian tribes had the clan system, but later research shows that it is lacking over wide areas in the western territory. It is very doubtful if it exists at all among the prairie tribes generally. Mr. Ben Clark, who has known and studied the Cheyenne for half a lifetime, states positively that they have no clans, as the term is usually understood. This agrees with the result of personal investigations and the testimony of George Bent, a

Cheyenne half-blood, and the best living authority on all that relates to his tribe. With the eastern tribes, however, and those who have removed from the east or the timbered country, as the Caddo, the gentile system is so much a part of their daily life that it is one of the first things to attract the attention of the observer" (J. Mooney, "The Ghost-dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1896), p. 956). The absence of totemic clans among the Arapahoes is confirmed by another investigator. See A. L. Kroeber, "The Arapaho," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xviii. Part i. (New York, 1902) p. 8.

made little progress in the arts of life and in particular were wholly ignorant of agriculture. Again, totemism flourishes among the Pueblo Indians of the South-West, who live in massively-built and fortified towns of brick or hewn stone and diligently till the soil, raising abundant crops of cereals and fruits, and whose ancestors even constructed canals on a large scale to irrigate and fertilise the thirsty land under the torrid skies of Arizona and New Mexico.<sup>1</sup> It is certainly remarkable that over this immense region, extending across America from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the institution of totemism should be found to exist and flourish among tribes which have made some progress in culture, while it is wholly absent from others which have lagged behind at a lower level of savagery. As it appears unlikely that these rude savages should have lost all traces of totemism if they had once practised it, while the system survives among their more cultured brethren, we seem driven to conclude that

<sup>1</sup> *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, i. (Washington, 1907) pp. 24-26, 80, 191, 809. As to the Pueblo Indians, their architecture, agriculture, and other arts of life, see H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 526 sqq.; and below, pp. 195 sqq. Totemism appears to have been unknown among all the Indian tribes who inhabited the Pacific slope of the Rocky Mountains within the area of the United States. "The Indians west of the Rocky Mountains seem to be, on the whole, inferior to those east of that chain. In stature, strength, and activity, they are much below them. Their social organization is more imperfect. The two classes of chiefs, those who preside in time of peace, and those who direct the operations of war,—the ceremony of initiation for the young men,—the distinction of clans or totems,—and the various important festivals which exist among the eastern tribes, are unknown to those of Oregon. Their conceptions on religious subjects are of a lower cast" (H. Hale, *United States Exploring Expedition, Ethnography and Philology* (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 199). Again, George Gibbs, speaking of the tribes of Western Washington

and North-western Oregon, observes: "No division of tribes into clans is observable, nor any organization similar to the eastern tribes, neither have the Indians of this Territory emblematical distinctions resembling the totem" (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, i. (Washington, 1877) p. 184). Again, Mr. A. S. Gatschet says that the Klamath Indians of South-western Oregon "are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of North America" (*The Klamath Indians of South-western Oregon* (Washington, 1890), p. cvi.) (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. ii. Part i.). As to the absence of totemism among the Californian Indians, see S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), p. 5 (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. iii.); *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, i. 191. As to the Maidu, a Californian tribe, Mr. R. B. Dixon says: "No trace has been found of any gentile or totemic grouping" ("The Northern Maidu," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xvii. Part iii. May 1905, p. 223).

among the Indians of North America totemism marks a degree of social and intellectual progress to which the more backward members of the Redskin family have not yet attained.

### § 2. *Totemism among the Iroquois*

At the time when America was discovered and for centuries afterwards the Confederacy of the Iroquois was the most powerful Indian nation to the north of Mexico. The six tribes which composed the League were perhaps inferior in the arts of life to some of the southern tribes who dwelt towards the Gulf of Mexico; but they were second to none in political organisation, statecraft, and military prowess. While they waged war, if necessary, with relentless cruelty, the aim of their confederacy was wise and statesmanlike; it was to establish a widespread peace among the surrounding tribes, extinguishing war and substituting the regular forms of civil government for the uncertainties and excesses of private feuds. According to native tradition the League was founded about the middle of the fifteenth century by the sage and benevolent chief Hiawatha, the hero of Longfellow's poem. It reached the height of its power towards the latter end of the seventeenth century, when its dominion extended over the greater parts of the present States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, together with portions of Canada to the north of Lake Ontario. All the Iroquois tribes were sedentary and agricultural, depending on the chase for only a small part of their subsistence. Their staple food was maize. At intervals varying from ten to twenty years they shifted the sites of their towns, when the supply of fuel in the neighbourhood was exhausted and the diminished crops under their primitive mode of agriculture shewed the need of fresher soil. The use of metals was unknown to the Iroquois; they felled trees and hewed timber by means of fire and stone chisels. Their language belongs to what is called the Huron-Iroquois family, the tribes of which in historical times have occupied a long irregular area of inland territory stretching from Canada to North Carolina. The speech of all these tribes, including the Hurons, the Attiwandaronks or Neutral

The League of the Iroquois, a powerful confederacy of six tribes.

All the Iroquois tribes were sedentary and agricultural.

Nation, the Eries, and the Andastes or Conestogas, as well as the Iroquois, shewed a close affinity, and there can be little doubt that the ancestors of the tribes once dwelt together in a common home. That home, according to the traditions of all the surviving tribes, the Hurons, the Iroquois, and the Tuscaroras, was the lower valley of the St. Lawrence River.<sup>1</sup>

The land  
of the  
Iroquois.

The Iroquois were first discovered by the Dutch in 1609. Till then they had dwelt enshrouded in the great forests which in those days overspread the country now comprised within the State of New York. At the time of their discovery and for about a century later the confederacy was composed of five tribes, namely the Mohawks or Caniengas, as they should properly be called, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas or rather Sonontowanas. Of these tribes, the Mohawks possessed the Mohawk River and covered Lake George and Lake Champlain with their flotillas of large canoes, which they handled with the boldness and skill of practised boatmen. West of them the Oneidas held the small river and lake which bear their name, the first in a series of beautiful lakes joined by interlacing streams like fish immeshed in nets of silver. Still further west the Onondagas, the central and in some respects the ruling tribe of the league, owned the two lakes of Onondaga and Skeneateles, together with the common outlet of this inland lake system, the Oswego River, to its issue into Lake Ontario. Still moving westward, the lines of trail and river led to the long winding reaches of Lake Cayuga, about which were clustered the towns of the tribe who gave their name to the sheet of

The  
Mohawks.

The  
Oneidas.

The  
Onondagas.

The  
Cayugas.

<sup>1</sup> Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites* (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 9 *sqq.*, 18 *sqq.*, 50, 177 *sqq.*; Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois* (Rochester, 1851), pp. 3 *sqq.*, 358, 370; *id.*, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 123 *sqq.*; *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, i. 615 *sqq.* Our principal modern authorities on the Iroquois are the two distinguished American ethnologists Lewis H. Morgan and Horatio Hale. The

former was brought into frequent intercourse with these Indians and was adopted into one of their tribes (the Senecas). Compare Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois* (Albany, 1847), pp. 44 *sqq.*; R. M. Beauchamp, "The Origin and Antiquity of the New York Iroquois," *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, viii. (1886) pp. 358-366; *Archaeological Report, 1898* (Toronto), pp. 54 *sqq.*

water ; and beyond them, over the wide expanse of hill and dale surrounding Lakes Seneca and Canandaigua, were scattered the populous villages of the Senecas. The whole of this territory between the Hudson River and Lake Eyrie, embracing the best parts of the modern State of New York, was the home country of the Iroquois as distinguished from the vast territories to north, south, east, and west which they held by the slender tenure of Indian conquest and occupied only in the season of the hunt. But New York was their hereditary country, the centre of their power, and the seat of their council-fires. Here amid the silence of the virgin forests were their villages, their fields of maize and tobacco, their fishing and hunting grounds, and the burial-places of their fathers. The Long House, to which they likened their confederacy, opened its eastern door upon the beautiful Hudson River and its western on the roar of Niagara. It was a noble patrimony, nor were they insensible of its natural and political advantages. It was their boast that they occupied the highest part of the continent. Situated on the head-waters of the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, the Ohio, and the St. Lawrence, flowing in every direction to the sea, they held in their hands the gates of the country and could through them swoop down on any point at will ; while valleys, divided by no mountain barriers, and short portages between the upper waters of the rivers, afforded them the means of easy communication among themselves.<sup>1</sup>

The  
Senecas.

The com-  
manding  
situation  
of the  
home of the  
Iroquois.

To this league of five tribes the Tuscaroras, expelled from North Carolina, were admitted as a sixth tribe in 1712, and ever afterwards they were regarded as a constituent member of the confederacy, though they were not admitted to a full equality with the older members of the league. A portion of the Oneida territory to the north of the Susquehanna River was assigned to them as their domain.<sup>2</sup>

The  
Tuscaroras.

The progress in the material arts of life which the Iroquois had made at the time when they were first

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 38-41 ; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 125 sq. ; H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 9 sq.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 44.

Progress  
made  
by the  
Iroquois  
in the  
material  
arts.

discovered by Europeans has been concisely described by L. H. Morgan, our chief modern authority on the nation. He says: "When discovered the Iroquois were in the Lower Status of barbarism, and well advanced in the arts of life pertaining to this condition. They manufactured nets, twine, and rope from filaments of bark; wove belts and burden straps, with warp and woof, from the same materials; they manufactured earthen vessels and pipes from clay mixed with siliceous materials and hardened by fire, some of which were ornamented with rude medallions; they cultivated maize, beans, squashes, and tobacco, in garden beds, and made unleavened bread from pounded maize which they boiled in earthen vessels; they tanned skins into leather with which they manufactured kilts, leggins and moccasins; they used the bow and arrow and war-club as their principal weapons; used flint stone and bone implements, wore skin garments, and were expert hunters and fishermen. They constructed long joint-tenement houses large enough to accommodate five, ten, and twenty families, and each household practised communism in living; but they were unacquainted with the use of stone or adobe-brick in house architecture, and with the use of the native metals. In mental capacity and in general advancement they were the representative branch of the Indian family north of New Mexico."<sup>1</sup>

The large  
communal  
houses  
of the  
Iroquois.

The large communal houses of the Iroquois were constructed of bark boards fastened on a framework of wooden poles and rafters. A single house was generally from fifty to a hundred and thirty feet long by about sixteen wide, with partitions at intervals of about ten or twelve feet. Each apartment served as a separate house, having a fire in the middle and accommodating two families, one on each side of the fire. Thus a house one hundred and twenty feet long would contain ten fires and twenty families. However long the house, it never had more or less than two doors, one at each of the narrow ends. Over one of these doors was carved the totemic device or crest of the head of the family; which seems to imply, though we are not expressly told so, that only families of the same totem clan dwelt

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 69 *sq.*

together in a communal house. The largest villages numbered from eighty to a hundred and fifty houses with a population which, according to Morgan, probably numbered as much as three thousand souls. In ancient times the village was surrounded by a stockade, sometimes by a double or even triple palisade erected on low mounds. But as the power of the Iroquois grew, the need of fortifying their villages decreased and with it the custom.<sup>1</sup>

Each of the six tribes which composed the Iroquois confederacy was subdivided into a number of totemic and exogamous clans. But these clans were not the same in all six tribes. Every tribe had indeed the three clans of the Wolf, the Turtle (Tortoise), and the Bear; and two tribes, namely the Mohawks (Caniengas) and Oneidas, had these three clans and no others. But the other four tribes had each eight clans, which bore different names in the different tribes. Thus the Onondagas had, in addition to the three clans already named, five other clans, namely those of the Deer, Eel, Beaver, Ball and Snipe. The Cayugas and Senecas had also eight clans, which were similar to those of the Onondagas, except that among the Cayugas the Ball clan was replaced by the Hawk clan, while among the Senecas both the Ball and the Eel clans disappear and are replaced by the Hawk clan and the Heron clan. The Tuscaroras had also eight clans, but among them the Hawk, the Heron, and the Ball clans had no place. Instead of them the Wolf clan was subdivided into two, namely the Gray Wolf and the Yellow Wolf; and the Turtle clan in like manner was subdivided into two, the Great Turtle and the Little Turtle. The Bear, Beaver, Eel, and Snipe

The totemic and exogamous clans of the six Iroquois tribes.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 313-319; *id.*, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 153 note<sup>4</sup>. As to the crest carved on the house, Morgan's statement is that "over one of these doors was cut the tribal device of the head of the family" (*League of the Iroquois*, p. 318). By "tribal device" Morgan must mean the totem, since in this early work, as well as in his *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, he regularly uses the terms *tribe* and *tribal* in the sense in

which he afterwards used *gens* and *gentile* to designate what in this work I call the totem clan. It is to be observed that Morgan in all his writings hardly ever uses the word totem, though he very frequently referred to the thing, with which indeed probably no one was more familiar than he. This would suffice to prove how unsafe it is to argue from the absence of the word to the absence of the institution. Compare vol. ii. p. 151 note<sup>1</sup>.

clans were found among the Tuscaroras as among the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. To put this in tabular form:—<sup>1</sup>

## IROQUOIS TRIBES AND CLANS

Tribes.	Clans.
Mohawks (Caniengas)	Bear, Wolf, Turtle (Tortoise).
Oneidas . . . .	Bear, Wolf, Turtle.
Onondagas . . . .	Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Deer, Beaver, Eel, Snipe, Ball.
Cayugas . . . .	Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Deer, Beaver, Eel, Snipe, Hawk.
Senecas . . . .	Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Deer, Beaver, Heron, Snipe, Hawk.
Tuscaroras . . . .	Bear, Gray Wolf, Yellow Wolf, Great Turtle, Little Turtle, Beaver, Eel, Snipe.

Whereas all the other Iroquois tribes have eight clans each, the Mohawks and Oneidas have only three, namely the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle. It is uncertain whether the Mohawks and the Oneidas have lost five clans, or whether the other Iroquois tribes have gained them.

The question naturally arises, Why have the Mohawks and the Oneidas only three clans each, while all the other tribes have eight? Have the Mohawks and Oneidas lost five clans or have the other tribes gained them? The eminent ethnologist, L. H. Morgan, inclined to the former view: he thought that among the Mohawks and Oneidas five clans must have become extinct.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the descendants of the ancient Mohawks and Oneidas affirm that their ancestors never had but three clans, the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle (Tortoise); and their statement is corroborated by old treaties, now in the archives of the United States, in which these clans only are mentioned. Further confirmation is supplied by the Book of Rites, a native work compiled and written in the Mohawk language about the middle of the eighteenth century; for in this book also only three clans are recognised as existing in the whole Iroquois nation at the time when the league was formed. Apparently all the towns of the nation were distributed among the three

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 70; H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 53. Compare H. R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, pp. 128 sqq.; L. H. Morgan, *League of the*

*Iroquois*, pp. 79 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 81; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 70, 92.

primary clans of the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle (Tortoise); if the other clans existed at all, it would seem that they did so merely as septs or subdivisions of the other three.<sup>1</sup> That the Iroquois clans have a tendency to split up appears to be shewn by the clans of the Tuscaroras, of which the Gray Wolf and the Yellow Wolf seem clearly to be subdivisions of an original Wolf clan, and the Great Turtle and the Little Turtle to be in like manner subdivisions of an original Turtle clan. And one of the subdivisions which has actually taken place among the Tuscaroras appears to be nascent among the Onondagas; for with them the Turtle clan includes two septs called respectively the Great Turtle and the Little Turtle, though as yet these septs are reckoned to form but one clan.<sup>2</sup> On this analogy we should infer that in the Iroquois tribes which have more than three clans the additional clans have been produced, not by amalgamation but by segmentation. According to a tradition of the Seneca Iroquois, the Bear and the Deer were their original clans, and all the rest were subdivisions of them.<sup>3</sup> However, it is quite possible, as Horatio Hale inclined to think, that the additional clans were imported by captive members of foreign tribes, whom the Iroquois incorporated among themselves, either adopting them directly into their own families and clans or more commonly allowing them for a time to remain in separate towns, but treating them as Iroquois. In such cases constant intercourse and frequent intermarriage would soon obliterate all traces of alien origin, while the distinction of clanship might survive.<sup>4</sup>

It is no longer possible to attribute the institution of these totemic clans to the sagacity of savage law-givers who devised and created them for the purpose of knitting

The totemic clans, being

<sup>1</sup> H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 54; as to the history of the "Book of Rites" see *id.* pp. 39 sqq. Early French writers seem to mention only the clans of the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle among the Iroquois. See *Relations des Jésuites*, 1647, p. 38 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains* (Paris, 1724), i. 94, 464; Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), v. 393 sq. The

last of these writers says that the clan of the Turtle was divided into two, the Great Turtle and the Little Turtle.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 53 note<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 80; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 54 sq.

distributed between the various tribes of the League, formed a bond of union between them.

together the various tribes by the ties of marriage and consanguinity. Yet that the subdivision of the whole community into clans had this effect is undeniable. For the members of any one clan, to whatever tribe they belonged, looked upon each other as brothers, and thus all the clans were linked together by bonds of real or imaginary kinship. For example, a Mohawk of the Wolf clan regarded a Seneca of the Wolf clan as his brother; and similarly an Oneida of the Turtle clan welcomed as a brother a Turtle man of the Cayuga or the Onondaga tribe. When a man of one tribe visited a village of another, he was entitled to be received by members of his clan with the same rites of hospitality which he might expect at home. If he was a Bear man, he went to a hut which bore the badge of the Bear, and there he was hailed as a brother. And similarly with members of all the other totem clans. In the eyes of an Iroquois, we are told, every member of his own totem clan, in whatever tribe he might be found, was as much his brother or his sister as if they had been born of the same mother. This cross-relationship between members of the same clan in different tribes was, if possible, even stronger than the relationship between members of the same tribe.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamy of the Iroquois clans.

Regarding all the women of his own clan as his sisters, a man was naturally forbidden to marry any of them. In other words the Iroquois clans were exogamous. "Theory at this time," says Schoolcraft, "founded doubtless on actual consanguinity in their inceptive age, makes these clans brothers. It is contrary to their usages that near kindred should intermarry, and the ancient rule interdicts all intermarriage between persons of the same clan. They must marry into a clan whose totem is different from their own. A wolf or turtle male cannot marry a wolf or turtle female. There is an interdict of consanguinity. By this custom the purity of blood is preserved, while the tie of relationship between the clan themselves is strengthened or enlarged."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 81 sq.; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, pp. 128, 130 sq.; H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 52 sq.

<sup>2</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, p. 128. How "the purity of blood is preserved" by insisting that it must always be mixed with another, is not perfectly clear.

But marriage among the Iroquois was not regulated merely by the simple rule that a man might not marry a woman of his own clan but might marry a woman of any other. In tribes which were subdivided into eight clans, these clans were distributed in two groups, and the rule was that no man might marry a woman of any of the clans in his own group; but he might marry a woman of any clan in the other group. Thus the two groups of clans formed what among the Australian aborigines we are accustomed to call exogamous classes or phratries. Morgan's original account of these Iroquois classes or phratries is as follows. He says that in each tribe or, as he calls it, nation there were eight clans or, as he at first called them, tribes, arranged in two divisions and named as follows:—

- |         |       |        |         |
|---------|-------|--------|---------|
| 1. Wolf | Bear  | Beaver | Turtle. |
| 2. Deer | Snipe | Heron  | Hawk.   |

Originally, he tells us, the four clans of the first division, namely the Wolf, Bear, Beaver, and Turtle (Tortoise), being brothers, were not allowed to marry among themselves. For a similar reason the four clans of the second division, namely the Deer, Snipe, Heron, and Hawk, were in like manner forbidden to marry among themselves. Any of the first four clans, however, was free to intermarry with any of the second four, "the relation between them being that of cousins. Thus Hawk could intermarry with Bear or Beaver, Heron with Turtle; but not Beaver and Turtle, nor Deer and Deer. Whoever violated these laws of marriage incurred the deepest detestation and disgrace." In process of time, however, says Morgan, the rigour of the system was relaxed, until finally the prohibition was confined to the clan of the individual, which, among the residue of the Iroquois is still religiously observed. They may now marry into any clan but their own. Under the original as well as modern regulation the husband and wife were of different clans. The children always belonged to the clan of their mother.<sup>1</sup>

But we have seen that the number and names of the Iroquois clans varied in the tribes, and accordingly the

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 79, 83.

Further, the Iroquois clans were grouped in two exogamous phratries.

List of the phratries and clans in the various Iroquois tribes.

grouping of the clans in exogamous classes or phratries within the tribe varied also. These variations have been recorded by Morgan in his later work, *Ancient Society*. From it we learn that in the different tribes the phratries or classes were composed as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

Tribes.	Phratries and Clans.	
Seneca	First Phratry	{ 1. Bear 2. Wolf 3. Beaver 4. Turtle (Tortoise)
	Second Phratry	{ 5. Deer 6. Snipe 7. Heron 8. Hawk
Cayuga	First Phratry	{ 1. Bear 2. Wolf 3. Turtle (Tortoise) 4. Snipe 5. Eel
	Second Phratry	{ 6. Deer 7. Beaver 8. Hawk
Onondaga	First Phratry	{ 1. Wolf 2. Turtle (Tortoise) 3. Snipe 4. Beaver 5. Ball
	Second Phratry	{ 6. Deer 7. Eel 8. Bear
Tuscarora	First Phratry	{ 1. Bear 2. Beaver 3. Great Turtle (Tortoise) 4. Eel
	Second Phratry	{ 5. Gray Wolf 6. Yellow Wolf 7. Little Turtle (Tortoise) 8. Snipe

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 90-93.

The two remaining Iroquois tribes, the Mohawks and Oneidas, had only three clans (the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle or Tortoise) and no phratries. It is doubtful, as we saw,<sup>1</sup> whether these tribes once had other clans and have lost them or whether they never had more than three. If the original organisation of the Mohawks and Oneidas resembled that of the other Iroquois tribes and consisted of eight clans arranged in two phratries, we must conclude that in the course of time the Mohawks and Oneidas have both lost a whole phratry and one clan of the remaining phratry besides. If on the other hand the Mohawks and Oneidas never had more than the three clans which are common to all the other four Iroquois tribes, it would seem to follow that in these four other tribes the five additional clans and their arrangement in two phratries are later modifications of the original tribal constitution. Which of these two views is the true one, the evidence at our disposal seems insufficient to decide.<sup>2</sup>

Each Iroquois clan, and apparently as a rule each clan of any Indian tribe, had personal names for its members which were its special property and might not be used by other clans of the same tribe. These names either proclaimed by their significance the clan to which they belonged or were known by common reputation to belong to such and such a clan. When a child was born, the mother chose its name, with the concurrence of her nearest relations, from the list of names belonging to the clan which happened at the time not to be in use. But the child was not deemed to be fully named until its birth and name, together with the name and clan of its mother and the name of its father, had been announced at the next ensuing council of the tribe. When a person died, his name could not be used again in the lifetime of his oldest surviving son without the consent of the latter. Two classes of names were in use, one adapted to childhood, and the other to adult life, and the two names were exchanged at the proper period in the same formal manner, one being taken away, to use the Indian expression, and the other bestowed in its place. This exchange of names took place at the age of sixteen or eighteen, the

The Mohawks and Oneidas have no phratries.

Each Iroquois clan had personal names for its members, which were the property of the clan. There were two classes of names, the childhood names and the adult names.

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 8 sq.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 92.

ceremony being performed by the chief of the clan. At the next council meeting of the tribe the change of names was publicly proclaimed; and if the person was a male he thereupon entered on the duties of manhood. A person who had the control of a particular name, as, for example, the eldest son controlled the name of his deceased father, might lend the name to a friend in another clan; but after the death of the friend the name reverted to the clan to which it properly belonged.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Iroquois the totemic clan, property, titles, and rights of every sort were inherited in the female line by children from their mother, not from their father. Influence of women.

Among the Iroquois the totemic clan, as well as property, titles, and rights of every sort, passed by inheritance in the female line from the mother, not from the father, to the children. Speaking of the Indians of Canada, particularly, it would seem, of the Iroquois and Hurons, Charlevoix observes that "children belong only to the mother and recognise none but her. The father is always like a stranger with regard to them, but so that if he is not considered as father he is nevertheless respected as the master of the hut."<sup>2</sup> Still more emphatically and perhaps with some exaggeration Lafitau writes that "nothing is more real than this superiority of the women. It is in the women that properly consists the nation, the nobility of blood, the genealogical tree, the order of the generations, the preservation of the families. It is in them that all real authority resides; the country, the fields, and all their crops belong to them. They are the soul of the councils, the arbiters of peace and war; they keep the purse or public treasury: it is to them that slaves are given: they make the marriages: the children are in their domain, and it is in their blood that the order of succession is founded. The men, on the contrary, are entirely isolated and limited to themselves, their children are strangers to them, with them everything perishes, it is only the woman who raises up the house; whereas if there are only men in the house, however numerous they may be, and however numerous their children, their family is extinguished. . . . Marriages are contracted in such a way that husband and wife never quit their own family and their own house to make one family and one house by themselves. Each

Husband and wife did not live together.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 78 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), v. 424.

remains in his or her own home, and the children born of these marriages belong to the women who bore them; they are reckoned to the house and family of the wife and not to those of the husband. The husband's goods do not pass to his wife's house, to which he is himself a stranger; and in the wife's house the daughters are reckoned the heiresses in preference to the males, because the males have nothing there but their subsistence."<sup>1</sup> Hence among the Iroquois a man's son was perpetually disinherited: he belonged to his mother's clan and tribe: he could never succeed to his father's property, titles, or office. If, for example, an Onondaga man of the Wolf clan married an Onondaga woman of the Deer clan, their children were all Deer, not Wolves. If a Seneca man of the Bear clan married a Cayuga woman of the Beaver clan, the children were all Cayugas and Beavers, not Senecas and Bears. The same rule regulated the hereditary transmission of the sachemship or office of high chief. When the League of the Iroquois was at its height, it was governed by fifty sachems or high chiefs, whose office was hereditary, whose powers and dignities were equal, and whose jurisdiction was not limited territorially but was coextensive with the League. Of these fifty sachems the Onondagas contributed fourteen, the Cayugas ten, the Mohawks nine, the Oneidas nine, and the Senecas eight. On account of the prevalence of mother-kin among the Iroquois the sachemship was inherited not by the sachem's son but by his brother, or by the son of his sister. According to Schoolcraft, the brother inherited first, and only in default of brothers did the sister's son succeed. According to L. H. Morgan, a better authority, there was no preference for a brother over a sister's son nor any rule of primogeniture either among brothers or among the sons of sisters. Any brother or sister's son might succeed to the sachemship, but he had to be elected or "raised up," as the phrase was, to the office from among the eligible kinsmen by the council of all the other sachems. Thus the office of

The fifty sachemships (the principal chieftainships) of the Iroquois descended in the female line from a man to his brothers and to his sisters' children.

<sup>1</sup> Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains* (Paris, 1724), i. 71-73. The writer seems here to refer especially to the Iroquois and Hurons.

We may compare a similar state of things in some parts of Sumatra. See above, vol. ii. pp. 193 *sqq.*

sachem was both hereditary and elective; yet the rule of heredity was absolute. Once a sachemship had been assigned to a particular totem clan, it might never pass out of it but with the extinction of the clan itself. Hence if, for example, a sachemship had been assigned to the Deer clan of the Cayuga tribe at the original distribution of these offices, it would descend from Deer to Deer in the female line for ever, so long as the Deer clan existed; but the son of a Deer sachem could never inherit his father's office, since he was never of his father's but always of his mother's totem. The descent of property was similar. Whatever a woman acquired or inherited she could dispose of at her pleasure in her lifetime, and at her death it was inherited by her children. What a man acquired or inherited he might in like manner dispose of in his lifetime; if he thus bestowed land or property on his wife or children in the presence of a witness, she or they were allowed to hold it. But if he did not dispose of his property in his lifetime, it could not be inherited by his children at his death; for his children were not of his totem, and it was a law of the Iroquois that property could not pass by descent out of the totem clan.<sup>1</sup>

Property in like manner descended in the female line.

The Iroquois phratry existed for social and religious purposes.

Among the Iroquois, we are told, the phratry existed partly for social and partly for religious objects. In the game of ball, for example, the Senecas played by phratries, one phratry against the other, and they betted against each other upon the result of the game.<sup>2</sup> At a council of the tribe the sachems and lower chiefs in each phratry seated themselves on opposite sides of an imaginary council-fire, and the speakers addressed the two opposite bodies as representatives of the phratries.<sup>3</sup> Again, when a man of one clan had murdered a man of another clan, the clan of the victim used to meet in council to concert measures for avenging his death; while the clan of the murderer also met in council in order to procure a condonation of the crime. But if the two clans belonged to opposite phratries, then the clan to which the slayer belonged might call on the other clans of its

Function of the phratries in cases of homicide.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 62 sq., 83-85, 87 sq., 90 sq., 325 sqq.; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, pp. 128 sq.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 95.

phratry to unite with it in its efforts to effect a peaceful settlement. For that purpose the phratry would meet in council and send delegates with a belt of white wampum to the council of the victim's phratry requesting them to use their good offices in the cause of peace, and offering apologies and compensation to the family and clan of the murdered man. These negotiations between the councils of the two phratries continued until a decision one way or another was arrived at.<sup>1</sup> Again, at the funerals of eminent persons the organisation in phratries played an important part. For while the phratry of the deceased in a body were the mourners, the ceremonies were conducted by members of the opposite phratry. If it was a sachem who had died, it was usual for the opposite phratry to send, immediately after the funeral, the official wampum belt of the deceased ruler to the central council fire at Onondaga as a notification of his death. There the belt remained till the successor was installed, when it was bestowed on him as a badge of office. When the Seneca sachem Handsome Lake died, the customary address to the dead body and the other addresses before the removal of the corpse were delivered by members of the phratry to which the dead chief did not belong; and it was by men chosen from that phratry, and not from his own, that his mortal remains were borne to their last resting-place.<sup>2</sup> Further, the phratry was directly concerned in the election both of sachems and of the inferior chiefs. After the clan of a deceased sachem or of an inferior chief had elected his successor, it was necessary that their choice should be accepted and ratified by both phratries. It was expected that the other clans of the same phratry would confirm the choice almost as a matter of course; but the other phratry must also assent. Accordingly a council of each phratry met; and if either of them rejected the nomination of the clan, that nomination was set aside, and the clan had to make a fresh one. Even after the choice of the clan had been accepted by both phratries, it was still necessary that the new sachem or the new chief should be inducted into his sachemship or his chieftainship by the

Function  
of the  
phratries  
at funerals.

Function  
of the  
phratries at the election  
of sachems  
and chiefs.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 95 *sq.*

Medicine  
Lodges  
of the  
phratries.

council of the whole confederacy, which alone had power to invest with office. This federal council was composed of the fifty hereditary and elective sachems.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, the Seneca Iroquois used to have two Medicine Lodges, as they were called, one in each phratry. To hold a Medicine Lodge was to observe their highest religious rites and to practise their deepest religious mysteries. But very little is now known concerning these lodges and their ceremonies. Each was a brotherhood, into which new members were admitted by a formal initiation.<sup>2</sup>

Little is  
known  
of the  
religious  
aspect of  
totemism  
among the  
Iroquois.

While we thus possess some authentic information as to the social aspect of totemism among the Iroquois, very little is known of its religious or superstitious side. So far as I know, we are not even told whether people might or might not kill and eat their totem animals. According to L. H. Morgan, it can scarcely be said that any Indian clan had special religious rites; the six annual religious festivals of the Iroquois which he mentions were common to all the clans of the tribe, and were therefore not totemic but tribal.<sup>3</sup> According to one account, the Iroquois professed to be descended from their three great totems, the turtle or tortoise, the bear, and the wolf; and of these animal ancestors the turtle was deemed the most honourable.<sup>4</sup>

The Turtle  
or Tortoise  
clan is said  
to be  
descended  
from a real  
turtle.

The mode in which the Turtle or Tortoise clan originated is said to have been as follows. In early days many mud turtles lived in a pool, but one hot summer the pool dried up, so the turtles had to set out to find another. One very fat turtle waddling in the great heat was much incommoded by his shell, which blistered his shoulders as he walked. At

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 97, 129. The federal council, consisting of the fifty sachems, assembled periodically, usually in autumn, at Onondaga, which was in effect the seat of government, to legislate for the commonweal. It declared war and made peace, sent and received embassies, entered into treaties of alliance, regulated the affairs of subject nations, and in a word took all needful measures to promote the prosperity and enlarge the dominion of the League. See L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 62-67.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 81 sq. The six festivals were the Maple festival, the Planting festival, the Strawberry festival, the Green Corn festival, the Harvest festival, and the New Year's festival. For a description of these festivals, see L. H. Morgan, *The League of the Iroquois*, pp. 182 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York* (London, 1823), iv. 184, 185.

t by a convulsive effort he made a shift to heave it off together, after which he developed into a man and became progenitor of the Turtle clan.<sup>1</sup>

The Iroquois, like their kindred the Hurons, were very upulous with regard to the prohibited degrees of kinship: among them only those persons might marry each other between whom no relationship could be traced; even the official relationship created by adoption constituted a bar to marriage.<sup>2</sup> In these respects they resemble the greater part of the tribes of American Indians, among whom the rules barring the intermarriage of blood relations are very stringent.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand there are no such restrictions placed on relatives by marriage after the death of a husband or wife.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, when a husband died, his brother was bound to marry the widow; and conversely, when his wife died, a man was bound to marry either her brother or, in default of a sister, such other woman as the family of his deceased wife might provide for him. The intention of these customs, we are told, was to raise up an heir to the dead. A man who should refuse to marry

the deceased wife's sister would, we are told, expose himself to all the abuse and vituperation which the insulted woman would use to heap upon his devoted head; and this torrent of reprobation, conscious of his delinquency, he had to submit to in silence and with as good a grace as he could command.<sup>5</sup>

The Iroquois, like many, if not all the other nations of North American Indians, possess the classificatory system of kinship. Indeed the existence of that system, which is now known to prevail among so many races, was detected for the first time by the great American ethnologist Lewis H. Morgan in the Seneca tribe of Iroquois, with whom he lived as an adopted member of the tribe. At first he regarded the system as an invention of the Iroquois and

The rules forbidding marriage between persons near of kin were strictly observed by the Iroquois. But a woman was bound to marry her deceased husband's brother, and a man was bound to marry his deceased wife's sister.

The classificatory system of relationship was first discovered by L. H. Morgan in the Seneca tribe of Iroquois.

E. A. Smith, "Myths of the Iroquois," *Second Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1877), p. 77.

Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), i. 558 sq.; Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), v. 419.

L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-*

*sanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Washington, 1871), p. 164 (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii.).

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, v. 419; compare Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains*, i. 560.

Afterwards Morgan found the classificatory system among many other tribes of North American Indians and among many other peoples of the world.

peculiar to them ; but afterwards to his surprise he found the same elaborate and complicated classification of kindred among the Ojibways, a tribe of Indians of the Algonkin stock, who differ both in blood and language from the Iroquois. The discovery led him to extend his enquiries, chiefly by personal investigation, among the other Indian tribes from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains and from the Arctic Sea to the Gulf of Mexico ; and the result was to prove that the many Indian nations scattered over this wide area, and speaking different languages or different dialects of the same language, all possess the classificatory system of relationship in fundamentally the same form, though the terms designating the various relationships differ with the language or the dialect of the tribe. Still further extending the scope of the enquiry, Morgan collected by means of printed circulars a large body of information as to the systems of relationship prevalent in Asia and the islands of the Pacific ; and he was thus able to demonstrate that the classificatory system is still in use at the present day certainly among a very large part, and perhaps among the largest part, of the population of the globe. It is true that his enquiries elicited little or no response from Mexico, Central America, South America, and Africa ; but subsequent research has made it probable that in Africa at least the same system is widespread among the many nations of the great Bantu stock.<sup>1</sup> As the classificatory system of relationship is intimately bound up with, if it did not originate in, the custom of exogamy, with which we are concerned in this work, it may be well to describe the Iroquois form of the system somewhat fully ; both because the Iroquois form is typical of that which prevails among all the other American Indian tribes whose systems of relationship have been examined, and also because it possesses a special interest in having been the first example of the

Account of the classificatory system of relationship among the Iroquois.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 3 sqq. As to the evidence for the prevalence of the classificatory system in Africa, see above, vol. ii. pp. 386 sqq., 401, 416 sq., 444 sq., 509 sqq., 575 sq., 615, 639 sq. It is to be observed that Morgan appears to have

collected no evidence of the prevalence of the classificatory system among the Indian tribes of California ; and, as we have seen (p. 2, note), among these tribes totemism also is apparently absent. The coincidence, if it is such, can hardly be accidental. But to this subject we shall return later on.

stitution which attracted the attention of scientific quirkers. In describing it I shall reproduce the exposition of its discoverer, L. H. Morgan, to some extent in his own words. The terms of relationship here given are those in use among the Seneca tribe of the Iroquois. They differ for the most part only dialectically from those in use among the other tribes of the confederacy.<sup>1</sup>

It is characteristic of the Iroquois as of most other forms of the classificatory system that it has separate terms for elder brother and younger brother, for elder sister and younger sister, but no term for brother in general or for sister in general, though there is a compound term in the plural number and in the common gender for brothers and sisters in general.<sup>2</sup> This careful discrimination of elder brother from younger brother, and of elder sister from younger sister, proves that the distinction between the senior and the junior branches of the family must have been deemed very important at the time when the classificatory system was instituted or took shape. A suggestion as to the origin of the distinction has already been offered.<sup>3</sup>

Different terms for elder and younger brother and sister.

In the classificatory system Morgan distinguishes certain features which he calls indicative. They are those, he says, which determine the character of the system, and to which the rest may be regarded as subordinate. In the Iroquois form of the system the following are the indicative features :—

Indicative features of the classificatory system.

L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 154 sqq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 436 sqq. A brief notice of the system had been given by the author in his early book, *League of the Iroquois* (Rochester, 1851), pp. 85-87, where he was aware of the wide prevalence and far-reaching importance of the institution.

L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 154 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 437. The terms in question are these :—

My elder brother . . . *Há'-je*  
 My younger brother . . . *Há'-gá*  
 My elder sister . . . *Ah'-jē*  
 My younger sister . . . *Ká'-gá*.  
 In all these terms the first syllable

(*Há*, *Há'*, *Ah'*, *Ká'*) appears to be the possessive pronoun "my." See L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 132, 137. If that is so, it would seem that the word for younger brother (*gá*) is also the word for younger sister, and that the word for elder brother (*je*) differs but little from the word for elder sister (*jē*). In not a few forms of the classificatory system, whereas there are different terms for elder brother and elder sister, there is only one term for younger brother and younger sister. Examples have met us in the course of this work. In the spelling of Indian terms of relationship *á* is the long *a* as in *father*. Morgan represents it by *ä*, which I have altered throughout. The *a* has the sound of *a* in *ale*, *mate*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 179 sqq.

1. I, being a male, call my brother's children my children.

1. In the male branch of the first collateral line, myself being a male, I call my brother's son and daughter my son and daughter, *Ha-ah'-wuk* and *Ka-ah'-wuk*; and each of them calls me father, *Hâ'-nih*. This is the first indicative feature of the system. It places my brother's children in the same category with my own children. Each of their sons and daughters I call severally my grandson and granddaughter, *Ha-yâ'-da* and *Ka-yâ'-da*, and they call me grandfather, *Hoc-sote*. The relationships here given are those which are actually recognised; the terms of relationship are those which are actually applied: no others are known.<sup>1</sup>

2. I, being a male, call my sister's children my nephews and nieces.

2. In the female branch of the first collateral line, myself being still a male, I call my sister's son and daughter my nephew and niece, *Ha-yâ'-wan-da* and *Ka-yâ'-wan-da*; and each of them calls me uncle, *Hoc-no'-seh*. This is the second indicative feature. It restricts the relationships of nephew and niece to the children of a man's sisters, to the exclusion of the children of his brothers. The son and daughter of this nephew and of this niece are not, as might have been expected, my grand-nephew and grand-niece; they are my grandson and granddaughter; and they call me grandfather. This, however we may explain it, is characteristic of the classificatory system; under it the several collateral lines, in their several branches, are ultimately merged in the lineal line.<sup>2</sup>

I, being a female, call my brother's children my nephews and nieces, and I call my sister's children my children.

If now the speaker is a female, then in the male branch of the first collateral line I call my brother's son and daughter my nephew and niece, *Ha-soh'-neh* and *Ka-soh'-neh*; and each of them calls me aunt, *Ah-ga'-huc*. It will be noticed that the terms for nephew and niece which are used by females are quite different from those which are used by males. The son and daughter of this nephew and niece are not, as might have been expected, my grand-nephew and grand-niece; they are my grandson and granddaughter, *Ha-yâ'-da* and *Ka-yâ'-da*; and each of them calls me grandmother, *Oc'-Sote*.

Again, the speaker being still a female, in the female

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 155; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 437.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 145, 156; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 438.

branch of the first collateral line I call my sister's son and daughter my son and daughter, *Ha-ah'-wuk* and *Ka-ah'-wuk*; and each of them calls me mother, *No-yeh'*. The children of this son and daughter are my grandchildren; and each of them calls me grandmother, *O'-sote*.<sup>1</sup>

3. In the male branch of the second collateral line, on the father's side, myself being a male, I call my father's brother my father, *Hd'-nih*; and he calls me his son. This is the third indicative feature of the system. It places all of several brothers in the relation of a father to the children of each other.<sup>2</sup>

4. My father's brother's son is my elder or younger brother; if he is older than myself I call him my elder brother, *Hd'-je*, and he calls me his younger brother, *Hd'-gä*; if he is younger than me, these terms are reversed. Similarly, my father's brother's daughter is my elder or younger sister; if she is older than myself I call her my elder sister, *Ah'-je*, and she calls me her younger brother, *Hd'-gä*; if she is younger than me, I call her my younger sister, *Ka'-gä*, and she calls me her elder brother. This is the fourth indicative feature. It creates the relationship of brother and sister amongst the children of several brothers. Such brothers and sisters, to distinguish them from own brothers and sisters, may conveniently be called collateral brothers and sisters. The children of these collateral brothers, myself being a male, are my sons and daughters (*Ha-ah'-wuk* and *Ka-ah'-wuk*), and they call me father; their children are my grandchildren, and they call me grandfather. On the other hand, the children of my collateral sisters are not my children but my nephews and nieces (*Ha-yä'-wan-da* and *Ka-yä'-wan-da*), and they call me uncle; but the children of these nephews and nieces are my grandchildren, and they call me grandfather. It is thus that the classificatory system by its nomenclature brings back the divergent collateral lines into the direct lineal line. If I the speaker am a female, then the children of my collateral brothers are my nephews and nieces, and the children of my collateral sisters are my sons and daughters;

3. I call my father's brother my father.

4. I call my father's brother's children my brothers and sisters.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 156; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 438.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *ll. c.*

but the children of these nephews and nieces and of these sons and daughters are all alike my grandchildren, the classificatory system merging as usual all these collateral relations in the direct lineal line.<sup>1</sup>

5. I call  
my father's  
sister my  
aunt.

5. In the female branch of the second collateral line, myself being a male, my father's sister is my aunt (*Ah-ga'-huc*), and she calls me her nephew. This is the fifth indicative feature of the system. It restricts the relationship of aunt to the sisters of my father and to the sisters of such other persons as stand to me in the relation of a father, to the exclusion of my mother's sisters. My father's sister's children are my cousins (*Ah-gare'-seh*, singular), and they call me cousin. With myself a male, the children of my male cousins are my sons and daughters, and they call me father, but the children of my female cousins are my nephews and nieces, and they call me uncle. With myself a female, these relationships are reversed: the children of my male cousins are my nephews and nieces, and they call me aunt, but the children of my female cousins are my sons and daughters, and they call me mother. All the children of these sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are alike my grandchildren, whether I am a male or a female, the classificatory system as usual bringing back the divergent collateral lines into the direct lineal line.<sup>2</sup>

6. I call my  
mother's  
brother my  
uncle.

6. On the mother's side in the second collateral line, myself a male, my mother's brother is my uncle (*Hoc-no-seh*), and he calls me his nephew. This is the sixth indicative feature. It restricts the relationship of uncle to my mother's brothers, own and collateral, to the exclusion of my father's brothers; but it at the same time includes the brothers of all other women who stand to me in the relation of a mother. With myself a male, the children of my mother's brother are my cousins (*Ah-gäre'-seh*); the children of my male cousins are my sons and daughters, and they call me father, but the children of my female cousins are my nephews and nieces, and they call me uncle. With myself a female, these last relationships are reversed: the children of my

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 156 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 438 sq.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 157 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 439.

male cousins are my nephews and nieces, and they call me aunt, but the children of my female cousins are my sons and daughters, and they call me mother. The children of all these sons and daughters and nephews and nieces, whether I am a male or a female, are alike my grandchildren, the classificatory system as usual bringing back the divergent collateral lines into the direct lineal line.<sup>1</sup>

The relationship of uncle, that is, of the mother's brother, is in some respects the most important in Indian society, for the uncle is invested with authority over his nephews and nieces, the children of his sister. For practical purposes, indeed, he has more authority over them than their own father. For example, among the Choctaws, if a boy is to be placed at school, it is his uncle and not his father who takes him to the school and makes the arrangements. Among the Winnebagoes, a maternal uncle may require services of a nephew or administer correction, which the boy's own father would neither ask nor attempt. Similarly with the Iowas and Ottoes an uncle may appropriate to his own use his nephew's horse or gun or other personal property without being questioned, which the sufferer's own father would have no recognised right to do. Over his nieces the authority of the uncle, we are told, is still more significant on account of his participation in their marriage contracts, which in many Indian nations carry with them presents. In America, as in many other parts of the world, this authority of the maternal uncle over his nephews and nieces is founded on the principle of female kinship, in accordance with which a man's heirs are not his own but his sister's children.<sup>2</sup>

7. In the female branch of the second collateral line my mother's sister is my mother, *Noh-yeh'*, and she calls me her son. This is the seventh indicative feature of the system. It places all of several sisters, own and collateral, in the relation of a mother to the children of each other.<sup>3</sup>

8. My mother's sister's children are my brothers and

Importance of the mother's brother in Indian society; his authority over his sister's children is greater than that of their father.

7. I call my mother's sister my mother.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 158; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 439.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-*

*sanguinity and Affinity*, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 158; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 439.

8. I call my mother's sister's children my brothers and sisters. sisters, elder or younger. This is the eighth indicative feature. It establishes the relationship of brother and sister among the children of sisters. The children of these collateral brothers are my sons and daughters, *Ha-ah'-wuk* and *Ka-ah'-wuk*, and they call me father; their children are my grandchildren, and they call me grandfather. But the children of these collateral sisters are my nephews and nieces (*Ha-yá'-wan-da* and *Ka-yá'-wan-da*), and they call me uncle; nevertheless their children are not my grand-nephew and grand-niece, but my grandchildren, and they call me grandfather. It is thus that the classificatory system merges the collateral lines in the direct lineal line. With myself a female, the relationships of the children of collateral brothers and sisters are reversed, as in previous cases: that is, the children of my collateral brothers are my nephews and nieces; the children of my collateral sisters are my children; and the grandchildren of both my collateral brothers and my collateral sisters are all alike my grandchildren, the classificatory system as usual merging the collateral lines in the direct lineal line.<sup>1</sup>

9. I call my father's father's brother my grandfather, and he calls me his grandson. 9. In the third collateral line my father's father's brother is my grandfather (*Hoc'-sote*), and calls me his grandson. This is the ninth and last indicative feature. It places these brothers of my paternal grandfather in the relation of grandfathers to me, and thus prevents collateral ascendants from passing beyond this relationship. The principle which merges the collateral lines in the lineal line works upward as well as downward. The son of such a collateral grandfather is my father (*Há'-nih*), and calls me his son; the children of this collateral father are my brothers and sisters; the children of these collateral brothers are my sons and daughters; the children of these collateral sisters are my nephews and nieces; and the children of these collateral sons and daughters, nephews and nieces are all alike my grandchildren, the classificatory system as usual merging the collateral lines in the direct lineal line. With myself a female, my relations to the children of my collateral brothers and sisters are reversed as in previous cases: that

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 158 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 439 sq.

is, the children of my collateral brothers are my nephews and nieces; the children of my collateral sisters are my sons and daughters; but the children of these collateral sons and daughters, nephews and nieces, are all alike my grandchildren.<sup>1</sup> "These relationships," says their discoverer, L. H. Morgan, "so novel and original, did not exist simply in theory, but were actual, and of constant recognition, and lay at the foundation of their political, as well as social organization."<sup>2</sup>

To recapitulate some of the cardinal relationships in the Seneca-Iroquois form of the classificatory system. In the generation above his own a man applies the same term *Hâ-nih*, "my father," to his own father and to his father's brothers; and he applies the same term *No-yeh*, "my mother," to his own mother and to his mother's sisters. In his own generation he applies the same term *Hâ-je*, "my elder brother," to his own elder brothers and to his elder male cousins, the sons either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters; and he applies the same term *Hd'gă*, "my younger brother," to his own younger brothers and to his younger male cousins, the sons either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. Similarly, in his own generation he applies the same term *Ah'-je*, "my elder sister," to his own elder sisters and to his elder female cousins, the daughters either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters; and he applies the same term *Kd'-gă*, "my younger sister," to his own younger sisters and to his younger female cousins, the daughters either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. In the generation below his own he applies the same term *Ha-ah'-wuk*, "my son," to his own sons, to his brothers' sons, and also to certain of his cousins' sons, namely, to the sons either of his father's brothers' sons or of his mother's sisters' sons. Similarly,

Recapitulation of the cardinal relationships in the Seneca-Iroquois form of the classificatory system.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 161; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 440. In the former of these works Morgan stated as the ninth indicative feature that "the first collateral line in its two branches, and the second in its four branches, are finally brought into and merged in the lineal line; and the

same will hereafter be found to be the case with each of the remaining collateral lines as far as the fact of consanguinity can be traced" (*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 159 sq.). But this he omitted in his later work *Ancient Society*.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 87.

in the generation below his own he applies the same term *Ka-ah'-wuk*, "my daughter," to his own daughters, to his brothers' daughters, and also to certain of his cousins' daughters, namely, to the daughters either of his father's brothers' sons or of his mother's sisters' sons. On the other hand, he calls his father's sister, not "my mother," but "my aunt" (*Ah-ga'-huc*); and he calls his mother's brother, not "my father," but "my uncle" (*Hoc-no'-seh*). He calls his male cousin, the son either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, not "my brother," but "my cousin" (*Ah-gäre'-seh*); and, similarly, he calls his female cousin, the daughter either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, not "my sister," but "my cousin" (*Ah-gäre'-seh*).<sup>1</sup> Thus, as usually happens under the classificatory system, a sharp distinction is drawn between cousins, according as they are the children, on the one hand, of two brothers or of two sisters, or, on the other hand, of a brother and a sister respectively; for whereas the children of two brothers or of two sisters are brothers and sisters to each other, the children of a brother and a sister respectively are only cousins.

Sharp distinction drawn between consins under the classificatory system.

The Seneca-Iroquois form of the classificatory system has no classificatory terms for husband and wife. Herein it marks an advance on the more primitive Australian form of the system, which possesses classificatory terms for husband and wife.

If we compare the classificatory system of the Seneca-Iroquois with the classificatory system of the Australian aborigines, we are struck by the absence from the former of classificatory terms for husband and wife. Amongst the Australians, as we have seen, a man calls his wife's sisters, whether own or tribal, also his wives; and a woman calls her husband's brothers, whether own or tribal, also her husbands.<sup>2</sup> But among the Seneca-Iroquois a man has a different name for his wife and for his wife's sister; he calls his wife *da-yake'-ne*, "my wife," but his wife's sister he calls *ka-yä'-o*, "my sister-in-law." Similarly, among the Seneca-Iroquois a woman has a different name for her husband and for her husband's brothers; she calls her husband *da-yake'-ne*, "my husband," but her husband's brother she calls *ha-yä'-o*, "my brother-in-law."<sup>3</sup> Thus the classificatory system of the Seneca-Iroquois does not assign to every husband a number

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 167 sq., and Table II., pp. 293 sqq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 447 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 299, 300,

301, 302, 303, 362, 375 sq., 380, 384, 405, 420, 441, 461, 500.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 169; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 451, 452.

of wives, and to every wife a number of husbands ; in other words, so far as the terms for husband and wife are concerned, it does not, like the Australian system, point to the marriage of a group of men to a group of women. But if we are right in supposing that the classificatory system in general is based on group marriage,<sup>1</sup> it appears to follow that the Seneca-Iroquois form of the system is less primitive than the Australian form, since, on this hypothesis, it has lost the cardinal feature of the whole system, namely, the recognition of the marital rights of a group of men over a group of women. That the Iroquois form of the system is less primitive than the Australian form seems perfectly natural, when we consider the great advance in culture which the Iroquois had made by comparison with the aborigines of Australia.

### § 3. *Totemism among the Hurons or Wyandots*

The Hurons were an Indian nation inhabiting that portion of Canada which lies to the north of Lake Ontario and the Saint Lawrence River. Their principal villages were along the Georgian Bay and around Lake Simcoe. Toronto is said to take its name from a Huron word meaning "plenty"; for this neighbourhood was once a favourite settlement of these Indians. But their traditions seem to shew that they had migrated southward to this happier land from the bleak region which stretches from Hudson's Bay to the coast of Labrador. By blood and language the Hurons belonged to the same stock as the Iroquois ; indeed their language, or at all events the language of their descendants the modern Wyandots, is said to be almost identical with that of the Seneca-Iroquois. The various tribes composing the nation were united in a confederacy down to 1650, when they were broken up, conquered, or dispersed by their kinsmen but deadly enemies the Iroquois, who had waged with them a savage and relentless warfare. A remnant afterwards established themselves near Quebec ; but by far the largest portion, after several changes, settled near Sandusky in Ohio, from

The Hurons or Wyandots, an Indian nation of Canada closely related by blood and language to the Iroquois.

Conquest of the Hurons by the Iroquois.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 303 *sqq.*

Great communal houses of the Hurons.

which towards the middle of the nineteenth century they were finally removed to Kansas. The name by which the Hurons called themselves was Wendat, and this, corrupted into the form Wyandot, is the name still borne by their descendants.<sup>1</sup> The Hurons subsisted by hunting, fishing, and agriculture. They raised crops of maize, which they baked into bread. Like the Iroquois, they lived in great communal houses from a hundred and fifty to two hundred feet long, each with a passage running down the middle. Such a house might accommodate from sixteen to twenty-four families, every family occupying its own compartment on one side of the central passage, while every pair of families shared a fire between them. The chief town of the Hurons is said to have contained two hundred such large communal houses. In some places they changed the sites of their villages or towns at intervals of ten, fifteen or thirty years, more or less, when the wood in the neighbourhood was exhausted.<sup>2</sup>

The Wyandots divided into totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line.

The Wyandots are divided into totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line. A list of eight of these clans was published by L. H. Morgan;<sup>3</sup> but subsequent research has extended the list of clans to twelve, though five of them are now extinct. Mr. William E. Connelly, who has studied the Wyandot language and traditions for many years and is an adopted member of the tribe, gives the following list of Wyandot clans on the authority of a trustworthy witness, George Wright, whose evidence agrees in all main points with that of another witness, Matthias Splitlog:—<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 151 sq.; H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 10 sq., 15 sq.; W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), pp. 92 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Part i. (Washington, 1907), pp. 584 sqq. According to L. H. Morgan (*op. cit.* p. 283) the original form of the name Wyandot is *wane-dote*, "calf of the leg," a name given to these Indians by the Iroquois and adopted by themselves. It refers,

says Morgan, to their manner of stringing buffalo-meat.

<sup>2</sup> F. Gabriel Sagard, *Le Grand Voyage du pays des Hurons*, Nouvelle Edition (Paris, 1865), pp. 80-83, 92 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 153. The eight which he mentions are the clans of the Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Snake, Porcupine, and Hawk.

<sup>4</sup> William E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), pp. 100 sq. Major J. W. Powell had previously given a

1. Big Turtle (Mossy Back). *Tēhn-gyowh'-wīshh-hīh-yōōh-wah'-nēh-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Big (or Great) Turtle.
2. Little Turtle (Little Water Turtle, sometimes called Speckled Turtle). *Tēhn-yēh-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Little Turtle.
3. Mud Turtle. *Yah'-nēhs-tēh'-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Mud Turtle.
4. Wolf. *Tēhn-ah'-rēh-squāh'-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Wolf, or the clan that smells a bone.
5. Bear. *Tēhn'-yoh-yēh<sup>nu</sup>-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Bear, or the clan of the Claws.
6. Beaver. *Tsooh-tih-hah-tēh-zhūh'-tōōh-tēh-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Beaver, or the clan of the House-Builders.
7. Deer. *Tēhn-dāh'-āh-rāh-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Deer, or the clan of the Horns.
8. Porcupine. *Yēh-rēh'-hēhseh'-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Porcupine, or the clan of the Quills.
9. Striped Turtle. *Māh-nōh-hōōh'-kah-shēh-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Striped Turtle, or the clan that carries the Stripes (or colors).
10. Highland Turtle, or Prairie Turtle. *Yēh-tōh-zhōōh'-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Prairie Turtle, or the clan that carries the House.
11. Snake. *Tēhn-goh<sup>nu</sup>-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Snake, or the clan that carries the Trail. Sometimes called the Little Clan of the Horns.
12. Hawk. *Tēhn-dēh-sōh'-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Hawk, or the clan of the Wings.

The order in which the clans are here mentioned is that of their precedence. Their camp was formed "on the shell of the Big Turtle." It began at the right fore-leg and continued round the shell to the right to the left fore-leg in the order of precedence, except that the Wolf clan could be either in the centre of the encampment or at "the head of the Turtle." The march was under the direction of the Wolf clan and was commanded by the chief of the Wolf clan.<sup>1</sup>

It will be observed that of these twelve clans no less than five have for their totems various sorts of turtles (tortoises). "The Turtle clans," says Mr. Connelly, "were always considered the most ancient and most honorable of the tribal subdivisions, and the order of precedence and encampment was according to the 'shell of the Big Turtle.'" The turtle

list of eleven Wyandot clans as follows:—Deer, Bear, Highland Turtle (striped), Highland Turtle (black), Mud Turtle, Smooth Large Turtle, Hawk, Beaver, Wolf, Sea Snake, and Porcupine. See J. W. Powell, "Wyandot

Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 59.

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archaeological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), pp. 101 sq.

Order of precedence of the clans and their positions in camp.

Of the twelve Wyandot clans five have for their totems various kinds of turtles or tortoises.

The twelve Wyandot clans are supposed to have been produced by the subdivision of three original clans, the Big Turtle, the Little Turtle, and the Mud Turtle.

idea was interwoven with the whole social and political fabric of ancient Tionnontate institutions."<sup>1</sup> The multiplicity of the clans, in Mr. Connelly's opinion, was the effect of a long development, some of them being added later or produced by a subdivision of the original clans. These original clans he conjectures to have been only three in number, namely, (1) Big Turtle, (2) Little Turtle, (3) Mud Turtle. He believes that the Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Deer, Porcupine, and Hawk clans were subsequently added in this order as the tribe increased in numbers. Next, if he is right, the Mud Turtle clan split into two, the seceding party taking the name of Prairie Turtle, or Highland Turtle, or Box Turtle. And after that the Big Turtle clan also split up, the seceding party taking the name of Striped Turtle. Lastly, the Deer clan subdivided, the seceding party taking the name of Snake.<sup>2</sup> This snake, which the seceders took for their totem, was a purely mythical animal, at least he is unknown to zoologists of the present day; for he is said to have had four legs and the horns of a stag. These limbs and antlers the serpent was doubtless enriched with for the sake of indicating the relationship in which the Snake clan stood to the Deer clan; and for the same reason the Snake clan was sometimes called the Little Clan of the Horns. In the absence of the fabulous snake the members of the Wyandot clan revered the rattlesnake as a wise kinsman of their first ancestor.<sup>3</sup> According to tradition, the origin of the clan was as follows. A fair young woman went into the woods to receive the addresses of all the animals and to choose one

Legends of the descent of the Wyandot clans from their totemic animals.

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), p. 98. The Tionnontates, according to Mr. Connelly, were the progenitors of the Wyandots (*op. cit.* pp. 92 *sqq.*).

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* p. 98. The French Jesuit Charlevoix, writing in 1721, gives a different account of the clans or, as he calls them, the tribes of the Hurons. He says that the Hurons were the nation of the Porcupine, and that they were subdivided into three tribes named respectively after the Bear (or, according to others, the Roebuck, *chevreuil*), the

Wolf, and the Turtle. He adds that the Tionnontates, who formed part of the Hurons, ordinarily called themselves the Tobacco Nation. And of the Indians in general he writes: "Each tribe bears the name of an animal, and the whole nation has also its animal, whose name it assumes and whose figure is its badge or, if you will, its coat of arms. The only way in which they sign treaties is by drawing these figures, unless special reasons induce them to substitute others." See Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), v. 393.

<sup>3</sup> W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* pp. 103 *sq.*

of them for a husband ; their offspring was to form a new clan, which was to take its name from the animal-spouse. The snake, by assuming the guise of a handsome young man, won her heart and her hand. But after their marriage he could not keep his human form long ; and when his bride saw him in his true serpent-shape, she fled in terror, and he pursued her, calling on her to return. She escaped, but gave birth to a brood of snakes, who were the progenitors of the Snake clan.<sup>1</sup> Like the Snake, the original totemic Hawk was to a great extent mythical ; for he is spoken of sometimes as a hawk, sometimes as an eagle, and often simply as the big bird or the chief of birds. However, unlike the mythical Snake, he has left real descendants, who appear to be the species of bird known as Cooper's hawk or possibly the sparrow hawk.<sup>2</sup> The origin of the Hawk clan is said to have resembled that of the Snake clan. The bird assumed the form of a young man and married a young woman, who lived with him in his nest. She bore him a number of hawks, who became the ancestors of the Hawk clan.<sup>3</sup> The other Wyandot clans appear similarly to have believed that they were descended from their respective totems.<sup>4</sup>

According to Major J. W. Powell the totemic clans of the Wyandots were grouped in four phratries or exogamous classes as follows : —<sup>5</sup>

The distribution of the Wyandot clans in phratries.

*First Phratry* : 1. Bear ; 2. Deer ; 3. Striped Turtle.

*Second Phratry* : 1. Highland Turtle ; 2. Black Turtle ; 3. Smooth Large Turtle.

*Third Phratry* : 1. Hawk ; 2. Beaver ; 3. Wolf.

*Fourth Phratry* : 1. Sea Snake ; 2. Porcupine.

But according to Mr. W. E. Connelly there were never more than two phratries or exogamous classes in the Wyandot tribe, while the Wolf clan always stood between them, belonging to neither, but bearing the relation of cousin to both of them, and acting as mediator or umpire

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archaeological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), pp. 117 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* pp. 118 sq.

<sup>4</sup> This is apparently implied by Mr.

W. E. Connelly (*op. cit.* pp. 107 sq., 114).

<sup>5</sup> J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 60.

both between the phratries and between the clans. The two phratries according to Mr. Connelly were these:—<sup>1</sup>

*First Phratry*: 1. Bear; 2. Deer; 3. Snake; 4. Hawk.

*Second Phratry*: 1. Big Turtle; 2. Little Turtle; 3. Mud Turtle; 4. Beaver; 5. Porcupine; 6. Striped Turtle; 7. Highland Turtle or Prairie Turtle.

*Mediator, executive power, umpire*: the Wolf clan.

The Wyandot phratries were formerly exogamous as well as the clans.

In former times marriage was prohibited within the phratry as well as within the totem clan; for the clans grouped together in a phratry were regarded as brothers to each other, whereas they were only cousins to the clans of the other phratry. Hence, for example, a Bear man was forbidden to marry not only a Bear woman but also a Deer woman, a Snake woman, and a Hawk woman. But at a later time, before the Methodist missionaries came among the Wyandots, the rule prohibiting marriage within the phratry was abolished, and the prohibition was restricted to the totemic clan; in other words, the clan continued to be exogamous after the phratry had ceased to be so.<sup>2</sup>

Every member of a Wyandot clan bears a personal name, which has some reference to his totem.

Every individual in a Wyandot clan bears a personal name which has some reference to his totem. Each clan possesses a list of such names, which are its peculiar property and may not be used by any other clan. The names are formed by rules in accordance with immemorial custom and may not be changed. They must be derived from some part, habit, action, or peculiarity of the totemic animal, from some myth connected with it, or from some property, law, or peculiarity of the element in which the animal lived. Thus a personal name was always a clan badge; a man disclosed his clan by mentioning his name.<sup>3</sup> The following are examples of these names:—<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Connelly, *l.c.*

<sup>3</sup> W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* pp. 107 sq., 109; J. W. Powell, "Wyandot

Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), pp. 59 sq.

<sup>4</sup> J. W. Powell, *op. cit.* p. 60; W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), pp. 109 sqq.

Clan.	Personal Names.
Deer . . . .	Lean Deer (man), Spotted Fawn (woman), Old Deer, Old Doe.
Bear . . . .	Long Claws (man), Grunting for her Young (woman).
Striped Turtle . . . .	Going round the Lake (man), Gone from the Water (woman).
Mud Turtle . . . .	Hard Skull (man), Finding Sand Beach (woman).
Smooth Large Turtle	Throwing Sand (man), Slow Walker (woman).
Wolf . . . .	One who goes in the Dark (man), Footprint of Wolf, Always Hungry (woman).
Snake . . . .	Sitting in a curled Position (man).
Porcupine . . . .	The one who puts up Quills (man), Tree-climber.

Parents were not allowed to name their child. The name was bestowed by the clan, and until about fifty years ago the ceremony of name-giving took place only once a year and always at the ancient anniversary of the Green Corn Feast. The name was formally bestowed by the chief of the clan, a civil officer chosen by the Council-women of the clan. These Council-women, we are told, "stood at the head of the clan and regulated its internal affairs." At the ceremony of name-giving the clan chief took up an assigned position, and the parents of the clan, who had children to be named, filed before him, while the Council-women stood beside him and announced to him the name of each child. The chief then bestowed it on the infant, either by merely declaring it to the parents or by taking the child in his arms and addressing it by its name.<sup>1</sup>

The naming of children among the Wyandots.

These clan names, strangely enough, were responsible for much of the fierce warfare which one tribe waged upon another. For it was a religious duty to keep every one of the clan names in use; in ancient times none of the names was allowed to become obsolete. The animal from which the clan claimed descent was always angry when the names

These clan names were a source of tribal warfare.

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archaeological Report, 1899* (Toronto, 1900), p. 108; J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 64.

referring to him were not in use. To suffer a clan to become extinct was a reproach to the nation or tribe. Hence war was often undertaken to replenish the depleted ranks of a decaying clan by incorporating in it the captured women and children.<sup>1</sup>

Each clan has its distinctive ornaments. Each clan has a distinctive mode of painting the face and distinctive ornaments to be used by the members at festivals and religious ceremonies. The chief of the clan and the Council-women wear distinctive chaplets at their inauguration.<sup>2</sup>

Descent of the clan is in the female line; in other words, all children, whether male or female, belong to the clan of their mother, not of their father.<sup>3</sup> Property also descends in the female line. The head of the family and of the household is the woman; the hut and all household articles belong to her, and at her death they are inherited by her eldest daughter or nearest kinswoman. When the husband dies, his property goes, not to his children, but to his brother or to his sister's son.<sup>4</sup>

Each clan has its own lands, which it cultivates; and within these lands each household has its own patch. It is the Women-Councillors who partition the clan lands among the households; and the partition takes place every two years. But while each household has its own patch of ground, cultivation is communal; that is, all the able-bodied women of the clan take a share in cultivating every patch; every clan has a right to the services of all its women in the cultivation of the soil.<sup>5</sup>

According to one account the Wyandots were governed by a council composed of four women and one man, the chief of the clan. The women councillors are elected by the civil government of the Wyandot clans, as it is described for us by the American ethnologist, Major J. W. Powell, is very remarkable. According to him, each clan is governed by a council composed of four women and one man, the chief of the clan. The women councillors are elected by

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 153; J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of*

*the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> J. W. Powell, *op. cit.* pp. 59, 65. Compare L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 65.

the heads of households, who are themselves women ; and chiefly of women ; they in turn elect the chief of the clan.<sup>1</sup> We have seen that women ; but this it is the women councillors who biennially partition the clan is stoutly denied by lands among the householders and decide on the names members of the tribe. which are to be given to all the children of the clan.<sup>2</sup> Further, if Major Powell is right, the whole tribe is governed by a council which consists of all the councils of the clans united ; so that in the tribal council there are four times as many women as men.<sup>3</sup> This statement, however, is doubted by a good authority, Mr. W. E. Connelly, according to whom the Wyandots deny that it ever was true. "All that I have been able to learn on this subject," says Mr. Connelly, "leads me to believe that the tribal council was composed of the hereditary chief of the tribe, the chief of each clan, and such additional warriors of ability and courage as the hereditary chief and council chose to 'call to the council-fire.' Women were not excluded from the deliberations of the council in certain contingencies, and were often called upon to give an opinion. The oldest Wyandots say that women were never recognised as members of the tribal council. This is the more probable, as the tribal council possessed only delegated and limited authority. The government of the Wyandots, in its functions, was a pure democracy. Questions affecting the interests of the whole tribe were determined by it in general convention, and men and women alike were heard, and voted, the majority ruling."<sup>4</sup> According to Mr. Connelly, the office of tribal chief was hereditary in the Deer clan from the remotest times to which tradition extends down to a great battle in which all the chiefs of that clan except one perished. After that the tribal council transferred the office to the Porcupine clan ; but many Wyandots still regard the hereditary chief of the Deer clan as the true head of the tribe.<sup>5</sup> According to L. H. Morgan, the office of sachem or

The office of tribal chief is hereditary in the female line, passing from a chief to his brother or to his sister's son.

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 61.

1881), p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archaeological Report, 1899* (Toronto, 1900), p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 35, 36.

<sup>3</sup> J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington,

<sup>5</sup> W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* pp. 120 sq. The battle referred to in the text seems to have been fought about the end of the eighteenth century.

civil chief is hereditary in the clan, but elective among its members. Yet he adds that "the office of sachem passes from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew; but that of war-chief was bestowed in reward of merit, and was not hereditary." In Morgan's time there were seven Wyandot sachems, one for each existing clan.<sup>1</sup> That hereditary chieftainships among the Hurons passed in the female line from the chief to his sister's son was long ago observed by the Jesuit missionaries.<sup>2</sup>

Blood  
revenge.

When a man of one clan has been murdered by a man of another, the aggrieved relatives appeal for justice to the council of the murderer's clan; if they fail to obtain compensation, it becomes the duty of the victim's nearest kinsman to avenge his death.<sup>3</sup>

Little is  
known  
of the  
religious  
side of  
totemism  
among the  
Wyandots.

With regard to the religious or superstitious aspect of totemism among the Wyandots, as among most other tribes of American Indians, our information is exceedingly scanty. Major Powell says that each phratry "has the right to certain religious ceremonies and the preparation of certain medicines"; and that each clan "has the exclusive right to worship its tutelary god, and each individual has the exclusive right to the possession and use of a particular amulet."<sup>4</sup> By "tutelary god" he means the totem of the clan, but he adduces no evidence which justifies such a description of the totem, nor does he tell us in what the alleged worship and amulets consist.

Classifica-  
tory system  
of relation-  
ship  
among the  
Wyandots.

Lastly, it may be observed that the Wyandots possess the classificatory system of relationship in the same form as the Iroquois, though the terms of relationship differ verbally with the difference of the language. The terms are fully recorded by L. H. Morgan.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Relations des Jésuites*, 1634, pp. 32 sq. (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); *id.* 1658, p. 33; Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), v. 395.

<sup>3</sup> J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Govern-

ment," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), pp. 66 sq.

<sup>4</sup> J. W. Powell, *op. cit.* p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

#### § 4. Totemism among the Algonkin Tribes on the Atlantic

The Delaware Indians or Lenape, as they call themselves, were a branch of the widely-spread Algonkin stock. When they were discovered, their home country was the region around and north of Delaware Bay.<sup>1</sup> They tilled the ground, made pottery, and were skilful in manufacturing bead work and feather mantles, and in dressing deer skins. Though their weapons and tools were mostly of stone, they had a considerable supply of native copper, which they made into arrow-heads, pipes, and ornaments. Their houses were not communal; each family had its separate hut. Maize was their staple food; but they had also large fields of squashes, beans, and sweet potatoes.<sup>2</sup>

The Delawares or Lenapes were divided into three exogamous clans, or perhaps rather phratries, which had for their totems respectively the Turtle (Tortoise), the Turkey, and the Wolf. Early writers such as Loskiel and Heckewelder speak of these divisions as tribes. In referring to their totems the Delawares did not use the ordinary names for the animals; they spoke of the wolf as Round Foot, of the turtle as Crawler, and of the turkey as Not-chewing. The Turtle clan claimed and was allowed a superiority and ascendancy over the other two because their relation the turtle was not the common animal of that name, but the great original tortoise which, according to Indian mythology, bears the earth on its back.<sup>3</sup> The wolf was honoured

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 171; D. G. Brinton, *The Lenâpé and their Legends* (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 9 sq., 33 sq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 385. For earlier accounts of the Delawares, see especially G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America* (London, 1794), Part i. pp. 1 sqq.; Rev. John Heckewelder, "An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring States," *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*,

i. (Philadelphia, 1819) pp. 7 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> D. G. Brinton, *The Lenâpé and their Legends*, pp. 48-52.

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America* (London, 1794), Part i. p. 129; J. Heckewelder, "An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring States," *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*, i. (Philadelphia, 1819) pp. 245-247; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 171 sq.; D. G. Brinton, *The Lenâpé and their Legends*,

because according to their traditions he was their benefactor, having helped their ancestors to issue from the bowels of the earth. As to the turkey, the totem of the third tribe, his merits were "that he is stationary, and always remains with or about them." Such is the account of the origin of the totems which was given by an old Indian to the missionary J. Heckewelder, who resided among or near the Delawares for more than thirty years. Heckewelder adds: "They are as proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, that they may know to which tribe they belong."<sup>1</sup>

The Delawares used the figures of their totems as badges or crests.

The Delawares used the figures of their totems as badges or crests to distinguish the tribal subdivision to which they belonged. On this subject Heckewelder says: "The Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or paint here and there on the trees along the war path the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward. . . . The Indians, in their hours of leisure, paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. Those marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents."<sup>2</sup>

The three divisions of the Delawares, whether they are to be called clans, phratries, or subtribes, were originally

p. 39; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 386. The fable that the earth rests on the back of a turtle or tortoise was told by the Hurons and Iroquois as well as by the Delawares. See *Relations des Jésuites*, 1636, p. 101 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), v. 147; Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724),

i. 94.

<sup>1</sup> J. Heckewelder, "An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring States," *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*, i. (Philadelphia, 1819) pp. 246, 247.

<sup>2</sup> J. Heckewelder, *op. cit.* pp. 246 sq.

exogamous ; no man might marry a woman of the same subdivision as himself. The Delawares and Iroquois, says Loskiel, "never marry near relations. According to their own account, the Indian nations were divided into tribes, for no other purpose, than that no one might ever, either through temptation or mistake, marry a near relation, which at present is scarcely possible, for whoever intends to marry, must take a person of a different tribe."<sup>1</sup> In this passage the writer means by tribes what we now commonly call totemic clans or phratries.

The three clans or phratries of the Delawares were exogamous.

While the three Delaware divisions of the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf may have been originally totemic clans of the ordinary type, they seem in course of time to have passed into something like phratries through subdividing themselves into twelve subclans, each of which had some of the attributes of a clan. When this segmentation had taken place, the prohibition to marry within the clan ceased to apply to the three original clans and was restricted to the new subclans. Some of the names of these subclans point clearly to their origin in the segmentation of the old clans ; for example, three subclans of the Turtle clan are called Smallest Turtle, Little Turtle, and Snapping Turtle respectively. Three of the subclans of the Turkey clan are called Big Bird, Red Face, and Ground Scratcher respectively. And two of the Wolf clan are called Big Feet and Long Body respectively. The names of all these subclans are personal and feminine.<sup>2</sup>

The Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf clans seem to have become phratries through subdivision into exogamous subclans.

According to another American ethnologist, the late D. G. Brinton, the three Delaware divisions of the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf were neither clans nor phratries, but local subtribes, each inhabiting a territory of its own. He identifies them with the Unamis, the Unalachtigos (Wunalachtikos), and the Minsis (Monsys, Munsees), which are mentioned by Loskiel as the three tribes of the Delawares ; the Unamis, according to Brinton, are the Turtle people and inhabited the right bank of the Delaware

According to Brinton, the three divisions of the Delawares were neither clans nor phratries, but local subtribes.

<sup>1</sup> G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part i. p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*,

pp. 171 sq., who gives a complete list of the subclans. He obtained it at the Delaware reservation in Kansas in 1860 with the aid of William Adams, an educated Delaware.

River ; the Unalachtigos or Wunalachtikos were the Turkey people and had their principal seat on the affluents of the Delaware near where Wilmington now stands ; and the Minsis, Monsys, or Munsees were the Wolf people and dwelt in the mountains at the head-waters of the Delaware.<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible that three original totemic clans of the ordinary type may in time have segregated themselves from each other, and occupying each a territory of its own have assumed the character of local subtribes. Such changes have already been noted in Australia.<sup>2</sup> But it is to be observed that whereas the passage from kinship groups to local groups appears generally to take place under the influence of male descent,<sup>3</sup> the Delawares to the last retained their female descent both of the clan and of property,<sup>4</sup> which so far tells against Brinton's theory. Yet on the other hand, the Delawares had a practice of sometimes naming a child into its father's clan ; and a son who thus received one of the names peculiar to his father's clan became thereby a member of the clan with the right to succeed to his father. This remarkable custom, which we shall meet with again among the Shawnees,<sup>5</sup> may very well, as L. H. Morgan points out, have served to initiate a change of descent from the female to the male line ; once it had been invented the device could hardly fail to grow in favour and be adopted more and more, since it possessed the great advantage of readily enabling children to succeed to the rank and property of their fathers.<sup>6</sup> With this easy instrument for converting maternal into paternal descent, the old maternal

The Delawares had the practice of sometimes naming a child into its father's clan. This practice may have served as a stepping-stone from maternal to paternal descent.

<sup>1</sup> D. G. Brinton, *The Lénape and their Legends*, pp. 36-40. For the mention of the three Delaware tribes of the Unamis, Wunalachtikos, and Monsys, see G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, Part i. p. 2. According to L. H. Morgan (*Ancient Society*, p. 173) the Munsees were an offshoot of the Delawares with the same three totemic and exogamous clans of the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf, with descent in the female line. All statements of Morgan as to the internal organisation of the Indian tribes deserve to be treated with great respect, as he was

a man of an accurate scientific mind, who had made very extensive personal investigations on this subject among the Indians. As to the Munsees, see *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 957.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 437, 458, 463, 466, 473 sq., 477 sq., 490 sq., 494, 505.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. See the passages cited in the preceding note.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 172.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 169, 172 sq.

clans of the Delawares may possibly have settled down, as Brinton held, into local subtribes.

The Delawares have the classificatory system of relationship, though their form of the system differs in some points from that of the Iroquois. Thus in the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother "my little father" (*Noh'-tut*), not "my father" (*Noh'-h'*); and similarly he calls his mother's sister "my little mother" (*N'-gâ-hâ'-tut*), not "my mother" (*N'-gâ'-hase*). In his own generation he has, as usually happens under the classificatory system, no single words for "brother" and "sister" in general, but has separate words for "my elder brother" (*Nah'-hâns'*) and "my younger brother" (*Nah'-eese'-u-miss*), for "my elder sister" (*Na-mese'*) and "my younger sister" (*Nah'-eese-u-miss*). But he does not, as under the Iroquois form of the system, apply the terms "my elder brother," "my younger brother," "my elder sister," "my younger sister" to certain of his cousins, namely, the children either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister; on the contrary he distinguishes these cousins from his brothers and sisters by applying to them different terms which may be translated "my step-brother" (*Nee-mâ'-tus*) and "my step-sister" (*N'-do-kwâ-yome'*). Moreover, he applies the very same terms to his other cousins, the children either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother; so that with the Delawares the sharp discrimination which under the classificatory system is usually made between cousins, according as they are the children, on the one hand, of two brothers or of two sisters, or, on the other hand, of a brother and a sister, has been wholly obliterated. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term "my son" (*N'-kweese'*) to his own son and to his brother's son, and the same term "my daughter" (*N'-dâ-nuss'*) to his own daughter and to his brother's daughter.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Delaware form of the classificatory system marks a distinct advance upon the Iroquois form; since it distinguishes the father's brother from the father and the mother's sister from the mother, and has ceased to treat certain cousins as brothers and sisters.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 220 sq., and Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Delawares.

The Delaware form of the system marks an advance upon the Iroquois form.

Totemism among the Mohicans or Mohegans, another Algonkin tribe on the Atlantic slope.

Another Algonkin tribe on the Atlantic slope which possessed totemism were the Mohicans, Mahicans, or Mohegans, who have been immortalised by Fenimore Cooper. They occupied the upper valley of the Hudson River in New York, but their territory extended eastward into Massachusetts. They lived, like the Iroquois, in long communal houses. Their villages and towns were stockaded, with a stretch of woodland on one side and of cornland on the other.<sup>1</sup> Like the Delawares, they were divided into three sections which had for their totems the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf respectively. And among the Mohicans, as among the Delawares, these original clans had developed through subdivision into phratries. It is rare, as Morgan justly says, to find among the American Indians the evidence of the segmentation of original clans preserved so clearly as it is among the Mohicans. For the three phratries bore the names of the three totemic animals, the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf, and each of them included one or more clans whose totem was identical with that of its phratry; so that the evolution of these clans by segmentation of the three original clans, now changed into phratries, seems to be highly probable.<sup>2</sup> The Mohican phratries and clans are as follows:—<sup>3</sup>

Among the Mohicans the three original clans (the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf) have become phratries by subdivision.

Phratries.	Clans.
I. Wolf .	1. Wolf. 2. Bear. 3. Dog. 4. Opossum.
II. Turtle .	1. Little Turtle. 2. Mud Turtle. 3. Great Turtle. 4. Yellow Eel.
III. Turkey .	1. Turkey. 2. Crane. 3. Chicken.

Exogamy and female descent of the clans.

Marriage within the clan is forbidden; descent is in the female line. The office of sachem is hereditary in the clan, passing either from brother to brother or from uncle to nephew.<sup>4</sup>

The Mohicans had the classificatory system of relationship,

<sup>1</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 786-788, 926. p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*,

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 174.

but in some points their form of it differed curiously both from that of the Delawares and from that of the Iroquois. Thus in the generation above his own a man applied the same term "my mother" (*N'-guk'*) to his own mother and to his mother's sisters. But on the other hand he did not call his father's brother "my father" (*Noh.*). He called him by a different term, which may be translated "my step-father" (*Nâ-jâ'-ku'*). In his own generation he had, as usually happens under the classificatory system, separate terms for "elder brother" and "younger brother," for "elder sister" and "younger sister." In the generation below her own a woman applied the same terms "my son" (*N'-di-ome'*) and "my daughter" (*Ne-chund'*) to her own son and daughter and to the sons and daughters of her sisters. But on the other hand a man did not call his brother's son and daughter "my son" and "my daughter"; he called them both by a different term, which may be translated "my step-child" (*Nâ-kun'*).<sup>1</sup> Thus under the Mohican system, whereas a man distinguished between his real father and his father's brothers, he did not distinguish between his real mother and his mother's sisters; and whereas a man discriminated his own sons from his brother's sons, a mother did not discriminate her own children from her sister's children. In other words, so far as the terms of relationship go, paternity among the Mohicans was more certain than maternity. This is just the reverse of what on general grounds we might have anticipated. It tends to confirm the view which I have already advocated that the relationships which the classificatory system has primarily in view are not physical but social.<sup>2</sup>

The classificatory system of relationship among the Mohicans.

It is a peculiarity of the Mohican system that it defines paternity more exactly than maternity.

Another Algonkin tribe or confederacy of New England which had totemism and exogamy were the Abenakis or Abnakis. The confederacy so named had its centre in the present state of Maine. They lived in communal houses of a conical shape and tilled the soil, using fish as manure.

Totemism and exogamy among the Abenakis or Abnakis.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 222, and Table II. pp. 293 sqq. On p. 222 Morgan says that under the Mohican system "my mother's sister is my

step-mother." But this seems to be a mistake, for it contradicts the table on p. 339. In the text I follow the table.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 303 sqq.

Maize was an important article of their diet, but they depended for their subsistence partly on hunting and still more on fishing. Each tribe had a civil chief and a war chief. A general council of the whole tribe, including women as well as men, decided on questions of peace and war.<sup>1</sup> The Abenakis were divided into fourteen clans named after the following animals :—

- |                  |                      |                   |
|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Wolf.         | 2. Wild Cat (Black). | 3. Bear.          |
| 4. Snake.        | 5. Spotted Animal.   | 6. Beaver.        |
| 7. Cariboo.      | 8. Sturgeon.         | 9. Muskrat.       |
| 10. Pigeon Hawk. | 11. Squirrel.        | 12. Spotted Frog. |
| 13. Crane.       | 14. Porcupine.       |                   |

Descent of the clan is now in the male line. Inter-marriage in the clan was anciently prohibited, but the prohibition has now lost much of its force. The office of sachem was hereditary in the clan.<sup>2</sup>

### § 5. Totemism among the Ojibways

The Ojibways or, as their name is popularly corrupted, the Chippeways, are one of the largest Indian tribes to the north of Mexico. They ranged over a region a thousand miles long from east to west, comprising both shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior and extending westward across Minnesota to the Turtle Mountains in Northern Dakota. At present they number about thirty thousand and are nearly equally distributed between Canada and the United States.<sup>3</sup> The Ojibways belong to the great Algonkin stock, who at the date of the discovery of America occupied an immense area from the Rocky Mountains on the west to Hudson's Bay, Labrador, and the St. Lawrence River on the east; while southward their territory extended along the Atlantic coast to Carolina, and down the east bank of the Mississippi in Wisconsin and Illinois to Kentucky. But the Algonkins were essentially a northern people; their home country was along the chain of the great lakes and the valley of the St. Lawrence. All Canada belonged to them, except a narrow

<sup>1</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 2-4; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 174 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 277, 280.

Exogamy and paternal descent of the clans.

The Ojibways or Chippeways are a great Algonkin tribe who ranged over a vast territory about the great lakes and westward.

fringe on the north held by the Eskimo and the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, which was occupied by the Hurons and the Neutral Nation.<sup>1</sup> The Ojibways were in the main a race of hunters and fishers, roving their native forests on foot or paddling their light birch-bark canoes in search of game and fish. Theirs is a land of fine lakes, murmuring streams, and deep interminable woods, where the tall pines are intermingled with oak, ash, elm, beech, birch, and the sugar-maple, as well as with many kinds of wild-fruit trees, such as the wild plum, the crab apple, the elder, and the cherry; while the underwood abounds with blackberries, huckleberries, strawberries, raspberries, wild grapes, and marsh cranberries. In summer the woodlands and glades are gay with a profusion of beautiful flowers, brilliant in colour but scentless. The climate is in general pure and dry and the sky clear; but the extremes of summer heat and winter cold are great. Spring sets in suddenly and under the burning summer sun vegetation shoots up rapidly. The autumns are lovely; the foliage then assumes hues of almost unimaginable variety and splendour.<sup>2</sup> But while the Ojibways in their native state were essentially a race of hunters and fishermen, they subsisted to a great extent on the wild rice which grows in rank luxuriance in the rivers and lakes of their country. They collected the grain in canoes, paddling or punting through the rice swamps, beating down the long stalks into the canoe, and threshing out the grain with poles. In this way they would collect from twenty to thirty bushels a day. The rice so obtained was dried over a fire, husked, and made into soup. Rivalry for the possession of the rice-swamps was one of the chief causes of the wars which the Ojibways waged with the Dacotas, Foxes, and other Indian tribes. Some of them also cultivated maize; they thought that the knowledge of Indian corn and of its cultivation had been imparted to their forefathers by the Great Spirit.<sup>3</sup>

The land of the Ojibways.

The Ojibways subsisted to some extent on wild rice, which grows plentifully in their country.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 200 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians* (London, n.d.), pp. 51, 54 sq., 56, 71 sq.; William W.

Warren, "History of the Ojibways, based upon Traditions and Oral Statements," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (Saint Paul, Minn., 1885) pp. 39 sq.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an*

Though copper abounds in some parts of their country, the Ojibways made no use of it except to decorate their medicine-bags ; for they deemed it sacred. The principal town of the tribe was situated on an island in Lake Superior, where a perpetual fire is said to have been maintained as a symbol of tribal unity.<sup>1</sup>

Totemism among the Ojibways. Dr. Edwin James on the totems of the Algonkins in general.

The Ojibways were divided into a large number of totemic clans. Indeed, totemism appears to have been common to the whole Algonkin stock of which the Ojibways formed part. On this subject a well-informed writer, Dr. Edwin James, observes : " Among the Indians of the Algonkin stock, every man receives from his father a *totem*, or family name. They affirm that no man is, by their customs, allowed to change his totem ; and as this distinctive mark descends to all the children a man may have, as well as to all the prisoners he may take and adopt, it is manifest that, like the genealogies of the Hebrews, these totems should afford a complete enumeration of the stocks from which all the families have been derived. It differs not from our institution of surnames, except that the obligations of friendship and hospitality, and the restraint upon intermarriage, which it imposes, are more scrupulously regarded. They profess to consider it highly criminal for a man to marry a woman whose totem is the same as his own ; and they relate instances where young men, for a violation of this rule, have been put to death by their nearest relatives. They say, also, that those having the

Marriage with a woman of the same totem punished with death.

*Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (London, 1825), i. 156 ; Rev. Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, pp. 55 sq. ; William W. Warren, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, ii. (Philadelphia, 1853) p. 137 ; *id.* " History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. 40. As to the gathering of the wild rice, see Geo. Catlin, *North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), ii. 208, who says that the rice " grows in immense fields around the shores of the rivers and lakes of these northern regions."

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Warren, in H. R. School-

*craft's Indian Tribes of the United States*, ii. 138. As to the superstitious veneration of the Indians for copper, which they found in Lake Superior and treasured as heirlooms or family deities, see *Relations des Jésuites*, 1667, p. 8 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858). As to the abundance of copper ore in the neighbourhood of Lake Superior, see J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, Third Edition (London, 1781), pp. 138 sq. ; W. H. Holmes, " Aboriginal Copper Mines of Isle Royale, Lake Superior," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iii. (1901) pp. 684 sqq.

same totem are bound, under whatever circumstances, as they meet, even though they should be of different and hostile bands, to treat each other not only as friends, but as brethren, sisters, and relatives of the same family. Of the origin of this institution, and of the obligation to its strict observance, the Indians profess to know nothing. They say they suppose the totem was given them in the beginning, by their creator. Like surnames among us, these marks are now numerous; and, as in the case of our surnames, it is difficult to account for their multiplicity, without supposing a time when they might have been changed, or new ones adopted, more easily than at present. . . . It may be observed, that the Algonkins believe all other Indians to have totems, though, from the necessity they are in general under, of remaining ignorant of those of hostile bands, the omission of the totem in their picture writing, serves to designate an enemy. Thus, those bands of Ojibbeways who border on the country of the Dahcotah, or Sioux, always understand the figure of a man without totem, to mean one of that people."<sup>1</sup> "The word *totem* is of the Ojibbeway language, and, like almost all others, is readily moulded into the form of a verb."<sup>2</sup>

Social obligations imposed on persons of the same totem.

Totem is an Ojibway word.

Similarly, the historian of the Ojibway tribe, W. W. Warren, tells us that the Algonkins or, as he chooses to call them, the Algics, "as a body are divided into several grand families or clans, each of which is known and perpetuated by a symbol of some bird, animal, fish, or reptile, which they denominate the Totem or Do-daim (as the Ojibways pronounce it), and which is equivalent, in some respects, to the coat of arms of the European nobility. The Totem descends invariably in the male line, and inter-marriages never take place between persons of the same symbol or family, even should they belong to different and distinct tribes, as they consider one another related by the closest ties of blood and call one another by the nearest terms of consanguinity."<sup>3</sup>

W. W. Warren on the totems of the Algonkins.

<sup>1</sup> *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, prepared for the press by Edwin James, M.D. (London, 1830), pp. 313, 314.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> William W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways, based upon Traditions and Oral Statements," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (Saint Paul, Minn., 1885) pp. 34 *sq.*

The word totem, which has now passed into the languages of most civilised nations, is borrowed, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> from the language of the Ojibways, who used it in the same sense in which we employ the term. Thus L. H. Morgan, one of the best authorities on the American Indians, says that "in the Ojibwa dialect the word *totem*, quite as often pronounced *dodaim*, signifies the symbol or device of a gens; thus the figure of a Wolf was the totem of the Wolf gens,"<sup>2</sup> where by "gens" Morgan as usual means what we call a clan. Again, H. R. Schoolcraft, another of the best authorities on the American Indians, speaking of the Iroquois, says that "nothing is more fully under the cognizance of observers of the manners and customs of this people, than the fact of the entire mass of a canton or tribe being separated into distinct clans, each of them distinguished by the name and device of some quadruped, bird, or other object in the animal kingdom. This device is called, among the Algonquins (where the same separation into families or clans exists), *totem*."<sup>3</sup> Again, Schoolcraft tells us with respect to the Chippewas (Ojibways) that "the most striking trait in their moral history is the institution of the Totem—a sign manual, by which the affiliation of families is traced, agreeing, more exactly, perhaps, than has been supposed, with the armorial bearings of the feudal ages. And this institution is kept up, with a feeling of importance, which it is difficult to account for. An Indian, as is well known, will tell his specific name with great reluctance, but his generic or family name—in other words, his *Totem*, he will declare without hesitation, and with an evident feeling of pride."<sup>4</sup> Again, the Rev. Peter Jones, one of our principal authorities on the Ojibways, writes that "their belief concerning their divisions into tribes is, that many years ago the Great Spirit gave his red children their toodaims, or tribes, in order that they might never forget that they were all related to each other, and that in time of distress or war they were bound to help each other. When an Indian, in travelling, meets with a

L. H. Morgan on the word totem.

H. R. Schoolcraft on the totems of the Iroquois and Ojibways.

Peter Jones on the totems of the Ojibways.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois* (Albany, 1847), pp. 126 sq.

<sup>4</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative of an Expedition through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake* (New York, 1834), p. 146.

strange band of Indians, all he has to do is to seek for those bearing the same emblem as his tribe; and having made it known that he belongs to their toodaim, he is sure to be treated as a relative. Formerly it was considered unlawful for parties of the same tribe to intermarry, but of late years this custom is not observed. I have remarked that when the English speak of the different *nations* of Indians they generally call them *tribes*; which term is quite erroneous, as each *nation* is subdivided into a number of tribes or clans, called 'toodaims,' bearing some resemblance to the divisions of the twelve tribes of Israel mentioned in Scripture; and each tribe is distinguished by certain animals or things, as, for instance, the Ojibway nations have the following toodaims:—the Eagle, Reindeer, Otter, Bear, Buffalo, Beaver, Catfish, Pike, Birch-bark, White Oak Tree, Bear's Liver, etc., etc. The Mohawk nation have only three divisions, or tribes—the Turtle, the Bear, and the Wolf."<sup>1</sup>

It is perfectly clear that the writers whom I have just quoted—James, Warren, Morgan, Schoolcraft, and Jones—all employ the word *totem* to designate what we call the clan totem and not what is sometimes called the individual totem or *manitoo*; and, further, we have the express testimony of several of them that *totem* (*dodaim*, or *toodaim*) is an Algonkin and in particular an Ojibway word. When we remember, further, that of these writers Jones was a full-blooded Ojibway, that Warren was nearly a half-blood Ojibway, that Schoolcraft was married to an Ojibway wife and was intimately acquainted with the tribe,<sup>2</sup> and that Morgan spent years among the Indians, and was adopted by them, we may feel fairly confident that they could not be mistaken as to the meaning of a word in such common use as totem, and that therefore we are right in following them in their application of the term to the totem or sacred emblem of the clan. It is desirable to make this plain, because the first writer who introduced the term totem or, as he spelled it, *totam* to the notice of Europeans appears to have applied it incorrectly, not to the clan totem, but to the *manitoo* or guardian spirit of the individual. The

All these writers applied the term totem to the clan totem, not to the individual totem or *manitoo*.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Peter Jones, *History of the Ojibway Indians*, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 278.

But the Indian interpreter, J. Long, seems to have confused the guardian spirit (*manitoo*) with the clan totem.

writer in question was the Indian interpreter, J. Long, who published an account of the Indians in 1791. He tells us that "one part of the religious superstition of the savages consists in each having his *totam*, or favourite spirit, which he believes watches over him. This *totam* they conceive assumes the shape of some beast or other, and therefore they never kill, hunt, or eat the animal whose form they think this *totam* bears." To illustrate this superstition Long relates how a Chippeway (Ojibway), whose *totam* was a bear, accidentally shot a bear and was thereafter filled with remorse and sorrow, believing that he had highly offended the Master of Life, that his *totam* was angry, and that he would never be able to hunt any more.<sup>1</sup> From this account it is clear that Long has confused the *manitoo* or guardian spirit of the individual with the totem of the clan, and has applied to the former (the guardian spirit) the term totem, which strictly speaking is applicable only to the latter (the clan totem). His mistake was first pointed out by Professor E. B. Tylor.<sup>2</sup> I am the more concerned to call attention to the blunder because, misled by it, I formerly stated that the Ojibways abstained from killing, hunting, and eating their totems.<sup>3</sup> Whether they did so or not, we cannot say; as usual we have no information as to the relation of the American Indians to their totems. All that we can infer from Long's account is that each man abstained from killing, hunting, and eating the animals in which he believed his own particular guardian spirit (*manitoo*) to be lodged. To these guardian spirits we shall return later on.

Totemic clans of the Ojibways. Warren's list.

The Ojibways were divided into at least forty totemic and exogamous clans, of which the following list of twenty-one clans is given by William W. Warren, the historian of the tribe:—<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader* (London, 1791), pp. 86 sq. Long also coined the word totemism ("The idea of destiny, or, if I may be allowed the phrase, '*totamism*,' however strange, is not confined to the savages, many instances might be adduced from history," etc.).

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Tylor, "Remarks on Totem-

ism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1898) pp. 139 sq.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Totemism* (Edinburgh, 1887), pp. 8 sq. (reprinted above, vol. i. pp. 9 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> William W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) pp. 44 sq.

- |                                             |                                                          |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Cranc ( <i>Uj-e-jauk</i> ). <sup>1</sup> | 2. Catfish ( <i>Man-um-aig</i> ). <sup>2</sup>           |
| 3. Loon ( <i>Mong</i> ). <sup>3</sup>       | 4. Bear ( <i>Muk-wah</i> ). <sup>4</sup>                 |
| 5. Marten ( <i>Waub-ish-ash-e</i> ).        | 6. Reindeer ( <i>Addick</i> ).                           |
| 7. Wolf ( <i>Mah-een-gun</i> ).             | 8. Merman ( <i>Ne-baun-aub-ay</i> ).                     |
| 9. Pike ( <i>Ke-noushay</i> ).              | 10. Lynx ( <i>Be-sheu</i> ).                             |
| 11. Eagle ( <i>Me-gizzee</i> ).             | 12. Rattlesnake ( <i>Che-she-gwa</i> ).                  |
| 13. Moose ( <i>Mous</i> ).                  | 14. Black Duck or Cormorant<br>( <i>Muk-ud-a-shib</i> ). |
| 15. Goose ( <i>Ne-kah</i> ).                | 16. Sucker ( <i>Numa-bin</i> ).                          |
| 17. Sturgeon ( <i>Numa</i> ).               | 18. White Fish ( <i>Ude-kumaig</i> ).                    |
| 19. Beaver ( <i>Amik</i> ).                 | 20. Gull ( <i>Gy-aushk</i> ).                            |
| 21. Hawk ( <i>Ka-kaik</i> ).                |                                                          |

The foregoing list of Ojibway clans agrees for the most part with the lists given by our other authorities, but it may be supplemented from them. Thus L. H. Morgan also gives a list of twenty-one clans, "without being certain that they include the whole number"; and while he omits several of those mentioned by Warren, to whom he does not refer, he adds the following:—<sup>5</sup>

- |                                               |                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 22. Mud Turtle ( <i>Me-she'-kã</i> ).         | 23. Snapping Turtle ( <i>Mik-o-noh'</i> ). |
| 24. Little Turtle ( <i>Me-skwa'-da'-re</i> ). | 25. Snipe ( <i>Chu-e-skwe'-ske-wã</i> ).   |
| 26. Duck ( <i>Ah-ah'-weh</i> ).               | 27. Duck ( <i>She-Shebe'</i> ).            |
| 28. Snake ( <i>Ke-na'-big</i> ).              | 29. Muskrat ( <i>Wa-zhush'</i> ).          |
| 30. Heron ( <i>Moosh-kã-oo-ze'</i> ).         | 31. Bull-head ( <i>Ah-wah-sis'-sa</i> ).   |

Again, Dr. Edwin James gives a list of eighteen totemic clans which he tells us were common to the Ojibways and

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere (p. 46, compare p. 44) Warren gives *Bus-in-as-see* as the native name of the Crane clan. \* But *Uj-e-jauk* agrees closely with the *Adj-e-jauk*, "crane," of Edwin James (*Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, p. 315) and the *O-jee-jok*, "crane," of L. H. Morgan (*Ancient Society*, p. 166).

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere (p. 46, compare p. 44) Warren appears to give *A-wause* as the native name of the Catfish clan, and this agrees with the "*Ah-wa-sis-se*, Small cat fish" of Edwin James (*l.c.*). L. H. Morgan also mentions an Ojibway totem named *Ah-wah-sis'-sa*, but he gives as its English equivalent "bull-head"; he mentions the Catfish totem, but without giving its native name (*Ancient Society*, p. 166). Apparent discrepancies in the names of totems are perhaps sometimes to be

explained by the Indian custom of designating their totems and totemic clans by a variety of different names, some of which are descriptive phrases.

<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere (p. 48, compare p. 44) Warren gives *Ah-ah-wauk* as the native name of the Loon clan; and this resembles the *Ah-ah-weh* which Morgan (*Ancient Society*, p. 166) gives as the native name of a Duck totem. On the other hand *Mong*, "loon," is supported by Morgan (*l.c.*) and agrees closely with the *Mahng*, "loon," of Edwin James (*op. cit.* p. 314).

<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere (p. 49, compare p. 44) Warren gives *Noka* as the native name of the Bear clan. The form *Muk-wah* is supported by the *Muk-kwaw*, "bear," of Edwin James (*l.c.*) and the *Mã-kwã* of Morgan (*l.c.*).

<sup>5</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 165 sq.

Ottawas (Ottawwaws); but he is careful to add that many more might be enumerated. For the most part his list agrees with the lists of Warren and Morgan, but it supplements them by adding the following clans:—<sup>1</sup>

- |                                                 |                                            |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 32. Sparrow hawk ( <i>Pe-pe-ge-wiz-zains</i> ). | 33. Water-snake ( <i>Mus-sun-dum-mo</i> ). |
| 34. Forked tree.                                | 35. Wild cat ( <i>Pe-zhe-w</i> ).          |

Jones's list.

Finally, the Ojibway Indian, Peter Jones, gives as specimens, not as complete, a list of eleven Ojibway totemic clans including five which are not mentioned by Warren, Morgan, and James. These are as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

- |                     |                   |                 |
|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 36. Otter.          | 37. Buffalo.      | 38. Birch-bark. |
| 39. White Oak Tree. | 40. Bear's Liver. |                 |

Most of the Ojibway clans are said to have arisen through subdivision of five original clans, the Crane, Catfish, Loon, Bear, and Marten.

According to Warren, the Crane, Catfish, Loon, Bear, Marten, and Wolf were the principal clans, "not only in a civil point of view, but in numbers, as they comprise eight-tenths of the whole tribe." Indeed, many of the totems were not known to the tribe in general, and Warren ascertained them only through close enquiry. Among them he includes the Goose, Beaver, Sucker, Sturgeon, Gull, Hawk, Cormorant, and White Fish totems, which were known only in the remotest northern part of the Ojibway country. Old Ojibway men, whom Warren particularly questioned on this subject, affirmed that all the totemic clans were only subdivisions of five great original totemic clans, namely, the Crane, Catfish, Loon, Bear, and Marten clans; according to these old men the new clans, formed by subdivision of the five original clans, "have assumed separate minor badges, without losing sight or remembrance of the main stock or family to which they belong. These divisions have been gradually taking place, caused in the same manner as the division into distinct tribes. They are easily classed under the five great heads, the names of which we have given."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, prepared for the press by Edwin James, M.D. (London, 1830), pp. 314 sq. This, so far as I know, was the first published list of Ojibway clans.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Peter Jones, *History of the*

*Ojebway Indians*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) p. 45; compare *id.* pp. 43 sq., for the five great original "clans or totems."

This is valuable testimony to the tendency of totemic clans to split into new clans, leaving the original clans in the position of phratries. The same tendency has met us repeatedly in our survey of the evidence. The ancestors of the five original Ojibway clans are said to have appeared suddenly in human form from the bosom of a great salt sea.<sup>1</sup>

The following, according to Warren, are the subdivisions of the five great original totemic clans of the Ojibways:—<sup>2</sup>

Subdivisions of the original Ojibway clans.

Primary Clans (now ranking as phratries).	Secondary Clans (formed by subdivision of the primary clans).
1. Catfish ( <i>A-waus-e</i> ) <sup>3</sup> . . .	Catfish, Merman, Sturgeon, Pike, Whitefish, Sucker, and all other fish totems.
2. Crane ( <i>Bus-in-as-see</i> ) <sup>4</sup> . . .	Crane, Eagle.
3. Loon ( <i>Ah-ah-wauk</i> ) <sup>5</sup> . . .	Loon, Goose, Cormorant.
4. Bear ( <i>Noka</i> ) <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	Common Bear, Grizzly Bear, Bear's head, Bear's foot, Bear's ribs, etc.
5. Marten ( <i>Waub-ish-a-she</i> ) . . .	Marten, Moose, Reindeer.

Like the Torres Straits Islanders,<sup>7</sup> some of the Ojibways are supposed to resemble in various respects their totem animals. Thus "it is a general saying, and an observable fact, amongst their fellows, that the Bear clan resemble the animal that forms their totem in disposition." For they are surly and pugnacious and have constantly embroiled their tribe in war with other tribes, though, to do them justice, they have always been ready, when it came to the rub, to give and take hard knocks. They are the acknowledged war chiefs and fighting men of the community; the war-pipe and the war-club are committed to their custody; and they have often been called the bulwarks of the tribe.<sup>8</sup> Again, the numerous and important Crane clan takes its

The Ojibways are supposed to resemble their totemic animals in character.

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) pp. 43 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Warren, *op. cit.* pp. 45-50.

<sup>3</sup> As to this name, see above, p. 53, note<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> As to this name, see above, p. 53, note<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> As to this name, see above, p. 53,

note<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> As to this name, see above, p. 53, note<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 8 sq.

<sup>8</sup> W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) p. 49.

Claim of  
the Crane  
clan to rank  
highest.

name of *Bus-in-as-see* or "Echo-maker" from the loud, clear, far-ringing cry of the crane; and accordingly members of this clan are thought to possess naturally a loud, ringing voice, and they are the acknowledged orators of the tribe; in former times, when different tribes met in council, the Crane men acted as interpreters of the wishes of their tribe. They claim, says Warren, with some apparent justice the chieftainship over the other clans of the Ojibways.<sup>1</sup> A half-blood who spoke French and had the honour and happiness of being the husband of a Crane wife, assured a German traveller that "the badge of the Crane is the noblest and greatest badge among the Ojibways. The Cranes," said he, "go as far back as the Deluge. Their names are to be found in the books of the Romans." When the traveller seemed apt to smile, "No, no, sir," pursued the half-blood eagerly, "seriously, all the names at present among us were to be found already at the destruction of the tower of Babel. I am quite serious, sir. The Cranes took possession of these countries after the Deluge. It is well known. For ages the Cranes had the highest name. They are recorded in the greatest and oldest books. My mother was a Crane. My wife is a Crane. In these latter times they have come down a little. But there are still Cranes at La Pointe, at Saut de Ste. Marie, at La Folle Avoine, near Detroit, and at Hudson's Bay. In short, sir, the Cranes have been and are still everywhere the most remarkable men in the world."<sup>2</sup> However, when the same traveller conversed with a man of the Loon clan, he received the impression that the Loons were the oldest and noblest family in the whole country.<sup>3</sup> And certainly they held their heads very high; for they claimed to be the chief or royal family, supporting their claim by a reference to the collar which nature has placed round the neck of a Loon and which clearly resembles the wampum necklace of a chief. But this appeal to natural history was disallowed by the Cranes and the members of the other totem clans, who stuck to it that the Loon chiefs derived any authority they

Counter  
claim of the  
Loon clan.

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) pp. 46 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami oder*

*Erzählungen vom Oberr See* (Bremen, 1859), i. 206 sq.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Kohl, *op. cit.* i. 205.

possessed, not from the Creator, but only from the French at Quebec.<sup>1</sup>

The subdivision of the Bear clan, the most numerous of all the clans of the Ojibways, furnishes a good example of the splitting of a totem clan into segments, each of which takes for its totem either a species or a part of the original animal. Such totems I have called split totems.<sup>2</sup> However, we are told that after the old Bear clan had broken up into a number of new clans with the Bear's head, the Bear's foot, the Bear's ribs, etc., for their totems, these new totemic clans coalesced again partially into two, namely, the Common Bear and the Grizzly Bear.<sup>3</sup>

According to Warren, members of the same totem clan among the Ojibways were strictly forbidden to marry each other. Marriage between two persons of the same totem, says he, "is one of the greatest sins that can be committed in the Ojibway code of moral laws, and tradition says that in former times it was punishable with death. In the present somewhat degenerate times, when persons of the same totem intermarry (which even now very seldom occurs), they become objects of reproach. It is an offence equivalent among the whites to the sin of a man marrying his own sister."<sup>4</sup>

Persons of the same totem are deemed to be closely related to each other, even though they may belong to different tribes. "An individual," says Warren, "of any one of the several totems belonging to a distinct tribe, as for instance the Ojibway, is a close blood relation to all other Indians of the same totem, both in his own and all other tribes, though he may be divided from them by a long vista of years, interminable miles, and knows not even of their existence."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Warren, "The History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Above, vol. i. p. 10; vol. ii. pp. 536 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> W. W. Warren, *op. cit.* p. 42. Though Warren's *History of the Ojibways* was not published until 1885, it

was completed in manuscript in the winter of 1852-53 (*op. cit.* p. 18). Since then the rule of exogamy has probably been still further relaxed. See on this subject the testimony of the Rev. Peter Jones, quoted above, p. 51. The rule which forbids marriage within the gens (clan) is mentioned without remark by L. H. Morgan (*Ancient Society*, p. 167).

<sup>5</sup> W. W. Warren, *op. cit.* pp. 42 *sq.*

The Bear clan furnishes an example of the splitting of a totem.

Exogamy of the Ojibway clans; breach of it formerly punishable with death.

The totem bond extends beyond the limit of the tribe.

Among the Ojibways the descent of the totem is in the male line ; but there are grounds for thinking that descent was formerly in the female line.

Among the Ojibways, unlike most of the other Indian tribes thus far dealt with, descent of the totem is in the male line ; children always belong to their father's totemic clan.<sup>1</sup> But there are several reasons for thinking that descent was originally in the female line, and that the change to the male line has been comparatively recent. For several tribes of the Algonkin stock, to which the Ojibways belong, retain the rule of female descent, and among these are the Delawares, who are universally recognised by the Algonkins as one of the oldest of their tribes, and are styled Grandfathers by them all. As we cannot suppose that these tribes have exchanged male descent for female, a certain presumption is raised that the other Algonkin tribes, which now have male, formerly had female descent. Further, there is some positive evidence that three or four generations ago the office of chief descended in the female line. For an Ojibway sachem who died in 1840 at the age of ninety, being asked why he did not retire from office in favour of his son, replied that his son could not succeed him, for the right of succession belonged, not to his son, but to his sister's son. This proves that down to a comparatively recent time the sachemship passed in the female line. We should remember, too, that missionaries to the Indians, trained in different habits of thought, have generally opposed the custom of female descent, because they consider it unjust and unreasonable to disinherit a man's own sons in favour of his nephews. It is therefore not improbable that among some tribes, the Ojibways perhaps included, the change from female to male descent has been brought about, or at least accelerated, by missionary influence.<sup>2</sup>

Office and property are also hereditary in the male line.

However that may have been, office and property are now hereditary in the clan and therefore pass in the male line. Children at present get most of their father's property, to the exclusion of the rest of the clan kindred. A woman's property goes to her children and in default of them to her sisters, own or collateral. A son may succeed his father as

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885)

p. 42 ; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 166 sq.

sachem; but when there are several sons, the clan chooses among them.<sup>1</sup>

While a man's personal name might be, and often was, changed, for example when he went to war or any remarkable event had happened, the totem was never changed. "It is not true," says Edwin James, "that they have, in all instances, the figure of whatever may be their totem always tattooed on some part of their body, nor that they carry about them a skin, or any other mark, by which it may be immediately recognised. Though they may sometimes do this, they are, in other instances, when they meet as strangers, compelled to inquire of each other their respective totems."<sup>2</sup>

Members of totemic clans were not always distinguished by outward marks.

The Ojibways observed the law of the levirate: a man was held bound to marry the wife of his deceased brother, but not till a year of her widowhood had elapsed. He was also under an obligation to provide for his brother's children.<sup>3</sup>

The levirate.

The Ojibways, like the rest of the Indian tribes now under consideration, possess the classificatory system of relationship, but in some points their form of the system differs from that of the Iroquois. Thus among the Ojibways of Lake Superior, in the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother, not "my father" (*Nōss*), but "my step-father" (*Nž-nž-shō'-mč*); and, similarly, he calls his mother's sister, not "my mother" (*Nin'-gah*), but "my step-mother" (*Nž-no'-shč*). In his own generation, as usually happens under the classificatory system, he has no single words for "brother" and "sister" in general, but has separate words for "elder brother" and "younger brother," for "elder sister" and "younger sister"; but, as often happens under the classificatory system, the word for "younger brother" and "younger sister" is the same (*Nž-shž-mč*). A man calls his male cousins, the sons either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" (*Nis-sč'-yč*), or "my younger brother" (*Nž-shž-mč*), according

The classificatory system of relationship among the Ojibways.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 167.

for the press by Edwin James, M.D., p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, prepared

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (London, 1825), ii. 166 sq.

as they are older or younger than himself; and similarly he calls his female cousins, the daughters either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, "my elder sister" (*Ni-mis'sě*) or "my younger sister" (*Ni-shi-mě*), according as they are older or younger than himself.<sup>1</sup> But his male cousins, the sons either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, he calls "my cousins," not "my brothers"; and similarly his female cousins, the daughters either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, he calls "my cousins," not "my sisters." In the generation below his own a man calls his brother's sons and daughters "my stepsons" and my "step-daughters," not "my sons" and "my daughters." Similarly a woman calls her sister's children "my step-children," not "my sons" and "my daughters."<sup>2</sup> Thus by discriminating the father's brother from the father, the mother's sister from the mother, a man's own children from his brother's children, and a woman's own children from her sister's children, the Ojibway form of the classificatory system marks a distinct advance on the Iroquois form, which confounds the father's brother with the father, the mother's sister with the mother, a man's own children with his brother's children, and a woman's own children with her sister's children. It is possible that this advance may be associated with the change of descent from the female to the male line.

The Ojibway form of the classificatory system shews an advance upon the Iroquois form.

The story of Otter-heart and his beaver wife.

We have seen that among the clans of the Ojibway there is one that has for its totem the otter and another that has for its totem the beaver. The following story, taken down from the lips of an old Ojibway woman, refers to these two clans. There was a man of the Otter clan and his name was Otter-heart. Once upon a time he went to

<sup>1</sup> But among the Ojibways of Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, and Kansas he calls these relations, not "my elder or younger brother," "my elder or younger sister," but "my step-brother" (*Ne-ká'-na* or *Ne-ká'-nis*), "my step-sister" (*Nin-dá-wa'-má* or *N'-do-wa-má*), except that among the Ojibways of Lake Huron and Kansas a mother's sister's daughter, younger than the speaker, is called his younger sister (*Ne-shé'-má*). See L. H. Morgan,

*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 314, 316, 340, 342. In his general remarks on the Ojibway system (pp. 204 *sq.*) Morgan seems to leave the Lake Superior form of it out of account.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 204 *sq.*, and Table II. pp. 295, 296, 298, 299, 300, 302, 303, 310, 311, 313, 314, 316, 322, 323, 324, 325, 331, 332, 333, 334, 339, 340, 342.

catch beavers at a beaver-dam. But first he laid down his robe under a tree on a spot where he proposed to camp. Then he went to the dam, pierced it, and let all the water run out, so that the beavers were left high and dry, and he killed three of them. After that he returned to the place where he had left his robe ; but what was his surprise to find in its place a cozy hut, and to see the smoke curling up and the form of a woman busy at the fire. He went in, and there sure enough was his robe, beside the deer-skin which the woman had spread for him. "Good," said he to himself, "she is my wife." She was small, but very pretty and dainty, and she moved about so briskly in the hut, yet so neatly and tidily that it was a joy to see her. She dressed him an excellent supper of the beavers and set the tit-bits before him. It tasted very good, and he asked her to share it with him. "No," said she, shyly ; "I have plenty of time. I will eat afterwards what I am wont to eat." He urged her, but still she refused, saying that she would eat afterwards what she was wont to eat. So he let her be. But in the night he was wakened by a rasping sound, as if mice or beavers were nibbling at wood. By the flickering light of the fire he fancied he saw his wife gnawing the birchen twigs with which he had tied up the beavers in a bundle. But he thought it must be a dream, and so fell asleep again till morning. When he awoke, his breakfast was ready, and his little wife stood before him and handed it to him. He told her his dream, but she did not laugh so much at it as he had expected. "Hold," thought he to himself, "perhaps it was no dream after all, but a waking reality. Come and tell me," said he to her, "yesterday when I brought you the beavers, you looked at them so earnestly, and when you cut them up you considered them so curiously and examined every limb. Say, why did you do that ?" "Oh," said she and sighed, "have I not cause to look at them so earnestly ? I know them all. They are my kinsfolk. One was my cousin, another my aunt, and the third my grand-uncle." "What," said he, "are you of the beaver clan ?" "Yes," said she, "that is my family." Then Otter-heart was glad, for the Otters and the Beavers have been allied clans from of old. His beaver-wife pleased

How Otter-heart found the beaver-woman and made her his wife.

him very much, she was so simple and modest and so attentive to him; and the best proof that she loved him was that she had sacrificed her own kinsfolk for his sake. But to spare her natural feelings he promised that henceforth he would kill only birds and deer and other beasts and would let the beavers alone, that he and she might eat their meals together. And for her part she did not meddle any more with the birchen twigs, and did not wake him of nights with her nibbling and gnawing, but she accustomed herself to eat meat like human folk.

How in the  
spring amid  
the maple  
trees she  
bore him  
a son.

So they lived the whole winter through very pleasantly. He was a bold hunter, and she a quiet, careful housewife, diligent and peaceable like the beavers. They were a happy pair. When the spring came and with it the joyous time of the sugar-making, they went out to their sugar-camp among the maple-trees,<sup>1</sup> and there in the sugar-camp she bore him a son. The very next day the father began to make bows and arrows for the little one. But his wife laughed at him and said it would be long before the child could use them. "Perhaps you are right," said he, and broke what he had made. But it was not long before he had made another set of bows and arrows. So impatient was he to see his son grow up to be a good hunter. He pictured to himself how one day he would go out to the chase with him, how he would teach the little one all his woodland craft, and how the lad would be a great and famous huntsman. He built castles on castles in the air. Alas, alas, how seldom happy dreams come true! How little is enough to shatter the most perfect bliss! A breath of envious fate, the tiniest mistake, and all is gone for ever.

Otter-heart and his beaver-wife had lived their happiest

<sup>1</sup> In the old days, before the introduction of cane sugar, the Indians used to make great quantities of sugar from the maple. The season of sugar-making began in March, when the crows migrated from the south. Then each family went out with the necessary equipage and utensils, to camp in its own sugar-grove among the maple-woods. See W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1892-

93), Part i. (Washington, 1896) pp. 287-290. As to the Indian manufacture of maple-sugar, see Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), ii. 153 sqq.; H. W. Henshaw, "Indian Origin of Maple Sugar," *American Anthropologist*, iii. (1890) pp. 341 sqq.; A. F. Chamberlain, in *American Anthropologist*, iv. (1891) pp. 39 sqq., 381 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 803 sq.

day. Destiny overtook them on the way home from the sugar-camp. Spring was now fully come, all the ice was melted, and every river and every brook ran high. So the wife asked her husband to build a bridge for her over every river and every little brook, that she might cross them dryshod. And he had to promise her solemnly to do so. "For," said she, "if my feet should be wetted, it will prove a great sorrow for you." Otter-heart did what he had promised. At every rivulet, at every trickling spring he built a bridge for his wife. At last he came to a little runlet only six inches wide. Now whether he was weary of always building bridges or whether he was lost in thought and day-dreams, I cannot say, but certain it is he strode over the tiny brook and forgot all about a bridge. But when he had gone on a bit and his wife and his little son did not come after him, he turned back to the brook, which now to his horror had swollen to a mighty rushing torrent. A foreboding of what had happened struck him like a flash of lightning, and too late he rued his forgetfulness. His little wife with her little son on her back had tripped after him with little steps. When she came to the runlet six inches wide, and found no bridge, she stopped and called her husband to help her. But her cry was unheard, and in the anguish of her heart she made the leap. But she fell short with a splash into the water and when her foot was wet, it was all over with her. Immediately she turned into a beaver and her little son into a little beaver, and both swam with the stream, which suddenly swelled high, away down to the beavers' pool. In despair Otter-heart followed down the bank of the wild raging torrent and after three days' long and weary journey he came to the beavers' pool at last. There he saw a beaver-house, and sitting on the roof his own little wife. She was plaiting a bag out of the bark of the white-wood, and she had her little beaver fastened by a string of white-wood bark at her side. Otter-heart was beside himself at the sight. He begged her from the bank to come back to him, but she answered that she could not now. "I sacrificed my kinsfolk and all for you, and I only asked that you would build me bridges and help me dryshod over the waters. You cruelly disregarded my

How Otter-heart lost his beaver wife.

request. Now I must remain for ever with my folk." Her husband prayed her at least to undo the white-wood string and let his little son come to him, that he might kiss him. But even that she felt bound to refuse. She remained where she was. And—here the old woman suddenly broke off the tale, and nothing would induce her to say what became of Otter-heart, whether he turned into an otter and lived in the water near his beaver-wife, or whether, as the years slipped by, he forgot her and married again, or whether he went home to grow old in solitude, brooding till death over his vanished dream of bliss.<sup>1</sup>

The story belongs to the class of the Swan Maiden.

This story belongs to the class of tales of which the Swan Maiden, Beauty and the Beast, and Cupid and Psyche are well-known examples. Stories of the same type have already met us among the totemic people of the Gold Coast in Africa ; and I have already pointed out that they may all have originated in totemism.<sup>2</sup>

### § 6. Totemism among other Algonkin Tribes of the Great Lakes

The Potawattamies, an Algonkin tribe.

Another totemic tribe of the Algonkin stock, whose country was in the region of the Great Lakes, were the Potawattamies. They bordered on the Dacotas to the west and occupied part of Northern Wisconsin, ranging eastwards towards Lake Michigan and the territory of the Ojibways on Lake Superior.<sup>3</sup> The tribe was visited in 1823 by the expedition which Major S. H. Long led on behalf of the United States Government to the source of the St. Peter's River, the Red River, and Lake Winnipeg ; and the account which the members of the expedition have left us of the manners and customs of the Potawattamies contains a notice of their totemic system, which deserves to be quoted as an early document in the history of totemism. "Although not divided into regular tribes, they have a sort of family distinction, kept up by means of signs resembling those of heraldry. These signs are, by them, called Totem ; they are taken from an animal or some part of it, but by

Keating's account of their totemism.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami oder Erzählungen vom Oberrn See* (Bremen, 1859), i. 140-146.

<sup>2</sup> Above, vol. ii, pp. 566 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 202 sq.

no means imply a supposed relationship with that animal, as has been incorrectly stated. It is merely a distinguishing mark or badge, which appears to belong to every member of a family, whether male or female. The latter retain it even after matrimony, and do not assume that of their husbands. It does not appear that this implies the least obligation of the Indian to the animal from which it is taken. He may kill or eat it. The *totem* appears to answer no other purpose than that of distinguishing families ; it does not imply any degree of nobility or inequality of rank among them.”<sup>1</sup> About the same time the Rev. Jedidiah Morse reported that the Potawattamies, Ottawas, and Chippewas (Ojibways) were divided into tribes which “take their badges from parts of some insect, animal, fish, or fowl ; as bear, fin, tendon, etc. Those of the fish are of one tribe ; of the beast another ; of the fowl another, etc.”<sup>2</sup>

The Potawattamies are divided into fifteen totemic clans as follows :—

Totemic  
clans of  
the Pota-  
wattamies.

- |              |             |                 |
|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1. Wolf.     | 2. Bear.    | 3. Beaver.      |
| 4. Elk.      | 5. Loon.    | 6. Eagle.       |
| 7. Sturgeon. | 8. Carp.    | 9. Bald Eagle.  |
| 10. Thunder. | 11. Rabbit. | 12. Crow.       |
| 13. Fox.     | 14. Turkey. | 15. Black Hawk. |

The rules of marriage, descent, and inheritance were the same among the Potawattamies as among the Ojibways ; that is, no man might marry a woman of his own clan ; children took their clan from their father, not from their mother ; and both property and office were hereditary in the clan.<sup>3</sup> “It was usual for them, when an Indian married one of several sisters, to consider him as wedded to all ; and it became incumbent upon him to take them all as wives. The marrying of a brother’s widow was not interdicted, but was always looked upon as a very improper connexion. The union of persons related by blood was likewise dis-

Rules of  
marriage  
and  
descent.

Duty to  
marry all  
a wife’s  
sisters.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter’s River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, etc.* (London, 1825), i. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D., *Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs* (New-

haven, 1822), Appendix, p. 143. This account points to the existence of split-totems (fin, tendon, etc.) among these tribes.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 167.

liked and discouraged. An incestuous connexion was at all times considered as highly criminal, but no punishment was attached to it."<sup>1</sup>

The Ottawas, another Algonkin tribe; their three totemic clans, the Great Hare, the Carp, and the Bear.

Legend of the Great Hare and the great flood.

Rule that dead people of the Hare clan must be burned, not buried.

The Ottawas, another Algonkin tribe, formerly dwelt on the Ottawa River in Canada; but being driven thence by the Iroquois they occupied the Manitoulin Islands in Lake Huron and some of them spread southward over Lower Michigan.<sup>2</sup> Morgan tells us that they were organised in clans, but he failed to obtain their names.<sup>3</sup> However, a Jesuit missionary, writing in 1723, has recorded that the Ottawas or Outaouaks, as he calls them, were divided into three families or clans, namely, the family of the Great Hare (*Michabou*), the family of the Carp (*Namepich*), and the family of the Bear (*Machova*). The first of these families averred that their ancestor the Great Hare was a man of such gigantic stature that when he stretched his nets in water eighteen fathoms deep the water barely reached to his armpits. At the time of the great flood this giant sent out the beaver to discover dry land, and when the animal did not return he sent out the otter on the same mission. The otter brought back a little soil covered with foam, out of which the Great Hare succeeded in creating the earth. Having accomplished that labour he flew up to heaven, where he usually resides; but before quitting the earth he commanded that, when his descendants died, their bodies should be burned and their ashes thrown into the air to enable them to mount up to heaven; and he warned them that if they omitted to do so, the snow would not cease to fall, and their lakes and rivers would remain frozen, so that the Indians would not be able to catch fish, which is their staple food, and they would all die of hunger in spring. In point of fact an unusually long winter was attributed by the family of the Great Hare to their culpable negligence in having failed to burn the body of one of their number, who had died at a distance. So by the advice of an old woman

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (London, 1825), i. 111.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-*

*sanguinity and Affinity*, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 167.

four and twenty men were despatched to find the corpse and burn it. In the interval the thaw came and the snow melted. The Carp family of the Ottawas alleged that a carp laid its eggs on the bank of a river, that the warmth of the sun hatched the eggs, and that out of them came a woman, from whom the Carp family is descended. The Bear family of the Ottawas ascribed their origin to a bear's paw, but without explaining the precise nature of the relationship. Whenever they killed a bear, they used to offer the animal a feast of its own flesh and harangued him as follows: "Do not bear us a grudge because we have killed you. You are sensible, you see that our children are hungry. They love you, they wish to put you into their body. Is it not glorious to be eaten by the sons of a chief?" The Bear family and the Carp family used to bury their dead, unlike the Great Hare family, who burned theirs.<sup>1</sup> From a much later account we hear of the Bear clan and also of a Gull clan among the Ottawas. The people of the Gull clan called themselves Gulls, but the people of the Bear clan called themselves Big Feet. Each clan had its separate quarter in the village and set up its *ododam* or totemic mark on a post at the gate which led into its quarter.<sup>2</sup>

Descent of the Carp clan from a carp.

Descent of the Bear clan from a bear's paw. Apologies offered by the Bear clan to a bear when they kill it.

On the other hand, totemism has not been discovered among the Crees (Kristinons, Kilistinons, Knisteneaux, etc.), a large and widely-spread Algonkin tribe of the Great Lake region. By language and blood they are closely related to the Ojibways. At the time when they were discovered towards the middle of the seventeenth century, they occupied the north-west shore of Lake Superior and spread thence through a thickly wooded country to Hudson's Bay on the north and the Red River on the west. They were then a race of roving hunters, without fixed abode, without villages, without fields, living by the chase and on wild oats which they gathered in the marshes. Under the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company they have dwelt on

Totemism not found among the Crees, a large Algonkin tribe.

<sup>1</sup> *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses*, reprint, (Quebec, 1858).

<sup>2</sup> Mr. J. Hoskyns Abrahall, in *The Academy*, 27th September 1884, p. 203, quoting *The Canadian Journal* (Toronto), No. 14, March 1858.

<sup>1</sup> *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses*, Nouvelle Édition, vi. (Paris, 1781) pp. 168-172. As to the Great Hare and the snow, see also *Relations des Jésuites*, 1667, p. 19 (Canadian

the whole at peace among themselves and with their neighbours and have made some progress in civilisation. It is possible, and perhaps probable, as L. H. Morgan thought, that the Crees once had the totemic system, but have lost it. Like the rest of the Algonkin tribes they employ the classificatory system of relationship, but in an advanced or degenerate form; for they distinguish the father's brother from the father, the mother's sister from the mother, and a man's brother's children from his own children.<sup>1</sup>

### § 7. Totemism among the Algonkin Tribes of the Mississippi

The Algonkin tribes of the Mississippi.

The great prairies of the centre of North America.

Thus far we have found totemism among both the eastern and northern tribes of the great Algonkin stock. The system also exists or existed among the western Algonkin tribes, who occupied the eastern bank of the Mississippi in the present States of Wisconsin and Illinois, extending southward to Kentucky and eastward into Indiana.<sup>2</sup> Their country forms part of the great prairies which occupy a vast region in the interior of North America. From the Rocky Mountains in the west they stretch for more than a thousand miles to the great forests east of the Mississippi, and from the plateau of the Peace River in the north they extend southward for fifteen hundred miles to New Mexico. The immense carpet of verdure which they unroll day after day and week after week to the eye of the traveller is one of the most extraordinary natural spectacles on which the eye of man can rest. No description can bring home to those who have not seen them an adequate conception of the vastness and magnificence of the American prairies. Yet before the Indians received the horse from

<sup>1</sup> *Relations des Jésuites*, 1640, p. 34 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); *id.* 1656, p. 39; *id.* 1667, p. 24; Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America* (London, 1801), pp. xci. *sqq.*; L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 203, 206 *sqq.*, and Table II. pp. 293 *sqq.*; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 359 *sqq.* In one passage (*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 208)

Morgan says that in the Cree system "my mother's sister is my mother"; but this statement seems to be a mistake, for it is contradicted by the table on p. 339, where in all three varieties of the Cree system the term for mother's sister is given, not as "mother" (*N'-gâ'-we* or *N'-gâ'-wa*) but as "step-mother" (*N'-dô'-sis* or *N'-dô'-zis*).

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 168.

Europeans and learned to breed and use it, these boundless plains must have been for the most part an unbroken solitude, uninhabited and uninhabitable by man, left to the undisturbed possession of the herds of wild animals which grazed their inexhaustible pastures. Only on the banks of the great rivers which traverse the prairies could the Indians without horses maintain themselves by fishing and hunting. Yet while the horse enabled the aborigines to spread and multiply over regions which had been a desert before, its acquisition hindered rather than helped their advance towards a higher form of social life. For it broke up the villages, in which the germ of progress was planted, and dispersed their inhabitants in little bands to scour the prairies far and wide in pursuit of the buffaloes, whose migrations they followed.<sup>1</sup>

Effect which the introduction of the horse had on the social life of the prairie Indians.

Amongst these prairie Indians were the Miamis, who, along with the other Western Algonkin tribes which we shall here notice, occupied the triangle between the Illinois, the Mississippi, and the Ohio Rivers.<sup>2</sup> The Miamis were divided into ten totemic and exogamous clans as follows:—

Totemic clans of the Miamis.

- |             |            |             |             |
|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Wolf.    | 2. Loon.   | 3. Eagle.   | 4. Buzzard. |
| 5. Panther. | 6. Turkey. | 7. Raccoon. | 8. Snow.    |
| 9. Sun.     | 10. Water. |             |             |

Intermarriage within the clan was forbidden; descent was in the male line; and both property and the office of sachem were hereditary in the clan.<sup>3</sup>

Marriage and descent.

The Miamis have the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother, as well as his own father, "my father" (*No-sá'*); and he calls his mother's sister, as well as his own mother, "my mother" (*Nin-ge-ah'*). But his mother's brother he calls "my uncle" (*Ne-zhesé'-sá*), not "my father"; and his father's sister he calls "my aunt" (*N-sa-gwe'-sá*), not "my mother." In his own generation he calls his cousins, the children either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" (*Ne-sá'-sá'*) or

The classificatory system of relationship among the Miamis.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 172, 208 sq. *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 852 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 210;

"my younger brother" (*Ne-she-má'*), "my elder sister" (*Ne-mis-sá'*) or "my younger sister" (*Ne-she-má'*), according to their sex and age. In the generation below his own he calls his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Neen-gwase'-sá'*) and "my daughter" (*Nin-dá'-ná'*); but he calls his sister's son and daughter "my nephew" (*Lan-gwá-les'-sá'*) and "my niece" (*Shames-sá'*), not "my son" and "my daughter." Conversely, a woman calls her brother's son and daughter "my nephew" and "my niece"; but her sister's son and daughter she calls "my son" and "my daughter." In the generation next but one below his own a man calls the grandchildren of his brothers and sisters, own and collateral, "my grandchildren"; and, conversely, in the generation next but one above his own he calls his grandfather's brothers "my grandfathers."<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that while there are separate terms for "elder brother" and "elder sister," the term for "younger brother" and "younger sister" is one and the same (*Ne-she-má'*). This identity of terms for younger brother and younger sister occurs in many forms of the classificatory system.

Anomalous feature of the Miami system in regard to cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively.

So far the Miami form of the classificatory system is normal. But in regard to cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, the Miami system presents a remarkable feature, which we have not hitherto met with, though we shall find it again later on among tribes of the Dacotan stock. Two male cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, do not call each other cousins as they ordinarily would do under the classificatory system; they call each other "uncle" and "nephew," the son of the brother being the "uncle" and the son of the sister being the "nephew." With two female cousins, the daughters of a brother and sister respectively, the case is still more remarkable; for they call each other "mother" and "daughter," the daughter of the brother being the so-called "mother" of her cousin and the daughter of the sister being the so-called "daughter" of her cousin. When the two cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, are male and female, then, if the male is the son of the sister

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 211, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

and the female is the daughter of the brother, the female cousin calls her male cousin "my son," and he calls her "my mother." But if the male cousin is the son of the brother, and the female cousin is the daughter of the sister, then the male cousin calls his female cousin "my niece" and she calls him "my uncle."<sup>1</sup> It should be observed that in all these cases a position of superiority, or at least of seniority, is assigned to the cousin, whether male or female, who is the child of the brother; while the cousin, whether male or female, who is the child of the sister, is relegated to a position of inferiority or at least of juniority. Thus the male cousin, the child of the brother, is the "uncle" of his male or female cousin, the child of the sister; and the female cousin, the child of the brother, is the "mother" of her male or female cousin, the child of the sister. Thus in all such cases a preference is shewn for the male line, which may be connected with the fact that among the Miamis descent both of the clan and of property is in the male line. Whatever the origin of this curious nomenclature may be, we can hardly suppose that the persons who used it ever imagined a female cousin to have given birth to her male or female cousin; in other words, the relationship of maternity which it implies can only have been a social, not a physical one. As I have already pointed out more than once, the classificatory system in general is only intelligible on the supposition that the relationships which it recognises and classifies are not physical but social.<sup>2</sup> Nothing but confusion can result from an attempt to explain the system by means of our own conceptions of paternity and maternity. If an enquirer cannot divest himself of these conceptions in dealing with the subject, he had much better leave it alone.

Another Algonkin tribe of this region were the Shawnees. The Shawnees, another Algonkin tribe. Their old home was in the triangle between the Ohio and the Mississippi, but they have been again and again uprooted and expatriated by the Government of the United States.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 211, 325, 331, 332, 333, 334.  
with Table II. pp. 322, 323, 324, <sup>2</sup> See vol. i. pp. 289 *sqq.*, 303 *sqq.*

They speak the most beautiful dialect of the Algonkin speech, and notwithstanding the shifts and changes to which they have been subjected, they have preserved their nationality and have made remarkable progress in agriculture and in other arts of civilised life.<sup>1</sup> They are divided into thirteen exogamous clans, which they still maintain for social and genealogical purposes. The names of the clans are these :—<sup>2</sup>

Their  
totemic  
clans.

- |             |             |            |             |
|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| 1. Wolf.    | 2. Loon.    | 3. Bear.   | 4. Buzzard. |
| 5. Panther. | 6. Owl.     | 7. Turkey. | 8. Deer.    |
| 9. Raccoon. | 10. Turtle. | 11. Snake. | 12. Horse.  |
| 13. Rabbit. |             |            |             |

Rules of  
marriage  
and  
descent.

The rules of marriage and descent are the same as among the Miamis; that is, marriage within the clan is forbidden, children take their clan from their father, not from their mother, and both property and the office of sachem are hereditary in the clan, from which it follows that they descend in the male line.<sup>3</sup> However, the Shawnees had a practice, which they shared with the Miamis and the Sauks and Foxes, of naming children, under certain restrictions, into any clan whatever. Each clan, as among the Iroquois and Wyandots,<sup>4</sup> had certain personal names appropriated to it which carried clan rights with them, so that a person's name determined the clan to which he belonged. The father had no voice in the naming of his child. By an arrangement between the clans the choice of children's names was left to certain persons, mostly matrons, who thereby possessed the power of deciding to which clan any person was to belong.<sup>5</sup> It has been already pointed out that this power of arbitrarily assigning any person to any clan may have been one of the means by which descent was shifted from the maternal to the paternal line.<sup>6</sup> In point of fact among the Shawnees, though descent is now in the male line, there are traces of a former custom of transmitting the sachemship in the female line. Thus a sachem of the Wolf clan, at the point of death, desired to be succeeded not by

Shawnee  
practice of  
naming  
children  
into any  
clan.

This  
practice  
may have  
helped  
to shift  
descent  
from the  
maternal  
to the  
paternal  
line.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 215 sq.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 13 sq., 34 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 42.

his son but by a nephew, the son of a sister. The nephew was of the Fish clan, and the son was of the Rabbit clan, so that neither could succeed to the sachemship without being transferred, by a change of name, to the Wolf clan, in which the office was hereditary. But the chief's wish was respected. After his death the Fish name of the nephew was changed to one of the Wolf names and he succeeded his uncle in the office. Such laxity, as Morgan says, indicates a decadence of the clan organisation; but it tends to shew that at no remote period descent among the Shawnees was in the female line.<sup>1</sup>

The Shawnees have the classificatory system of relationship in a form which agrees in all essentials with that of the Miamis. The agreement is all the more remarkable, because for upwards of two centuries the Shawnees had been in great measure detached from their next of kin, the Western Algonkins, and had lived in intimate relations with the Eastern Algonkins. The main features of the Shawnee system are these. In the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother, as well as his own father, "my father" (*No-thá'*); and he calls his mother's sister, as well as his own mother, "my mother" (*Ne-ke-á'h'*). But his mother's brother he calls "my uncle" (*Ní-sí-thá'*), not "my father"; and his father's sister he calls "my aunt" (*Na-tha-gwe-thá'*), not "my mother." In his own generation he calls his cousins, the children either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" (*N'-tha-thá'*) or "my younger brother" (*N'-the-ma-thá'*), "my elder sister" (*Ní-mí-thá'*) or "my younger sister" (*N'-the-ma-thá'*), according to their sex and age. In the generation below his own he calls his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Ne-kwe-thá'*) and "my daughter" (*Ní-tá-na-thá'*), but he calls his sister's son and daughter "my nephew" (*Na-la-gwal-thá'*) and "my niece" (*Ne-sa-me-thá'*), not "my son" and "my daughter." Conversely, a woman calls her brother's son and daughter "my nephew" and "my niece," not "my son" and "my daughter"; but her sister's son and daughter she calls "my

The classificatory system of relationship among the Shawnees.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 169 sq. The Fish clan is not mentioned by Morgan in his list of the Shawnee clans (above, p. 72). It may have been extinct at the time when his list was compiled.

son" and "my daughter." In the next generation but one below his own a man calls the grandchildren of his brothers and sisters, own and, collateral, "my grandchildren"; and, conversely, in the generation next but one above his own he calls his grandfather's brothers "my grandfathers." Here again it will be observed that while there are separate terms for "elder brother" and "elder sister," the term for "younger brother" and "younger sister" is one and the same (*N'-the-ma-thâ'*). In all these respects the Shawnee form of the system is identical with the Miami form, though the terms of relationship differ verbally. Further, the two systems agree in the curious relationships which they assign to the children of a brother and of a sister respectively. For in the Shawnee system, as in the Miami, two male cousins, the sons of a brother and a sister respectively, are called uncle and nephew to each other; and two female cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, are called mother and daughter to each other. But when two cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, are the one male and the other female, then the man calls his female cousin, the daughter of his father's sister, "my niece"; but his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, he calls "my mother." On her side the woman calls her male cousin, the son of her father's sister, "my son," but her male cousin, the son of her mother's brother, she calls "my uncle."<sup>1</sup>

Anomalous feature of the Shawnee system in regard to cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively.

The Sauks and Foxes, two Algonkin tribes consolidated into one.

Another Algonkin people of the Mississippi who have totemism are the Sauks and Foxes, two tribes which have been consolidated into one. They were first found upon the Fox River in Wisconsin and they ranged westward to the Mississippi. Among the tribes of the Mississippi the Sauks and Foxes have been distinguished by their restless and warlike disposition. They waged almost ceaseless war with the Illinois and Ojibways, and they were the only Algonkin tribe against whom the French turned their arms. But they were not nomads. They lived in villages and tilled the soil, raising crops of maize, beans, squashes, and

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 217 and Table II. pp. 293 *sqq.*

tobacco.<sup>1</sup> In 1766 Captain Carver visited what he calls "the Great Town of the Saukies" on the Fox River, and he thus describes it: "This is the largest and best built Indian town I ever saw. It contains about ninety houses, each large enough for several families. These are built of hewn plank neatly jointed, and covered with bark so compactly as to keep out the most penetrating rains. Before the doors are placed comfortable sheds, in which the inhabitants sit, when the weather will permit, and smook their pipes. The streets are regular and spacious; so that it appears more like a civilized town than the abode of savages. The land near the town is very good. In their plantations, which lie adjacent to their houses, and which are neatly laid out, they raise great quantities of Indian corn, beans, melons, etc., so that this place is esteemed the best market for traders to furnish themselves with provisions, of any within eight hundred miles of it."<sup>2</sup> Like all prairie Indians the Sauks and Foxes are very dark-skinned, very much more so than the forest Indians. Some of them are but a few shades lighter than negroes.<sup>3</sup>

The great town of the Sauks

The Sauks or Sacs and Foxes are divided into at least fourteen totemic and exogamous clans, the names of which, according to L. H. Morgan, are as follows:—<sup>4</sup>

Totemic clans of the Sauks and Foxes.

- |               |               |          |             |
|---------------|---------------|----------|-------------|
| 1. Wolf.      | 2. Bear.      | 3. Deer. | 4. Elk.     |
| 5. Hawk.      | 6. Eagle.     | 7. Fish. | 8. Buffalo. |
| 9. Thunder.   | 10. Bone.     | 11. Fox. | 12. Sea.    |
| 13. Sturgeon. | 14. Big Tree. |          |             |

Other accounts, which agree as to the number of the clans, vary as to their names. Thus Jedidiah Morse in 1822 reported that "each nation is subdivided into a great number of families or clans. Among the Sauks there are no less than fourteen tribes, each of them distinguished by a particular name, generally by the name of some animal, as the Bear tribe, Wolf tribe, Dog tribe, Elk tribe, Eagle tribe,

Other accounts of the totemic clans of the Sauks and Foxes.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 212; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 170; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 472 sqq.

*terior Parts of North America*, Third Edition (London, 1781), pp. 46 sq.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> J. Carver, *Travels through the In-*

Partridge tribe, Sucker tribe, Thunder tribe, etc.”<sup>1</sup> In this list the Dog, Partridge, and Sucker clans are not mentioned by Morgan. Again, a later account also enumerates fourteen clans, but substitutes the Big Lynx, Swan, Pheasant, Bass, and Bear Potato clans for the Deer, Hawk, Fish, Bone, and Big Tree clans of Morgan’s list.<sup>2</sup> Another account speaks of seven clans only, and records a tradition that these seven clans had seven animal ancestors, namely, the fox, the eagle, the bear, the beaver, the fish, the antelope, and the raccoon. According to this legend, two brothers found the seven ancestral animals in a cave, lived for a month with them, and were adopted as brothers by the beasts. The first seven human ancestors of the clans had the power of taking the shape each of his totem animal.<sup>3</sup> The principal clan is the Eagle clan, the hereditary chief of which is head of the tribe.<sup>4</sup> Each clan has its own totemic dance, in which none but members of the secret society of the clan take part. The Eagle dance is the most important of these totemic dances. An old woman told Miss Owen “that when she was a little girl those who took part in the Totem dances were dressed to look like the Ancestral Animal whose favour was thus secured, but their appearance was so dreadful in their suits of skins, scales, or feathers, and the masks to correspond, that many women were frightened and made ill, a state of affairs very bad for a small tribe that could not afford the loss of women and babies. What to do the men knew not, but the Totems took pity on them, and in dreams warned the old men to destroy the masks. Since then masks have been painted to indicate the Totem.”<sup>5</sup>

Among the Sauks and Foxes each clan, as usual, had a number of personal names which were borne by

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D., *Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs* (Newhaven, 1822), Appendix, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 473.

<sup>3</sup> Miss Mary Alicia Owen, *Folklore of the Musquakie Indians of North America* (London, 1904), pp. 8-10. As to the name Miss Owen says (*op. cit.* p. 18) that “Musquakie means ‘fox,’ whether reference is made

to the animal or the tribesman, in Saukie, Kickapoo, and Musquakie, though the Sankies . . . say jokingly that Geechee Manito-ah made the Saukie out of yellow clay and the Sqnawkie out of red.”

<sup>4</sup> Miss Mary Alicia Owen, *op. cit.* p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Miss Mary Alicia Owen, *Folklore of the Musquakie Indians of North America*, pp. 51 sq.

Tradition-ary descent of the totem clans from animals.

Totemic dances.

Personal names of members of the clans.

members of the clan. Thus in the Deer clan there was a personal name "Long Horn"; in the Wolf clan there was "Black Wolf"; in the Eagle clan there were "Eagle drawing his nest," "Eagle sitting with his head up," and "Eagle flying over a limb."<sup>1</sup>

The rules of marriage, descent, and inheritance are the same among the Sauks and Foxes as among the Miamis; that is, no man is allowed to marry a woman of his own clan, children take their clan from their father, not from their mother, and property and office are hereditary in the clan.<sup>2</sup>

Rules of marriage and descent.

Another of the Central Algonkin tribes, which is closely related to the Sauks and Foxes both by blood and language are the Kickapoos. The earliest notice of the tribe places them in the northern part of the present State of Illinois, between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi. About half of the tribe is now settled on a reservation in Mexico. The Kickapoos are divided into clans, of which at the present day the names are Water, Tree, Berry, Thunder, Man, Bear, Elk, Turkey, Bald Eagle, Wolf, and Fox. The rule was that no man might marry a woman of his own clan; children took the clan of their father.<sup>3</sup> The Kickapoos have the classificatory system of relationship in a form which agrees with that of the Miamis.<sup>4</sup>

Totemic clans of the Kickapoos, another Algonkin tribe.

The classificatory system of relationship.

Another Algonkin tribe of this region who have totemism are the Menominees. They now occupy a reservation at Keshena in North-eastern Wisconsin, which is almost the same territory that they held when they were discovered by Jean Nicollet in 1634. Their language shews that they are more nearly related to the Ojibways than to any other Algonkin tribe. In recent years certain of their customs and myths have been investigated and recorded in great detail by Dr. W. J. Hoffman.<sup>5</sup> He tells us that at the time

The Menominees, another Algonkin tribe.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 169, note <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 684 sq.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 213, and

Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> W. J. Hoffman, M.D., "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) pp. 11-328. Compare *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 842 sqq.

Totemic  
clans and  
phratries of  
the Meno-  
minees.

when he wrote (1892-93) the Menominees were divided into totemic clans, which were named and grouped under phratries as follows in the order of their importance:—<sup>1</sup>

MENOMINEE TOTEMIC SYSTEM

Phratries.	Clans.
I. Bear . . .	1. Bear. 2. Porcupine. 3. Turtle. 4. Crane. 5. Wolf. 6. Otter. 7. Sturgeon. 8. Sunfish.
II. Big Thunder.	1. Golden Eagle. 2. Fork-tail Hawk. 3. Bald Eagle. 4. Turkey-buzzard. 5. Swift-flying Hawk. 6. Winter Hawk (remains all winter in Wisconsin). 7. Sparrow Hawk. 8. Red-tail Hawk. 9. Crow. 10. Raven. 11. Beaver. 12. Elk. 13. Pine Squirrel.
III. Wolf . . .	1. Wolf. 2. Dog. 3. Deer.

On the position of the Wolf clan in the first phratry Dr. Hoffman observes that "although the Wolf is recognized as a member of the Bear phratry, his true position is at the head of the third phratry."

Another  
list of the  
totemic  
clans and  
phratries of  
the Meno-  
minees.

Having given the above as the list of "the Menomini totems or gentes as they exist at this day," Dr. Hoffman adds: "According to Shu'nien and Wios'kasit the arrangement of totems into phratries and subphratries was as follows:

"I. The *Owa'sse wi'dishi'anun*, or Bear phratry, consisting of the following totems and subphratries:

<i>Owa'sse</i>	Bear	} Totems
<i>Miqkä'no</i>	Mud-turtle	
<i>Kitä'mi</i>	Porcupine	
<i>Namä'nu</i>	Beaver	} Subphratries (these two being brothers).
<i>O'sass</i>	Muskrat	

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) p. 41.

" II. The *Kinē'u* *wi'dishu'anun*, or Eagle phratry, consisting of the following totems :

<i>Pināsh'iu</i>	Bald Eagle
<i>Kaka'kē</i>	Crow
<i>Inä qtēk</i>	Raven
<i>Ma'qkuana'ni</i>	Red-tail Hawk
' <i>Hinanä'shiu</i> '	Golden Eagle
<i>Pé'niki'konau</i>	Fish Hawk

" III. The *Otä'tshia* *wi'dishi-anun*, or Crane phratry, consisting of the following totems :

<i>Otä-tshia</i>	Crane
<i>Shakshak'eu</i>	Great Heron
<i>Os'se</i>	' Old Squaw ' Duck
<i>O'kawā'siku</i>	Coot

" IV. The *Moqwai'o* *wi'dishi'anun*, or Wolf phratry, consisting of the following totems :

<i>Moqwai'o</i>	Wolf
' <i>Hana</i> ' [ <i>änä'm</i> ]	Dog
<i>Apaq'ssos</i>	Deer

" V. The *Mō's* *wi'dishi-anun*, or Moose phratry, with the following totems :

<i>Mō's</i>	Moose
<i>Oma'skos</i>	Elk
<i>Wabä'shiu</i>	Marten
<i>Wū'tshik</i>	Fisher" <sup>1</sup>

Dr. Hoffman gives no explanation of the discrepancies between the two foregoing lists of clans and phratries. Perhaps he means us to understand that the second list, given on the authority of two Indians, represents the ancient arrangement of the clans as it has been handed down in the traditions of the tribe. As to the marriage rules Dr. Hoffman is also silent. We may conjecture that the clans are, theoretically at least, exogamous, but it would hardly be safe to infer that the phratries are so also.

It should be observed that with one exception every phratry bears the name of a bird or animal which is also the name of one of the totem clans included under it. This naturally suggests that the present clans have been produced by the subdivision of older clans, which thereby passed into the rank of phratries. Similar evidence of the subdivision

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) p. 42.

Evidence that the Menominee phratries have originated by subdivision of the original totemic clans.

of totemic clans into new clans has already met us among the Mohicans and Ojibways.<sup>1</sup> The Big Thunder phratry appears at first sight to be an exception to this rule, but the exception is more apparent than real. For though the Big Thunder phratry does not include a Big Thunder clan, it includes the clan of the golden Eagle, the bird which is said to have been the representative of the Invisible Thunder.<sup>2</sup> It is a common belief of the American Indians that the clap of thunder is made by a big bird flapping its great wings.<sup>3</sup>

The rule of descent among the Menominees seems to have changed from the maternal to the paternal line.

With regard to the rule of descent Dr. Hoffman says: "Mother-right, the older form of descent in the female line, is not now recognized by the Menomini, who have advanced to the next stage, that of father-right, or descent in the male line. . . . Some of the ancient customs respecting the disposition of property and children, in the event of the death of either parent, are still spoken of, though now seldom, if ever, practised. As descent was in the mother's line, at her death both children and personal effects were transmitted to the nearest of the mother's totemic kin, while at the death of the father his personal property was divided among his relatives or the people of his totem."<sup>4</sup> The view that the Menominees have passed from mother-kin to father-kin is supported by L. H. Morgan, who in 1859, questioning a Menominee man as to the rule of inheritance in his tribe, received the following answer: "If I should die, my brothers and maternal uncles would rob my wife and children of my property. We now expect that our children will inherit our effects, but there is no certainty of it. The old law gives my property to my nearest kindred who are not my children, but my brothers and sisters, and maternal uncles."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 44, 55, 57.

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Relations des Jésuites*, 1634, p. 27 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), i. 126; J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligionen* (Basel, 1867), pp. 120 sq.; D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, Second Edition (New York, 1876), pp.

108, 163 sq.; G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (London, 1893), p. 259; Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 508.

<sup>4</sup> W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896), p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 170 sq.

Members of any totem clan regard as their relations all persons who have the same totem, even though they may belong to a different tribe, or even to tribes of a different linguistic family. Thus several Menominees of the Bear totem said to Dr. Hoffman that men of the Bear totem among the Sioux "must be of the same kinship with themselves, as they had the same common ancestor."<sup>1</sup>

Kinship between members of the same totemic clan in different tribes.

With regard to the relation in which a man stands to his totemic animal, Dr. Hoffman tells us that "although a Bear man may kill a bear, he must first address himself to it and apologize for depriving it of life; and there are certain portions only of which he may eat, the head and paws being tabu, and no member of his totem may partake of these portions, although the individuals of all other totems may do so."<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere the same writer says: "Should an Indian of the Bear totem, or one whose adopted guardian is represented by the bear, desire to go hunting and meet with that animal, due apology would be paid to it before destroying it. The carcass would then be dressed and served, but no member of the Bear totem would partake of the meat, though the members of all other totems could freely do so. The hunter could, however, eat of the paws and head, the bones of the latter being subsequently placed upon a shelf, probably over the door, or in some other conspicuous place. Due reverence is paid to such a relic of the totem, and so strictly observed is this custom that no greater insult could be offered to the host than for any one to take down such bones and to cast them carelessly aside."<sup>3</sup> We have seen that among the Ottawas men of the Bear clan used to apologise to a bear when they had killed it.<sup>4</sup>

Apologies for killing the totemic animal. A Bear man who has killed a bear may eat its head and paws.

The Menominees say that formerly there were more totemic clans, but that in course of time some of them have become extinct. The tradition as to the origin of some of

Menominee traditions as to the origin of their totemic clans and phratries.

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) p. 43. However, we are told that the Sioux (Dacotas) have not got totems. See below, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* p. 65.

At first sight Dr. Hoffman's statements as to eating the head and paws of the bear seem to contradict each other. But perhaps he means that the Bear hunter who kills a bear may eat of these portions, though no other member of the Bear clan may do so.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 67.

them runs thus. When the Great Mystery<sup>1</sup> made the earth, he created also numerous beings termed *manidos* or spirits, giving them the form of animals and birds. Most of the animal-*manidos* were malevolent (*ânâ maqkî' u'* "underground beings"); and the bird-*manidos* were eagles and hawks, known as the Thunderers, chief of whom was the Invisible Thunder, represented by the Golden Eagle. When the Good Mystery (*Mashâ' Ma'nidō*) saw that the bear was still an animal, he determined to allow him to change his form. This accordingly was done, and the bear was turned into a man at the Menominee River, near the spot where the animal first came out of the ground. The man found himself alone and called to the Golden Eagle to come and be his brother. So the eagle swooped down and took the form of a man. They laid their heads together and were just considering whom next to invite to join them, when they perceived a beaver approaching. The beaver begged to be taken into the totem of the Thunderers, but being a woman was called Beaver woman and was adopted as a younger brother—perhaps we should say sister—of the Thunderer. Soon afterwards the Bear and Eagle, standing on the river-bank, saw a sturgeon, and the Bear adopted the Sturgeon as his younger brother and servant. In like manner the Thunderer, who was the Golden Eagle, took the Elk to be his younger brother and water-carrier.

The Bear  
and the  
Golden  
Eagle or  
Thunderer.

The Bear,  
the Wolf,  
the Crane,  
and other  
animals.

Another time the Bear was going up the Wisconsin River, but being weary he sat down to rest. Hard by, the river tumbled over rocks with a refreshing murmur, and from underneath the waterfall appeared the Wolf, who asked the Bear what he did there. The Bear said he was on a journey and being too tired to go further had sat down to rest. At that moment a crane flew by. The Bear

<sup>1</sup> "*Mashâ' Ma'nidō*, or Great Unknown. This term is not to be understood as implying a belief in one supreme being; there are several *manidos*, each supreme in his own realm, as well as many lesser mysteries, or deities, or spirits. Neither is it to be regarded as implying a definite recognition of spirituality corresponding to that of civilized peoples, for the

American Indians have not fully risen to the plane of psychotheism" (W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) p. 39, note<sup>1</sup>). Dr. Hoffman represents *Mashâ' Ma'nidō* variously as "the Great Mystery," "the Good Mystery," and "the Great Unknown."

called to the bird and prayed it to carry him to the Bear people at the head of the river, promising if he would do so to make him his younger brother. Just as the Bear was in the act of mounting on the back of the Crane, the Wolf called out, "Bear, I am alone. Take me also as a younger brother." That is why the Crane and the Wolf are now the younger brothers of the Bear; but afterwards the Wolf allowed the Deer and the Dog to join him, and therefore these three, as we have seen, now compose a phratry. But the Wolf ranks not only with their phratry, but also with the phratry of the Bear, where he is entitled to a seat in council on the north side.<sup>1</sup>

The Good Mystery made the Thunderers to be labourers, that by their labours they might benefit the whole world. In spring days, when they return from the south-west, they bring with them the showers which make the black earth green and cause the plants to grow and the trees to put forth leaves. Were it not for the Thunderers, the earth would be parched, and the grass would wither and die. The Good Mystery also gave to the Thunderers his good gift of corn, the kind that is commonly called squaw corn, with small stalks and ears of various colours. The Thunderers were also the makers of fire, having first received it from Mä'näbüsh, the hero of many a Menominee tale, who himself stole it from an old man that dwelt on an island in a great lake. Among the Menominees to this day the Thunderers are charged with lighting the council fire, and when the tribe is on the march the Thunderers go on ahead to a camping-place and kindle the fire which is to be used by all the people. They are also the war-chiefs. They and the Bear people live together, the Bears taking their seats on the eastern side of the council and the Thunderers on the western.<sup>2</sup>

The Menominees have the classificatory system of relationship in a form which is substantially identical with that of the Miamis, agreeing with it in treating male cousins, the sons of a brother and sister respectively, as uncle and

The Thunderers and their fertilising function.

The Thunderers the makers of fire.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Menominees.

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) pp. 39 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* pp. 40 sq.

nephew, and female cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, as mother and daughter.<sup>1</sup>

### § 8. *Exogamy among the Algonkin Tribes of the Rocky Mountains*

The Blackfeet, the westernmost of the Algonkins.

The westernmost of the Algonkins are the Blackfeet, a numerous nation, who range over the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains and the prairies at their foot. A well-built, hardy, and courageous people, they are or rather were a nation of horsemen and depended for their subsistence exclusively on hunting. Their country used to abound in game more perhaps than any other part of North America. Among the American Indians the Blackfeet had no superiors in horsemanship and none in the art of stalking such wary animals as the antelope. So long as the buffalo existed, the tribe lived chiefly on its flesh and clothed themselves in its skin.<sup>2</sup> They are divided into three tribes: the Blackfeet proper, the Blood Blackfeet, and the Piegan Blackfeet, all speaking the same language, observing the same customs, and acknowledging a tie of blood between them. Each tribe is subdivided into a number of clans, bodies of blood kindred tracing their descent in the male line. Formerly the members of a clan were all considered to be relatives, however remote, to each other, and there was a law prohibiting a man from marrying within his clan. In the old days this law was strictly enforced, but like many other old customs it is no longer observed. But though the clans are or used to be exogamous, they are apparently not totemic; at least Mr. G. B. Grinnell, one of our chief authorities on the Blackfeet, knows of no clan that has a totem. The names of the clans which he gives confirm this view of the absence of totemism in the nation.<sup>3</sup>

The three tribes of Blackfeet.

Exogamous clans with male descent.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 213, and Table II. pp. 293 *sqq.* As to the Miami form of the system, see above, pp. 69-71.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 224 *sq.*; G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (London, 1893), pp. 177 *sqq.*, 226 *sq.*, 241.

<sup>3</sup> G. B. Grinnell, *op. cit.* pp. 208-211. In the Blackfeet proper Mr. Grinnell enumerates eight clans or, as he calls them, gentes; in the Blood Blackfeet, thirteen; and in the Piegan Blackfeet, twenty-four. Among the names of the clans are, for example, Flat Bows, Many Medicines, Black Elks, Liars, Biters, Skunks,

However, the Blackfeet have the classificatory system of relationship, though in an advanced form; for under it a man calls his father's brother "my step-father," not "my father"; he calls his mother's sister "my step-mother," not "my mother"; he calls his brother's son and daughter "my step-son" and "my step-daughter," not "my son" and "my daughter." On the other hand, he continues, as usual, to call his cousins, the son and daughter of his father's brother, "my brother" and "my sister"; he calls his grandfather's brother "my grandfather"; and he calls the grandchildren of his brother and sister, and also of his collateral brothers and sisters, "my grandchildren."<sup>1</sup>

The Blackfeet marry as many wives as they please. All the younger sisters of a man's wife were regarded as his wives, if he chose to take them. If he did not wish to marry them, they might not be given in marriage to any other man without his consent. When a man dies, his eldest brother has the right to marry the widow or widows.<sup>2</sup>

Right to marry all a wife's younger sisters. The levirate.

### § 9. Totemism among the Omahas

Thus far we have surveyed the totemic systems, first, of the Iroquois-Huron, and, next, of the Algonkin family. We now pass to the consideration of a third great family or stock of North American Indians, which may be called the Siouan or Dacotan from the Sioux or Dacotas, the largest and most famous members of the family. At the time of their discovery the Siouan family had fallen into a number of groups, and their language into a number of dialects, which differed from each other much more widely than the various dialects of the Algonkin language. But in the main the Siouan tribes inhabited continuous areas. They occupied the head-waters of the Mississippi and both banks of the Missouri for more than a thousand miles in

The Siouan or Dacotan family.

Many Lodge Poles, Hair Shirts, Short Bows, Dried Meat, Black Patched Mocassins, They Don't Laugh, Seldom Lonesome, Obstinate, Lone Fighters, Small Robes, Big Topknots, Worm people, All Chiefs, Red Round Robes. Compare L. H. Morgan, *Systems of*

*Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 224 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 171.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 225 sq., and Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, pp. 215, 217, 218.

They occupied the head-waters of the Mississippi and both banks of the Missouri; but they seem to have moved thither from the east.

extent. Roughly speaking, their territory reached from the Arkansas River on the south to the Saskatchewan River on the north, and from the Mississippi on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west. But there are reasons to think that this was not their original home; for tribes speaking archaic dialects of the Siouan speech have been found in Virginia and Louisiana. It is now believed, therefore, that the Siouan or Dacotan stock had its original home, not on the prairies of the west, but at the eastern foot of the Southern Alleghanies, till the pressure of the hostile Algonkin and Iroquoian tribes forced them back into the prairies west of the Mississippi, where they subsisted by hunting the buffalo.<sup>1</sup>

The Sioux proper or Dacotas have not now got totemism; but there is some reason to think that they had it formerly.

Of the tribes composing this stock it appears that the Sioux proper, or Dacotas, as they called themselves, had not the totemic system; at all events competent authorities failed to find it among them in the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> However, there are some grounds for thinking that they possessed the system as late as the middle of the eighteenth century. Thus Captain Carver, who explored the region of the Great Lakes and the head-waters of the Mississippi in 1766, writes as follows: "Every separate body of Indians is divided into bands or tribes; which band or tribe forms a little community with the nation to which it belongs. As the nation has some particular symbol by which it is distinguished from others, so each tribe has a badge from

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 170 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 154; J. Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East* (Washington, 1894), pp. 5 sqq.; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 528 sq. As to the various Siouan or Dacotan tribes, see S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Washington, 1893), pp. 155 sqq.; W. J. McGee, "The Siouan Indians," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 157 sqq.; J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *ibid.* pp. 213 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, prepared for the press by Edwin James, M.D.

(London, 1830) pp. 313; W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) p. 43 ("From personal knowledge and enquiry, I can confidently assert that among the Dakotas the system is not known"); L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 154; S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Washington, 1893), p. 195 (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. ix.). The last-mentioned writer (Riggs) observes that "the real foundation for the totemic system exists among the Dakota as well as the Iroquois, in the names of men often being taken from mythical animals, but the system was never carried to perfection."

which it is denominated : as that of the Eagle, the Panther, the Tiger, the Buffalo, etc., etc. One band of the Naudowessie is represented by a Snake, another a Tortoise, a third a Squirrel, a fourth a Wolf, and a fifth a Buffalo. Throughout every nation they particularize themselves in the same manner, and the meanest person among them will remember his lineal descent, and distinguish himself by his respective family."<sup>1</sup> As Naudowessie is an old name for the Sioux or Dacotas,<sup>2</sup> Carver's testimony certainly seems to shew that those of the Dacotas with whom he came into contact were divided into totemic clans, as Morgan has already pointed out.<sup>3</sup> However, in modern times the numerous bands of which the tribe is composed appear to lack the characteristics of totemic clans, being neither named after animals nor exogamous.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly they need not be here considered. But if the Dacotas themselves no longer possess totemism, many of the tribes of the same stock are still, or were till lately, divided into totemic clans. We begin our survey of them with the Omahas, a tribe of the Missouri valley in the State of Nebraska. The remainder of the tribe is now settled on a reservation in Burt County.<sup>5</sup>

However, some tribes of the Dacotan stock have totemism.

The Omahas supported themselves partly by agriculture and partly by the chase. Their village, consisting of "dirt-lodges," was situated within a few miles of the Missouri, but they only occupied it for about five months in the year, returning to it in order to attend to their crops ;

The Omahas, a Siouan tribe of the Missouri.

<sup>1</sup> J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, Third Edition (London, 1781), pp. 255 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 380.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 378. For lists of these bands, see Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 215 sqq. The writer calls these bands "gentes." Among the names of the bands mentioned by Dorsey are "Not encumbered with much baggage," "Eats-no-

geese," "Bad Nation," "Village on the Prairie," "Shooters among the Leaves," "Village at the Dam," "Dwellers on the Sand," "Dwellers on the Island," "Dwellers at the South," "Five Lodges," "Those who lay meat on their shoulders," etc. Another is called "Breakers (of the law or custom)," being so called "because members of this gens disregarded the marriage law by taking wives within the gens."

<sup>5</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 155 ; Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 214 ; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 530.

for they planted maize, beans, pumpkins, and water-melons, but no other vegetables. At other times of the year they roamed the country in the pursuit of the buffalo, their favourite game, which they followed on horseback. The flesh of the buffalo, dried in the sun or jerked over a slow fire and condensed into cakes, was one of their principal foods, but they also hunted the deer and the elk, and trapped beavers and otters. The skins of all these animals they dressed and bartered with traders for the blankets, guns, powder, calico, knives and so forth, of which they stood in need.<sup>1</sup> On the whole the Omahas depended mainly on the hunt for food, clothing, and shelter.<sup>2</sup>

We have a comparatively full account of Omaha totemism, including information about the totemic taboos. Such information is rarely given as to the American Indians.

The Omahas have had the good fortune to be studied by several competent observers, and accordingly we possess a more detailed account of their totemic system than of any other Indian tribe in North America. For the most part, as the reader may have already perceived, our knowledge of the totemism of an American Indian tribe comprises little more than a bare list of the names of the clans with a brief statement of the rules of marriage and descent. In fact the attention of American observers, even of an observer so sagacious as L. H. Morgan, seems to have been turned almost exclusively to the social side of totemism, while the religious or superstitious side of the system, in other words, the relation in which human beings are supposed to stand to their totemic objects, has been almost wholly overlooked. As a consequence, while we are generally informed as to the social taboo which forbids marriage within the totemic clan, we have commonly no information at all as to the religious or superstitious taboos which regulate the behaviour of the

<sup>1</sup> Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains performed in the years 1819, 1820, under the command of Major S. H. Long* (London, 1823), i. 181-204.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 221. As to the houses, furniture, and implements of the Omahas, see *id.* "Omaha Dwellings, Furniture, and Implements," *Thirteenth*

*Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896), pp. 269-288. The "dirt-lodges" or "earth-lodges" of the Omahas were circular huts, consisting of a wooden framework thatched with grass, the whole structure being covered over with earth one or two feet deep. A hole in the middle allowed the smoke to escape. The Omahas formerly made pottery. They used stone knives and hoed the ground with the shoulder-blades of buffaloes (J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 278).

clanspeople towards their totem. Even such a simple matter as the rule whether a man may or may not kill and eat his totem animal has been very rarely recorded of any American tribe. It would be rash to assume from the silence of our authorities that no such superstitious taboos exist in tribes where they have not been recorded, and that to the American Indians in general their totemic names mean no more than the proper names Bull, Lamb, and Rose mean to us. The example of totemic tribes in many other parts of the world would suffice to raise a strong presumption that the Indians of America regard, or at some former time regarded, their totems with superstitious respect and awe ; and this presumption is greatly strengthened by the case of the Omahas, who are known to have so regarded their totems, and to have observed accordingly a system of taboos in respect of them. It is in the highest degree improbable that in doing so the Omahas were exceptional ; far more probably similar taboos have been observed by all the totemic tribes of North America, though unfortunately very few of them have been put on record. We are bound to be all the more grateful to the men of truly scientific spirit who have had the intelligence to note and the patience to record the totemic taboos of the Omahas.

Of these records we possess two, the first obtained by Major S. H. Long's expedition in 1819 and 1820, and the second by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, who was a missionary to the kindred tribe of Ponkas from 1871 to 1873 and afterwards studied the Omahas and other tribes of the Siouan family for the American Bureau of Ethnology. Dorsey's record is much the fuller and in many respects the more valuable of the two ; but Long's is also of great interest and importance, because it was procured at a time when the Omahas were still independent and when they retained their ancient customs and beliefs very little affected by contact with civilisation. Accordingly, I shall reproduce the earlier record entire in the words of the writer, Dr. Edwin James, the botanist and geologist of the expedition, who edited the journals of Major Long and his colleagues. The information with regard to the Omahas, or Omawhaws, as James calls them, was in great measure obtained from Mr. John

The  
researches  
of Major  
Long's  
expedition  
and of the  
Rev. J.  
Owen  
Dorsey.

Dougherty, Deputy Indian Agent for the Missouri, "who had an excellent opportunity of making himself acquainted with the natives, by residing for a time in the Omawhaw village, and by visiting all the different nations of this river [the Missouri]." <sup>1</sup> The account runs thus :—<sup>2</sup>

Totemic  
clans and  
taboos  
of the  
Omahas,  
as reported  
by Major  
Long's  
expedition.

The Omawhaw nation is divided into two principal sections or tribes, which are distinguished by the names Honga-sha-no and Ish-ta-sun-da; the latter means Grey Eyes.

The first-mentioned tribe is subdivided into eight bands, viz.

1. *Wase-ish-ta*.—This band is interdicted from eating the flesh of male deer or male elk, in consequence of having their great medicine, which is a large shell, enveloped in the prepared skin of those animals.<sup>3</sup> The chief of this band is the Big Elk, Ongpatungah; and it is more powerful and numerous in individuals than either of the others. . . .

2. *Enk-ka-sa-ba*.—This band will not eat red maize. They ascribe to their family the greatest antiquity, and declare that their first man emerged from the water with an ear of red maize in his hand. The principal chief is Ishkatappe.

3. *Wa-sa-ba-eta-je*; or, those who do not touch bears.—This band refrains from eating the flesh of bears.

4. *Ka-e-ta-je*, or those who do not touch turtles or tortoises.

5. *Wa-jinga-e-ta-je*, or those who do not touch any kind of bird, excepting the war-eagle.

6. *Hun-guh*.—This band does not eat white cranes, as the down of that bird is their medicine.

7. *Kon-sa*.—This band must not touch the green clay, or even verdigrise, both of which are used as pigments by the other bands, for ornamenting their persons.

8. *Ta-pa-taj-je*.—This band must not touch deers' heads, neither must they wear deer-skin mockasins. Many of the individuals of this band are partially gray-haired. This change of the hair, which they

<sup>1</sup> Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains performed in the years 1819, 1820, under the command of Major S. H. Long* (London, 1823), i. 181.

<sup>2</sup> E. James, *op. cit.* ii. 47-50.

<sup>3</sup> This sacred shell, Dr. James tells us (pp. 47 *sq.*), wrapped in its skin covering, was kept in "a skin lodge or temple," under charge of a person who constantly resided in the lodge and guarded the shell. It was placed on a stand and never allowed to touch the earth. No one dared to open the skin and look at the shell, for they thought

that the sight of it would instantly blind them. The sacred bundle was taken with the band to all national hunts, being transported on a man's back. And before a national expedition was undertaken against an enemy, the holy shell was consulted as an oracle. The medicine-men smoked and listened for a sound from the sacred bundle. If a sound resembling a strong expulsion of breath or a distant gunshot was heard, they took it for a favourable omen; and the expedition advanced with confidence. If no such sound was heard, they deemed the issue doubtful. As to the sacred shell, see also below, p. 107.

consider as a deformity, is attributed to a violation of the above-mentioned laws prescribed by their medicine.

The second division, or tribe *Ishtasunda*, is subdivided into five bands.

1. *Ta-pa-eta-je*.—This band does not touch bison heads.

2. *Mon-eka-goh-ha*, or the earth-makers. — Of this band was the celebrated Black Bird. They are not forbidden the use of any aliment; and are said to have originated the present mode of mourning, by rubbing the body with whitish clay.

3. *Ta-sin-da*, or the bison tail.—This band does not eat bison calves, in the first year of the age of that animal.

4. *Ing-gera-je-da*, or the red dung. — This name is said to have originated from the circumstance of this band having formerly quarrelled, and separated themselves from the nation, until, being nearly starved, they were compelled to eat the fruit of the wild cherry-tree, until their excrement became red.

5. *Wash-a-tung*.—This band must not touch any of the reptilia class of animals.

Each of these animals, or parts of animals, which the bands respectively are forbidden to touch or eat, is regarded as the particular mysterious medicine of the band collectively, to which it relates.

This singular, and, to us, absurd law of interdiction, is generally rigidly observed; and a violation of it, they firmly believe, will be followed by some signal judgment, such as blindness, gray hairs, or general misfortune. Even should the forbidden food be eaten inadvertently, or but tasted through ignorance, sickness they believe would be the inevitable consequence, not only to the unfortunate individual himself, but involving his wife and children also.

In this account of the Omaha bands or clans, no mention is made of the rule of exogamy, which forbids a man to marry a woman of his own clan; but this omission is supplied, as we shall see, by later writers. Thus it would appear from the account which I have just quoted that in the years 1819-1820 the Omaha were divided into thirteen totemic clans, which were arranged in two groups, perhaps phratries, as follows:—

Tribal Divisions (Pbratries?).	Clans.	Totems.	Taboos.
<i>Honga-sha-no</i>	1. <i>Wase-ish-ta</i>	Male deer and male elk	Forbidden to eat flesh of male deer or male elk.
	2. <i>Enk-ka-sa-ba</i>	Red Maize	Forbidden to eat red maize.
	3. <i>Wa-sa-ba-eta-je</i>	Bear	Forbidden to eat the flesh of bears.
	4. <i>Ka-e-ta-je</i>	Turtle (Tortoise)	Forbidden to touch turtles or tortoises.
	5. <i>Wa-jinga-e-ta-je</i>	Bird	Forbidden to touch any bird except the war- eagle.
	6. <i>Hun-guh</i>	White Crane	Forbidden to eat white cranes.
	7. <i>Kon-za</i>	Green Clay and verdigris	Forbidden to touch green clay and verdigris.
	8. <i>Ta-pa-taj-je</i>	Deers' heads and deer-skin moc- casins	Forbidden to touch deers' heads and to wear deer-skin moc- casins.
<i>Ish-ta-sun-da</i> (Grey Eyes)	1. <i>Ta-pa-eta-je</i>	Heads of Buffaloes	Forbidden to touch heads of buffaloes.
	2. <i>Mon-eka-goh-ha</i>	White clay?	?
	3. <i>Ta-sin-da</i>	Tails of buffaloes	Forbidden to eat buffalo calves one year old.
	4. <i>Ing-gera-je-da</i>	Red dung?	?
	5. <i>Wash-a-tung</i>	Reptiles	Forbidden to touch reptiles.

Some forty years later, in 1860, L. H. Morgan obtained a list of twelve Omaha clans as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

1. <i>Wâ-zhese-ta</i>	Deer.
2. <i>Ink-ka-sa-ba</i>	Black.
3. <i>Lâ-tâ-dâ</i>	Bird.
4. <i>Kâ-ih</i>	Turtle.
5. <i>Da-thun-da</i>	Buffalo.
6. <i>Wâ-sâ-ba</i>	Bear.
7. <i>Hun-gâ</i>	Medicine.
8. <i>Kunzâ</i>	Kaw.
9. <i>Tâ-pâ</i>	Head.
10. <i>In-grâ-zhe-da</i>	Red.
11. <i>Ish-dâ-sun-da</i>	Thunder.
12. <i>O-non-e-kâ gâ-ha</i>	Many seasons.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 155. As Morgan ascertained the Omaha classificatory terms of relationship at Omaha, in Nebraska, in June 1860 (*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p.

284), I have assumed that he obtained his list of the clans at the same time. He was at work among the Eastern Dakotas in 1861 and among the Western in 1862 (*Ancient Society*, p. 154).

A comparison of this list with the preceding one will shew that while the two agree in some things, they differ in others. The discrepancies may be due to the changes which presumably took place among the Omahas in the interval. The name of Morgan's Thunder clan (*Ish-dâ-sun-da*) is clearly identical with *Ish-ta-sun-da*, which according to Dr. James's information was not a clan or band, but one of the two great divisions into which the whole nation or tribe was distributed.

When the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey studied the Omahas some sixty years after Major Long's expedition,<sup>1</sup> he found them organised in ten totemic clans, which were equally distributed between the same two great tribal divisions which had been recorded by his predecessors. The names of the two tribal divisions, according to Dorsey, are *Hanggashenoo* and *Eeshtasanda*, which are clearly identical with the *Hongasha-no* and *Ish-ta-sun-da* of Major Long; and each of the two divisions comprises five clans under it. In former days, when the tribe was encamped, the ten clans pitched their tents in a circle, the five clans of the Hanggashenoo division forming a semicircle on the right side of the line of march, and the five clans of the Eeshtasanda division forming the other semicircle on the left side of the line of march. Each clan had its regular place in the camp.<sup>2</sup> Further, each

The Rev. J. Owen Dorsey's account of the Omaha clans, subclans, and totemic taboos.

<sup>1</sup> The principal results of Mr. Dorsey's study of the Omahas and the kindred Siouan tribes are embodied in the three following papers: (1) "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 205-370; (2) "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 361-544; (3) "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 205-244.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 219 sq. In giving the Omaha names of the clans, subclans, and tribal subdivisions I have discarded Dorsey's peculiar spelling with the explanations given by Dorsey him-

self (p. 206). Thus I write *sh* instead of *c*; *th* instead of *q*; *ee* instead of *i*; *ng* instead of *n*; *oo* instead of *u*, etc.; and I have regularly restored to their usual position the consonants which Dorsey has placed upside down. Dorsey's spelling agrees in the main with the alphabet which the American Bureau of Ethnology has adopted for representing the sounds of the native Indian languages. It doubtless represents those sounds much more exactly than the spelling which I have adopted; but on the other hand it is complicated and uncouth and would be hardly intelligible to English readers. I have been content to sacrifice a certain degree of exactness for the sake of simplicity and intelligibility. Further, my spelling has the advantage of bringing out more clearly the agreement of the clan names given by Dorsey with those given by his predecessors.

Omaha clan is subdivided into subclans. The number of the subclans varies, at present, according to the particular clan; but Dorsey found traces of the existence of four subclans in each clan in former days. The subclans themselves seem to be composed of a number of groups of a still lower order which may be called sections.<sup>1</sup>

The list of Omaha clans (*gentes*) and subclans (*subgentes*) with their respective taboos, as ascertained by J. Owen Dorsey, is in the main as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

I. In the *Hanggashenoo* division of the tribe there were these five clans:

The Elk  
clan.

1. The *Wejeeshte* or Elk clan. It has the first place in the tribal circle. The members of this clan are afraid to touch any part of the male elk or to eat its flesh, and they may not eat the flesh of the male deer. Should they accidentally violate this custom, they say that they are sure to break out in boils and white spots on different parts of the body. But when a member of this clan dies, he is buried in moccasins made of deer skin.

The Black  
Shoulder  
(Buffalo)  
clan.

2. The *Eengke-sabě* or Black Shoulder clan. This is a Buffalo clan. Its place in the tribal circle is next to that of the Elk clan. The clan has a tradition that its ancestors were once buffaloes who lived under water, but that having reached the land they snuffed at the four winds and prayed to them. When the Omahas went on the buffalo hunt and could get skins for tents, it was customary to decorate the principal tent of this clan on the outside with three circles, within each of which was painted a buffalo head. The clan used to be divided into four subclans, of which one is now extinct. The names of some of the subclans are variously given. (*a*) The members of one of them (the *Wathigeejè*) are forbidden to eat buffalo tongues and to touch buffalo heads. (*b*) The members of a second (the *Wataseejeede thataji*) are forbidden to eat red maize. (*c*) The members of a third (the *Eeekethě*) are or were the criers of the tribe. (*d*) And the members of a fourth subdivision of the clan

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Socio-

logy," *op. cit.* pp. 225-251. As to spelling of the native names of the tribal divisions, clans, and subclans, see above, p. 93, note <sup>2</sup>.

(the *Te-he-sabě eetaji*) are not allowed to touch black horns (of buffaloes). But it is doubtful whether this last subdivision was strictly a subclan.

3. The *Hangga* clan. This, like the *Eengke-sabě*, is a Buffalo clan and camps next to it in the tribal circle. They, too, have a tradition that their ancestors were once buffaloes and lived under water. The clan is divided into two subclans, each of which has several names. (a) One of the subclans is sometimes spoken of by a name which means "Pertaining to the sacred cotton-wood bark"; but when its members are described by their taboos, they are called "Those who do not eat buffalo sides" and "Those who do not eat geese, swans, and cranes." They are allowed to eat buffalo tongues. (b) The second subclan is often referred to as "Pertaining to the sacred skin of the white buffalo cow"; but when reference is made to their taboo they are called by a name which seems to mean "They cannot eat buffalo tongues." However, they are at liberty to eat buffalo sides, which the other members of the *Hangga* clan are not allowed to do.

4. The *Thatada* clan. It occupies the fourth place in the tribal circle, next to the *Hangga* clan. But unlike other clans, its subclans have separate camping areas. Were it not for the marriage law, says Dorsey, we should say that the *Thatada* was a phratry and that its subclans were clans. These subclans are four in number, as follows: (a) The *Wasabe-heetaji* subclan. Its name is derived from *wasabe*, "a black bear," *ha*, "a skin," and *eetaji*, "not to touch"; so that the name of the clan means "Those who do not touch the skin of a black bear." The members of this subclan are forbidden to touch the hide of a black bear and to eat its flesh. They say that their ancestors were made underground, and that they afterwards came to the surface. This Black Bear subclan is itself reported to be subdivided into four sections, to wit, the Black Bears, the Raccoons, the Grizzly Bears, and the Porcupines. Of these four sections the Black Bears and the Raccoons are said to be brothers, and when a man kills a black bear, he says, "I have killed a raccoon." (b) The *Wajeenga thataji* subclan. This name means "They who do not eat (small) birds." The

members of this subclan may eat wild turkeys, geese, ducks, and cranes. When they are sick, they may eat prairie chickens. When they are on the warpath, the only birds tabooed to them are the hawk and the martin. One of his Indian informants told Dorsey that this Small Bird subclan was itself subdivided into sections and subsections as follows: I. Hawk people: II. Blackbird people, subdivided again into White heads, Red heads, Yellow heads, and Red wings. III. Gray Blackbird (the common starling) or Thunder people, subdivided again into Gray Blackbirds, Meadow larks, Prairie-chickens, and perhaps Martins. IV. Owl and Magpie people, subdivided again into Great Owls, Small Owls, and Magpies. However, two other of Dorsey's Indian informants denied that the Small Bird subclan was subdivided into these sections and subsections. (c) The *Te-pa-eetaji* subclan. These are the Eagle people, but they are not allowed to touch a buffalo head. According to one of Dorsey's informants, this subclan is again subdivided into four sections called respectively "Keepers of the Pipe," "The only Hangga," "Real Eagle," and "Bald Eagle." (d) The *Ke-ee* or Turtle subclan. The members of this subclan may not eat a turtle, but they are allowed to touch or carry one. Figures of turtles were painted on the outside of their tents. One of Dorsey's informants affirmed, and two others denied, that the Turtle subclan was itself subdivided into four sections called respectively "Big Turtle," "Turtle that does not flee," "Red-breasted Turtle," and "Spotted Turtle with Red Eyes."

The  
Verdigris  
clan.

5. The *Kaze* or *Kansas* clan. The members of the clan are forbidden to touch verdigris, which they call "green clay" (*wase-too*) or "gray green clay" (*wase-too-goode*). The clan is subdivided into two or four subclans, for with regard to the number of the subclans there was a difference of opinion among Dorsey's informants. One of the subclans was called "Keepers of a Pipe" and another "Wind people."

II. We now come to the five clans of the *Eeshtasanda* division. They are as follows:

The Wolf  
clan.

I. The *Mathingka-gaghe* clan. The name means "The Earth-lodge Makers," but the clan is a Wolf clan, for the

members of it call themselves the Wolf People, or the Prairie Wolf People. In the tribal circle the Wolf clan camps next to the *Kansas* clan, but on the opposite side of the road. They form the first of the *Eeshtasanda* clans. Their principal mythical ancestors (*nikie*)<sup>1</sup> are the coyote, the wolf, and certain sacred stones, as to the number and colours of which opinions differ. One story is that the stones were made by the coyote or prairie wolf in ancient days for the purpose of bewitching enemies. The clan is subdivided into several subclans, as to the number and names of which Dorsey's informants were not agreed. One subclan is said to have been called "Keepers of the Pipe," another "Sacred Persons," another "the Coyote and Wolf People," another "Keepers of the Sacred Stones," and a third, "Those who do not touch Swans."

2. The *Te-sinde* or Buffalo-tail clan. In the tribal circle it camps between the *Mathingka-gaghe* clan and the *Ta-da* clan. Members of this clan may not eat a calf while it is red, but they may eat it when it turns black. This rule applies to the calf of the domestic cow as well as to that of the buffalo. Further, members of the clan may not touch a buffalo head nor eat the meat on the lowest rib of the buffalo, because the head of the calf before birth touches the mother near that rib. For purposes of marriage this clan is undivided.

3. The *Ta-pa* or Deer-head clan. Their place in the tribal circle is next after that of the *Te-sinde* clan. Members of this clan may eat the flesh of deer, but they may not touch the skin of any animal of the deer family, nor wear mocassins of deer-skin, nor use the fat of deer for hair-oil, as the other Omahas do. According to some, the members of this clan are further forbidden to touch charcoal. For purposes of marriage this clan is subdivided into three or four subclans. One subclan is that of "The Keepers of the Sacred Pipe." They are said to be Eagle People and to have a special taboo, being forbidden to touch verdigris

<sup>1</sup> "*Nikie* is a term that refers to a mythical ancestor, to some part of his body, to some of his acts, or to some ancient rite ascribed to him. A '*nikie*' name is a personal name of

such a character" (J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 367).

charcoal, and the skin of the wild cat. Another subclan is said to be that of "The Thunder People," and a third that of "The Real Deer People."

The Red  
Dung (?)  
clan.

4. The *Eenggthe-jeede* clan. The name has been explained in various ways. It seems to mean "red dung." The place of the clan in the tribal circle is next to the Ta-da clan. Members of the clan may not eat a buffalo calf. It appears, says Dorsey, that the two Buffalo clans of the *Eeshtasanda* division are Buffalo-calf clans, and that the two Buffalo clans of the *Hanggathenoo* division are connected with the grown buffalo. The skin-tents of the *Eengge-jeede* clan are decorated on each side of the entrance with a circle, within which is sketched the body of a buffalo calf, visible from the flanks upward. The clan is not subdivided for purposes of marriage.

The  
Reptile  
clan.

5. The *Eeshtasanda* clan. The meaning of the name is uncertain. According to one account the name (spelled *Ish-ta-sun-da*) means "Grey Eyes."<sup>1</sup> Members of the clan may not touch worms, snakes, toads, frogs, or any other kinds of reptiles. Hence they are sometimes called "the Reptile People." For purposes of marriage the clan is subdivided into three or perhaps four subclans. One of the subclans is called "Keepers of the Pipe" or "Real *Eeshtasanda*," another is called "Reptile People," and a third "Thunder People" (*Eengtha*). The "Reptile People" are sometimes called "Keepers of the Claws of the Wild-cat," because they bind these claws to the waist of a new-born infant; and the "Thunder People" are sometimes called "Keepers of the Clam Shell," because they bind a clam shell to the waist of a child of the subclan, when he is forward in learning to walk.

List of  
Omaha  
clans,  
with the  
authorities.

The three lists of Omaha totems furnished by Long (James), Morgan, and Dorsey will be found on comparison to agree in the main, though they differ in detail, as will appear from the following table, in which the subclans mentioned by Dorsey are omitted, except in so far as they appear to coincide with the clans enumerated by Long and Morgan:—

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 90.

## OMAHA TOTEMS AND CLANS

Totems.	Clans and Subclans.	Authorities.
Male Elk and Deer .	<i>Wase-ish-ta</i>	Long
" " .	<i>Wâ-zhese-ta</i>	Morgan
" " " .	<i>Wejeeshle</i>	Dorsey
Red Maize . . . .	<i>Enk-ka-sa-ba</i>	Long
" " . . . .	<i>Watazee-jeedethataji</i> (subclan)	Dorsey
Bear . . . .	<i>Wa-sa-ba-eta-je</i>	Long
" . . . .	<i>Wâ-sâ-ba</i>	Morgan
" . . . .	<i>Wasaba-heetaji</i> (subclan)	Dorsey
Turtle (Tortoise) .	<i>Ka-e-ta-je</i>	Long
" " . . . .	<i>Kâ-ih</i>	Morgan
" " . . . .	<i>Ke-ee</i> (subclan)	Dorsey
Bird . . . .	<i>Wa-jinga-e-ta-je</i>	Long
" . . . .	<i>Lâ-tâ-dâ</i>	Morgan
" . . . .	<i>Wa-jeengathataji</i> (subclan)	Dorsey
White Crane . . . .	<i>Hun-guh</i>	Long
" " . . . .	<i>Hun-gâ</i> (medicine)	Morgan
" " . . . .	<i>Hangga</i>	Dorsey
Verdigris . . . .	<i>Kon-za</i>	Long
" . . . .	<i>Kunzâ</i> (Kaw)	Morgan
" . . . .	<i>Kaze</i> or <i>Kansas</i>	Dorsey
Deer-head . . . .	<i>Ta-pa-taj-je</i>	Long
" " . . . .	<i>Ta-pa</i>	Dorsey
Buffalo-head . . . .	<i>Ta-pa-eta-je</i>	Long
" " . . . .	<i>Tâ-pâ</i>	Morgan
" " . . . .	<i>Te-pa-eetaji</i> (subclan)	Dorsey
White Clay ? . . . .	<i>Mon-eka-goh-ha</i>	Long
Buffalo-tail . . . .	<i>Ta-sin-da</i>	Long
" " . . . .	<i>Te-sinde</i>	Dorsey
Red Dung . . . .	<i>Ing-gera-je-da</i>	Long
" " . . . .	<i>Ing-grâ-zhe-da</i>	Morgan
" " . . . .	<i>Eengthe-jeede</i>	Dorsey
Reptiles . . . .	<i>Wash-a-tung</i>	Long
" . . . .	<i>Eeshtasanda</i>	Dorsey
Thunder . . . .	<i>Ish-dâ-sun-da</i>	Morgan
" . . . .	<i>Eengtha</i> (subclan)	Dorsey
Black Shoulder (Buffalo)	<i>Eengka-sabe</i>	Dorsey
? . . . .	<i>Thatada</i>	Dorsey
Wolf? . . . .	<i>Mathingka-gaghe</i>	Dorsey

Hence we see that the Red Maize, Bear, Turtle, Bird, Buffalo-head, and Thunder, which are reckoned as clans by Long or Morgan or both, are described as subclans by Dorsey. It may be that in the interval between Long's or Morgan's visit to the Omahas and Dorsey's examination of the tribe these totemic divisions may have fallen from the rank of clans to that of subclans; but it is more probable

Apparent confusion between clans and subclans in some reports.

that Long and Morgan mistook (as they might easily do) subclans for clans, and that the more exact investigations of Dorsey revealed the error. The existence of subclans for purposes of marriage within the totemic clans is interesting and instructive, because it furnishes a fresh illustration of the strong tendency of totemic clans to subdivide into new divisions, which in time assume the rank of clans, while the original clans, from which they sprang, rise or sink to the condition of phratries.

The splitting or subdivision of the totemic animal is often apparently an economic expedient to enable people to eat most of the animal, while they renounce a part of it.

It is instructive to observe how often the device of splitting the totem has been applied by the Omahas to the buffalo, which formerly provided them with their principal means of subsistence. Thus among their totems are Buffalo Head, Buffalo Tail, and Black Shoulder of Buffalo; and members of the clans or subclans are accordingly forbidden, some to eat buffaloes' heads, others to eat buffaloes' tongues, others to eat buffaloes' sides, and others to eat buffalo calves while they are still red. I have already pointed out<sup>1</sup> that the practice of splitting a totem seems to be most commonly applied to an edible animal, the flesh of which is one of the staple foods of the tribe; and that the custom of thus splitting or subdividing a totemic animal into more or less minute parts is probably in many cases an economic expedient designed to quiet the scruples of the superstitious without debarring them altogether from participation in a food which they could ill spare, and which is indeed almost necessary to their subsistence. People thus salved their conscience by renouncing a small part of the animal, while they appeased their hunger by eating all the rest of it.

Rules of marriage and descent among the Omahas.

With regard to the rules of marriage and descent in the Omaha clans Morgan briefly tells us that they are the same as among the Ponkas; that is, no man is allowed to marry a woman of his own clan, children belong to the clan of their father, not of their mother, and both property and the office of sachem are hereditary in the clan.<sup>2</sup> Fuller details as to the marriage laws are given by Dorsey. From him we learn that a man is forbidden to marry any woman either of his father's or of his mother's clan; and that the

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 536 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 155.

same prohibition extends to the subclan of his father's mother, to the subclan of his father's mother's mother, to the subclan of his mother's mother, and to the subclan of his mother's mother's mother. Further, he may not marry a woman of the subclan to which the wife of his son, his nephew, or his grandson belongs; and he may not marry a woman of the subclan to which the husband of his daughter, his niece, or his granddaughter belongs.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the importance of the subclans or subgentes, as he calls them, Dorsey observes that "were it not for the institution of subgentes a man would be compelled to marry outside of his tribe, as all the women would be his kindred, owing to previous intermarriages between the ten gentes. But in any gens those on the other side of the gentile *unethe*, or fireplace, are not reckoned as full kindred, though they cannot intermarry."<sup>2</sup> On the other hand a man is allowed to marry a woman of his own totem, provided that she is a member of another tribe.<sup>3</sup>

Members of the various totem clans are distinguished from each other by their names and by the mode of wearing their hair. In regard to names we have seen that in other Indian tribes each totemic clan has its own names appropriated to it, which may not be used by members of other clans.<sup>4</sup> Similarly Omaha clans and subclans have each its own set of personal names which are bestowed on members of the clan but on no others. These names commonly refer in one way or other to the totem. For example, in the Elk clan there were certain sacred (*nikie*) names which were bestowed on boys according to the order of their birth in the family. Thus the first-born son was called the Soft Horn (of the young elk at its first appearance). The second was called Yellow Horn (of the young elk when a little older). The third was called the Branching Horns (of an elk three years old). The fourth was called the Four Horns (of an elk four years old). The fifth was called the Large Pronged Horns (of an elk six or seven years old). The sixth was called the Dark Horns (of a grown elk in summer).

Each clan and sub-clan has its personal names for its members, and these names commonly refer to the totem. Names of the Elk clan.

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 255-257.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 257.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 13 *sq.*, 34 *sq.*, 76 *sq.*

The seventh was called the Standing White Horns, in the distance (namely those of a grown elk in winter). Among the sacred names of men in the Elk clan are Elk, Young Elk, Standing Elk, White Elk, Big Elk, Full-grown Elk, Dark Breast (of an elk), Stumpy Tail (of an elk). Among the sacred names of women in the Elk clan are Elk and Tail Female.<sup>1</sup> In the Black Shoulder clan, which is a Buffalo clan, the first son is called "He who stirs up the water by jumping in it," with reference to a buffalo wallowing in the water; the second is called "Buffaloes swimming in large numbers across a stream"; the third is called by a name that refers to the changing colour on the hairs of a buffalo calf; the fourth is called Knobby Horns (of a young buffalo bull); and so on. Among the names for men in this clan are (Buffalo that) Walks last in the herd, Four (buffaloes) Walking, Black Tongue (of a buffalo), Bent Tail, Cloven Hoofs (of a buffalo), Little Horn (of a buffalo), and Skittish Buffalo Calf.<sup>2</sup> In the Black Bear subclan the first son is called Young Black Bear, the second Black Bear, the third Four Eyes (with references to the bear's two eyes and the two eye-like spots over them in a black bear), and the fourth Gray Foot.<sup>3</sup> In the Bird subclan the first son is called Blackbird, the second Red feathers on the base of the wings, the third White-eyed Blackbird, the fourth Dried Wing, the fifth Hawk, the sixth Gray Hawk, the seventh White Wings. Among the names of men in the Bird subclan are Red Wings, Standing Hawk, Gray Blackbird, White Blackbird, and Yellow Head (of a blackbird).<sup>4</sup> Among the names of men in the Turtle subclan are Ancestral Turtle, Turtle that flees not, Spotted Turtle with Red Eyes, (Turtle that) Has gone into the Lodge (or Shell), and "Heat makes (a Turtle) Emerge from the Mud."<sup>5</sup> In the Eagle subclan the firstborn son is called Dried Eagle, the second Pipe, the third Eaglet, the fourth Real Bald Eagle, the sixth Standing Bald Eagle, and the seventh "He (an Eagle) makes the Ground Shake by

Names of  
the Black  
Shoulder  
(Buffalo)  
clan.

Names of  
the Black  
Bear  
subclan.

Names of  
the Bird  
subclan.

Names of  
the Turtle  
subclan.

Names of  
the Eagle  
subclan.

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 227 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* pp. 231 sq.

<sup>3</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 237.

<sup>4</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 241.

Alighting on it." <sup>1</sup> In the Buffalo-tail clan some of the men's names are Young Buffalo Bull, (Buffalo) Bristling with Arrows, and "(Buffalo) Bull raises a Dust by Pawing the Ground." <sup>2</sup> In the Deer-head clan some of the birth names are Hoof of a Deer, Dark Chin of a Deer, "Deer Paws the Ground," and "Deer in the Distance Shows its Tail White Suddenly." <sup>3</sup> And similarly with the names of boys, men, and women in the other Omaha clans and subclans. <sup>4</sup>

Names of the Buffalo-tail clan.

Names of the Deer-head clan.

It is a law with the Omahas that there may not be more than one living person in a clan who bears any particular name. But when the bearer of a name dies or changes it, then that name may be given to any new-born child of the clan. This rule applies more strictly to the names of boys than of girls. <sup>5</sup>

No two living persons may bear the same name.

The style of wearing the hair which is characteristic of a clan or subclan is sometimes an imitation of the totem. Thus in the Black Shoulder clan, which is a Buffalo clan, the smaller boys have their hair cut in two locks like the horns of a buffalo. <sup>6</sup> People of the Hangga clan, which is also a Buffalo clan, wear their hair in a crest from ear to ear, and this is called by a name which refers to the back of a buffalo. <sup>7</sup> People of the Bird subclan leave a little hair in front, over the forehead, for a bill, and some at the back of the head, for the bird's tail, with much over each ear for the two wings. <sup>8</sup> And people of the Turtle subclan cut off all the hair of a boy's head except six locks; two are left on each side, one over the forehead, and one hanging down the back, in imitation of the legs, head, and tail of a turtle. <sup>9</sup>

Each clan or subclan has its characteristic mode of wearing the hair, which is sometimes an imitation of the totem.

Members of the various Omaha clans also perform certain rites and ceremonies, which illustrate the relation in which the people are supposed to stand to their totems. Thus in the Deer-head clan, on the fifth day after a birth, red spots are made at short intervals down the infant's back to imitate

Rites and ceremonies of the clans.

Birth ceremony of the Deer-head clan.

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* pp. 236, 240, 241 *sq.*, 243, 246 *sq.*, 248, 248 *sq.*, 250 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* pp. 227 *sq.*, note <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* pp. 229 *sq.*

<sup>7</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 235.

<sup>8</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 238.

<sup>9</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 240.

For other modes of wearing the hair, see *id.* pp. 225, 237, 242, 244.

a fawn. According to one account the members of the Deer-head clan all assemble to witness this ceremony and rub red on their hair and make red spots on their breasts.<sup>1</sup> The intention of the ceremony seems plainly to be to identify a new-born member of the clan with his totem the deer. A similar intention is expressed in a ceremony formerly observed at the death of a member of the Black Shoulder or Buffalo clan. The dying person, whether man or woman, was wrapped in a buffalo robe with the hair out, and his or her face was painted with the privileged decoration, which consists of two parallel lines painted across the forehead, two on each cheek, and two under the nose, one being above the upper lip and the other between the lower lip and the chin. Thus arrayed and decorated the dying man or woman was addressed as follows: "You are going to the animals (the buffaloes). You are going to rejoin your ancestors. You are going or, Your four souls are going, to the four winds. Be strong!"<sup>2</sup> Members of the *Hangga* clan, which is also a Buffalo clan, performed a like ceremony over one of their number at the point of death. They wrapped him in a buffalo robe with the hair out, painted his face with the traditional lines, and said to him: "You came hither from the animals. And you are going back thither. Do not face this way again. When you go, continue walking."<sup>3</sup> Taken in connection with the legends that these two Buffalo clans are descended from buffaloes,<sup>4</sup> these death ceremonies plainly point to a belief that dead members of the clans were transformed back into the ancestral animals, the buffaloes.

Further, members of the Omaha clans and subclans appear to have been credited with a power of magically controlling their totems for the good of the whole community. Thus at harvest time, when birds ate the corn, members of the Bird subclan used to chew corn and spit it over the field, believing that this prevented the birds from devouring the crop.<sup>5</sup> Again, when worms infested the corn,

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 245 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 94, 95.

<sup>5</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 238 *sq.*

Death ceremonies of two Buffalo clans.

Magical ceremonies for the control of the totems. Ceremonies of the Bird subclan and the Reptile clan.

members of the Reptile clan used to catch some of them, pound them up with a little corn into a soup, and eat it, thinking that after that the worms would leave the crop alone, at least for that season. Yet at ordinary times members of the Reptile clan were not allowed to touch worms.<sup>1</sup> Again, members of the *Kansas* clan, who are Wind People, flap blankets to start a breeze when the mosquitoes are troublesome.<sup>2</sup> Again, during a fog men of the Turtle subclan used to draw the figure of a turtle on the ground with its face to the south. On the head, tail, middle of the back, and on each leg were placed small pieces of a red breech-cloth with some tobacco. They imagined that this would make the fog disappear very soon.<sup>3</sup> These ceremonies imply that members of a totemic clan possess a magical control over their totem and are expected to exercise it for the common good. They thus resemble the *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australian tribes.<sup>4</sup> It is probable that similar magical ceremonies for the control of the totems would have been found practised by many other totemic tribes of North America, if only these tribes had had the good fortune to be described by an observer of the calibre of the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey.

Ceremonies of the Wind clan and of the Turtle subclan.

A ceremony which appears to have been essentially akin to the foregoing was performed by members of the Omaha Elk clan whenever the first thunder was heard in spring. Then the Elk people called to their servants the Bear people, who repaired to the sacred tent of the Elk clan. There one of the Bear people opened the sacred bag, took out the sacred pipe, and handed it to one of the Elk men with some tobacco from the elk bladder. Before the pipe was smoked the Thunder god was addressed; and at the conclusion of the ceremony the rain was supposed to stop and the Bear people departed to their homes. The address to the Thunder god has not been recorded, but in the kindred tribe of the Ponkas it ran thus: "Well, venerable man, by your striking (with your club) you are

Ceremony performed by the Elk clan when the first thunder was heard in spring.

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. i. pp. 104 *sqq.*, 183 *sqq.*, 214 *sqq.*

frightening us, your grandchildren, who are here. Depart on high."<sup>1</sup> This ceremony implies that the Elk clan was for some reason supposed to be able to stop thunder.

On the whole, Omaha totemism seems to comprise that identification of the man with his totem which is of the essence of totemism. The lack of evidence as to a similar identification in other American tribes is probably due to the inattention of observers.

On the whole, the Omaha traditions of descent from some of their totemic animals, the ceremonies performed at the birth and death of members of certain totemic clans, the adoption of personal names referring to the appearance or habits of the totemic animals, the wearing of the hair in imitation of the creatures, and the magical ceremonies performed for their control by the clansmen, all point clearly to that identification of the clanspeople with their totems which, as I have repeatedly indicated, appears to be of the essence of totemism. It is all the more remarkable to discover this fundamental principle of totemism carried into practice by a single tribe of American Indians, while among the tribes which surround it on all sides little or no trace of such an identification of the man with his totem has been reported. We may suspect that the lack of evidence on this head is due rather to the inattention of the observers than to the absence of the thing. Similarly it is highly probable that many of the features of Australian totemism which are reported only of the Central tribes were shared by many of the others, though they have not been recorded among them. He who studies reports of the habits and customs of savages has constantly to bear in mind that the mere absence of evidence as to the existence of an institution hardly raises any presumption of the absence of the institution itself, and that nothing is so unsafe as to argue from the one to the other. In all investigations of savage life the mental capacity, intelligence, tact, and sympathy of the observer are of the first importance; and as the union of these qualities is rare, so the number of first-rate observers of savages is few indeed. Where these personal qualities of head and heart are wanting, no liberal subvention of money, no costly apparatus, no elaborate machinery will supply their place.

Further, the Omahas possessed certain sacred objects

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 227. As to sacred tent,

bag, pipe, and elk bladder, which are referred to in the text, see below, p. 107.

which were associated with their totemic clans. One of these was a sacred pole of cotton-wood about eight feet long, which according to tradition was cut more than two hundred years ago, before the separation of the Omahas, the Ponkas, and the Iowas. The Ponkas indeed still claim a share in it. A scalp is fastened to the top of the pole, and round about the middle of it is wound swan's down, which is itself covered with cotton-wood bark and a piece of buffalo hide. This sacred pole used to be greased every year when the Omahas were about to return from the summer hunt. They feared that if they neglected to grease the pole, the snow would lie deep on the ground when next they went out hunting. Though it has a scalp attached to it, the pole has nothing to do with war. Yet any warrior who had taken a scalp might dedicate it to the pole. This sacred pole was committed to the care of the *Hangga* clan, which was a Buffalo clan. They kept it in a sacred tent decorated on the outside with corn-stalks. Another sacred object which this clan had charge of was the skin of a white buffalo cow. This also they kept in a sacred tent adorned in like manner with corn-stalks.<sup>1</sup>

The Elk clan has likewise a sacred tent, in which certain holy objects are preserved with religious care. In this tent there is a sacred bag containing the sacred clam-shell (*tihaba*), the bladder of a male elk filled with tobacco, and the sacred pipe of the clan, the tribal war-pipe, made of red pipe-stone. The holy clam-shell is kept in a bag of buffalo hide which is never placed on the ground. In ancient days it was carried on the back of a youth, but in modern times, when a man could not be induced to carry it, it was put with its buffalo-skin bag into the skin of a coyote, and a woman took it on her back. The bag is fastened with the sinew of a male elk and may only be opened by a member of the Bear subclan of the *Thatada* clan.<sup>2</sup>

Lastly, the *Hangga* clan, which is a Buffalo clan, owns two sacred pipes, though it has committed them to the

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 233-235.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 226. As to the sacred clam-shell see also Dr. James's account summarised above, p. 90 note <sup>3</sup>.

Sacred objects associated with the totemic clans. The sacred pole.

The sacred clam-shell and the sacred pipe of the Elk clan.

The sacred pipes of the *Hangga* clan.

custody of the Black Shoulders, another Buffalo clan. The pipes are made of red pipe-stone and decorated with porcupine quills. On ceremonial occasions the two pipes are brought out and solemnly smoked. They may only be filled by an *Eeshtasanda* man, who knows the ritual and recites certain ancient words as he cleans the pipe-bowl, certain other words when he fills it, and so on. These words may not be heard by other people, so the pipe-cleaner turns everybody out of the lodge while he is engaged in the discharge of his solemn duty. When the pipes have been duly cleaned and filled, they are lit by a member of the *Hangga* clan, and are then passed round the chiefs assembled in council on the affairs of the tribe. Both pipes are smoked by the chiefs. In smoking they blow the smoke upwards, saying, "Here, Wakanda, is the smoke." They say that they do this because Wakanda gave them the pipes and he rules over them. Though at present there are only two sacred pipes, no less than seven clans are said to possess such objects.<sup>1</sup>

Smoking to  
Wakanda.

Sometimes a man marries his deceased wife's sister at the express wish of the dying woman, who may say to her brother, "Pity your brother-in-law. Let him marry my sister." The Omahas observe the law of the levirate: a man marries the widow of his "real or potential brother" in order to become the "little father" of his brother's children.<sup>2</sup>

Marriage  
with a  
deceased  
wife's  
sister.  
The  
Levirate.

The widespread custom which forbids all social inter-

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 221-224. As to Wakanida, a supernatural being whose name is derived from *wakan*, "mysterious," "wonderful," "incomprehensible," "holy," see J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 366 sq., 372 sqq. In S. R. Riggs's *Dakota-English Dictionary* (Washington, 1890), pp. 507 sq., *wakan* is defined as "spiritual, sacred, consecrated; wonderful, incomprehensible; said also of women at the menstrual period"; and the following explanatory note is added: "Mysterious: incomprehensible; in a peculiar state, which,

from not being understood, it is dangerous to meddle with; hence the application of this word to women at the menstrual period, and from hence, too, arises the feeling among the wilder Indians that if the Bible, the Church, the Missionary, etc., are *wakan*, they are to be avoided, or shunned, not as being bad or dangerous, but as *wakan*. The word seems to be the only suitable one for *holy*, *sacred*, etc., but the common acceptance of it, given above, makes it quite misleading to the heathen." *Wakan* may best be translated by "tabooed." See *The Golden Bough*,<sup>2</sup> i. 343.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 258. Compare E. James,

course between a man and his wife's parents, and also between a woman and her husband's parents, was strictly observed by the Omahas, as well as by other tribes of the Siouan or Dacotan stock. Thus we read that "it is a great singularity in the manners of the Omawhaws, that neither the father-in-law nor mother-in-law will hold any direct conversation with their son-in-law; nor will he, on any occasion, or under any consideration, converse immediately with them, although no ill-will exists between them; they will not, on any account, mention each other's name in company, nor look in each other's faces; any conversation that passes between them is conducted through the medium of some other person. . . . This extraordinary formality is carried to a great length, and is very rigidly observed. If a person enters a dwelling in which his son-in-law is seated, the latter turns his back, covers his head with his robe, and avails himself of the first opportunity to leave the presence. If a person visit his wife, during her residence at the lodge of her father, the latter averts himself, and conceals his head with his robe, and his hospitality is extended circuitously by means of his daughter, by whom the pipe is transferred to her husband to smoke. Communications or queries intended for the son-in-law are addressed aloud to the daughter, who receives the replies of her husband. The same formality is observed by the mother-in-law; if she wishes to present him with food, it is invariably handed to the daughter for him, or if she happens to be absent for the moment it is placed on the ground, and she retires from the lodge that he may take it up and eat it. A ten years' separation will not change this custom. The Pawnees have no such formality, and on that account are said to be great fools. . . . The more distinguished and respectable the parties are, the more rigidly is this rule observed; and if either of the parties should be treated otherwise, the departure from the observance would be regarded as a mark of disrespect for a trifling fellow."<sup>1</sup> The same rule of avoidance extends

Custom of avoidance between a man and his wife's parents and between a woman and her husband's parents.

*Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), i. 222 sq. By "potential brother" Dorsey probably means what is otherwise called a collateral or

tribal brother.

<sup>1</sup> E. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, i. 232-234.

to a wife's grandmother ; a man does not speak to his wife's grandmother ; he and she are ashamed to do so.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing accounts, it will be observed, speak only of the avoidance of a man by his wife's parents or grandmother. But among the Omahas a wife was similarly debarred from social intercourse with her husband's father ; for Dorsey tells us that "in like manner a woman cannot speak directly to her husband's father under ordinary circumstances. They must resort to the medium of a third party, the woman's husband or child. But if the husband and child be absent, the woman or her father-in-law is obliged to make the necessary inquiry."<sup>2</sup>

Similar rules of avoidance between a woman and her husband's father, but especially between a man and his wife's mother, are observed by other tribes of the Siouan or Dacotan stock. Thus among the Assinneboins or Asiniboins, another Siouan tribe, "the names of the wife's parents are never pronounced by the husband ; to do so would excite the ridicule of the whole camp. The husband and the father-in-law never look on each other if they can avoid it, nor do they enter the same lodge. In like manner the wife never addresses her father-in-law."<sup>3</sup> Tanner tells us how he entered an Assinneboin village with an Assinneboin Indian. "When we entered it," says he, "I followed him immediately to his lodge. As I entered after him I saw the old man and woman cover their heads with their blankets, and my companion immediately entered a small lodge, merely large enough to admit one, and to conceal himself from the remainder of the family. Here he remained, his food being handed to him by his wife ; but though secluded from sight, he maintained, by conversation, some intercourse with those without. When he wished to pass out of the lodge his wife gave notice to her parents, and they concealed their heads, and again, in the same manner, when he came in. This formality is strictly observed by the married men among the Assinneboins, and I believe

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *l.c.*

<sup>3</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 225.

Similarly a woman must avoid her husband's father.

A similar custom of avoidance between a man and his wife's parents is observed by the Assinneboins.

among all the Bwoi-nug, or Dah-ko-tah, as they call themselves. It is known to exist among the Omowhows of the Missouri. It affects not only the intercourse between men and the parents of their wives, but that with their aunts and uncles; and it is the business of all parties alike to avoid seeing each other. If a man enters a dwelling in which his son-in-law is seated, the latter conceals his face until he departs. While the young men remain with the parents of their wives, they have a little separate lodge within, or a part divided off by suspending mats or skins; and into this little apartment the wife retires at night; by day she is the organ of communication with those without. A man rarely, if ever, mentions the name of his father-in-law, and it is considered highly indecorous and disrespectful for him to do so. This custom does not exist in any shape among the Ojibbeways, and they look upon it as a very foolish and troublesome one."<sup>1</sup>

A similar custom prevails among the Ponkas, another tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock. A Ponka chief has been seen to throw his blanket over his head, turn round very quickly, and go away into another part of the house, when he happened to enter a room in which his mother-in-law was seated.<sup>2</sup> And as to the Dacotas proper, we are told that "somehow shame has come into the *tipi* [tent], and the man is not allowed to address or to look towards his wife's mother, especially, and the woman is shut off from familiar intercourse with her husband's father and others, and etiquette prohibits them from speaking the names of their relatives by marriage. This custom is called *wišten kiyapi* from *istela*, to be ashamed. How it grew is not apparent. But none of their customs is more tenacious of life than this. And no family law is more binding."<sup>3</sup> Another writer, speaking of the Dacotas, says: "The father-in-law must not call the son-in-law by name; neither must the mother-in-law: and the son-in-law must not call

Similar customs of avoidance among the Ponkas and Dacotas.

<sup>1</sup> *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, prepared for the press by Edwin James, M.D. (London, 1830) p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the*

*Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 262 sq.

<sup>3</sup> S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Washington, 1893), p. 204 (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. ix.).

his father-in-law or mother-in-law by name. There are also many others in the line of relationship who cannot call each other by name. I have heard of instances where the forbidden name has been called, and the offender was punished by having all of his or her clothes cut off of their backs and thrown away."<sup>1</sup>

Similar  
customs of  
avoidance  
among the  
Tetons  
and the  
Arapahos.

Among the Tetons, a Siouan or Dacotan tribe, a man may not look his mother-in-law in the face, nor may his brother do so, and she may not look at them. If a man sees his mother-in-law, he must put his robe over his head and shoulders and pass by on the other side of the road; also he must sit on the other side of the lodge. In like manner a woman dare not look at or address her husband's father. A Teton man who lives with his wife's kindred is called "a buried man" (*wi-cha wo-kha*), and a woman who lives with her husband's kindred is called "a buried woman."<sup>2</sup> "The restrictions as to intercourse between certain relations, which are so widespread in North America, exist also among the Arapaho. A man and his mother-in-law may not look at or speak to each other. If, however, he gives her a horse, he may speak to her and see her. The same restrictions exist between father and daughter-in-law as between mother and son-in-law, say the Arapaho (though perhaps they are less rigid)."<sup>3</sup>

The rule of  
avoidance  
seems to  
apply more  
strictly to  
a man and  
his mother-  
in-law than  
to a woman  
and her  
father-in-  
law. This  
may be  
because  
incest of a

It deserves to be noticed that in these accounts, while much is said of the mutual avoidance between a man and his wife's parents, comparatively little, in some cases nothing, is said of the mutual avoidance between a woman and her husband's parents. From this we may perhaps infer that the rule which debars a man from social intercourse with his wife's parents, especially with her mother, is more stringent than the rule which debars a woman from social intercourse with her husband's parents, especially with his father. The most probable explanation of all such rules of

<sup>1</sup> Philander Prescott, "Contributions to the History, Customs, and Opinions of the Dakota Tribe," in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, ii. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Teton Folk-lore," *American Anthropologist*,

ii. (1889) p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, pp. 10 sq. (*Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xviii. Part i. New York, 1902). The Arapahos are an Algonkin, not a Siouan, tribe.

avoidance appears to be, as we saw,<sup>1</sup> that they were adopted in order to prevent incest between persons who were deemed too nearly related by marriage, the avoidance between persons of opposite sexes being extended by false analogy to include avoidance between persons of the same sex who stood in a similar relation to each other. If this view is correct, it perhaps enables us to perceive why the rule of avoidance should apply more strictly to a man and his mother-in-law than to a woman and her father-in-law. For we can hardly doubt that incest with a mother was condemned as a social offence before incest with daughter fell under a similar condemnation, if for no other reason than that the physical relationship of a mother to her son must have been known long before the relationship of a father to his daughter was recognised. Hence the incest of a son with his mother has probably always excited even deeper horror than the incest of a daughter with her father; and if that is so, it is natural that when the conception of incest was extended so as to include persons related by marriage as well as by blood, the incest of a man with his mother-in-law should rank as a crime of deeper dye than the incest of a woman with her father-in-law, and that accordingly even more stringent precautions should be adopted to guard against its commission. We have met with some tribes which allow a man to marry his own daughter,<sup>2</sup> and with others which allow a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter-in-law, his son's wife;<sup>3</sup> but we have as yet met with none which allows a mother to marry or have sexual intercourse with her own son. However, it is reported that among the Tinneh Indians of North-West America sons sometimes cohabit with and even marry their mothers;<sup>4</sup> and among the Wahehe of German East Africa a man must sleep with his mother-in-law before he is allowed to cohabit with her daughter.<sup>5</sup> The probable reason of this last singular custom will appear when we come to deal with the Navahoes.<sup>6</sup>

The Omahas, in common with other tribes of the Siouan

<sup>1</sup> Above, vol. i. pp. 285 note<sup>1</sup>, 503.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 40, 118.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 225, 226.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 362 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. H. Cole, "Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 312.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 247.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Omahas.

or Dacotan stock, possess the classificatory system of relationship. In its main outlines the system was detected among the Omahas in 1819-1820 by the members of Major Long's expedition, who have bequeathed to us a valuable account of the tribe. That account is based chiefly on information supplied by the Agent for the Indians of the Missouri, Major John Dougherty, to whose integrity of character, humanity, and unequalled familiarity with the Indian character the painter Catlin bears high testimony.<sup>1</sup> The account of the Omahas embodied in the report of Major Long's expedition is an honourable monument of this intelligent and upright man. He seems to have been the first to recognise in its main outlines the classificatory system of relationship. His account of it, redacted by Dr. Edwin James, who compiled the narrative of the expedition, runs as follows: "The designations by which the Omahaws distinguish their various degrees of consanguinity are somewhat different in meaning from ours. Children universally address their father's brother by the title of *father*, and their mother's brother by that of *uncle*; their mother's sister is called *mother*, and their father's sister *aunt*. . . . The children of brothers and sisters address each other by the titles of brother and sister. . . . A man applies the title of *We-hun-guh*, or sister-in-law, to his wife's sister, until he takes her as his wife; he also calls his wife's brother's daughter *Wehunguh*, and may in like manner take her to wife: thus the aunt and niece marry the same man. A man distinguishes his wife's brother by the title of *Tahong*, or brother-in-law, and his son also by the same designation. He calls the wife of his brother-in-law *Cong-ha*, or mother-in-law. A woman calls her husband's brother *Wish-e-a*, or brother-in-law, and speaks of his children as her own. Her husband's sister she distinguishes by the title of relationship, *Wish-e-cong*, or sister-in-law. Men who marry sisters address each other by the title of brother. All women who marry the same individual, even though not previously related, apply

Dougherty's account of the system.

<sup>1</sup> Geo. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), ii.

25 sq. Catlin speaks of Dougherty as "this stern and uncompromising friend of the red man, and of justice, who has taken them close to his heart."

to each other the title of sister. Remote degrees of consanguineous alliance are distinguished by their various appellatives, and are universally acknowledged."<sup>1</sup> The same writer tells us that among the Omahas "even a very remote degree of consanguinity is an insuperable barrier to the marriage union."<sup>2</sup>

At a later time the Omaha system of relationship was more fully investigated by L. H. Morgan. From his great work the following cardinal terms of Omaha relationships are derived.<sup>3</sup> In the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother "my father" (*In-dâ-de*) and his mother's sister "my mother" (*E-nâ-hâ*). But he calls his mother's brother "my uncle" (*Wee-nâ-gee*) and his father's sister "my aunt" (*Wee-tee-me*). In his own generation he calls his cousins, the children of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" (*Wee-zhe-thâ*), "my younger brother" (*Wee-son-gâ*), "my elder sister" (*Wee-ton-ga*), "my younger sister" (*Wee-ton-ga*), according to the sex and age of the person referred to. In the generation below his own a man calls his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Wee-nî-se*) and "my daughter" (*We-zhun-ga*). But his sister's son and daughter he calls "my nephew" (*Wee-toans-kâ*) and "my niece" (*We-te-zhâ*). Conversely in the generation below her own a woman calls her brother's son and daughter "my nephew" (*Wee-toans-kâ*) and "my niece" (*We-te-zhâ*); but her sister's son and daughter she calls "my son" (*Wee-zhin-ga*) and "my daughter" (*We-zhun-ga*).

Thus far the classificatory system of the Omahas is perfectly regular and normal. But in one respect it presents a remarkable deviation from the ordinary pattern of the system; and this deviation it shares with other Siouan or Dacotan tribes of the Missouri region, though not with the Sioux or Dacotas proper. The deviation consists in the peculiar position assigned to cousins, who are the children of a brother and sister respectively. Under the usual

Morgan's account of the classificatory system of relationship among the Omahas.

Anomalous relationships assigned to cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively.

<sup>1</sup> E. James, *Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), i. 231 sq.

<sup>2</sup> E. James, *op. cit.* i. 213.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-*

*sanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq. Compare the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 253-255.

form of the classificatory system the children of a brother and a sister respectively are cousins to each other ; but among the Omahas and other Dacotan tribes of the Missouri they are uncle and nephew to each other, if they are males, and mother and daughter to each other if they are females.<sup>1</sup> Precisely the same treatment of such cousins is met with, as we saw, among certain Algonkin tribes such as the Miamis and Shawnees.<sup>2</sup> Thus an Omaha calls his male cousin, the son of his father's sister, not "my cousin," but "my nephew" (*We-toans-kâ*) ; and conversely he calls his male cousin, the son of his mother's brother, not "my cousin" but "my uncle" (*Wee-nâ-gee*).<sup>3</sup> A woman calls her female cousin, the daughter of her father's sister, not "my cousin," but "my daughter" (*Wee-zhun-ga*) ; and conversely she calls her female cousin, the daughter of her mother's brother, not "my cousin" but "my mother" (*E-nâ-hâ*).<sup>4</sup> So much for the cases where the cousins in question are either both males or both females. Now for the cases in which they are one male and one female. A man calls his female cousin, the daughter of his father's sister, not "my cousin" but "my niece" (*We-te-zhâ*) ; and conversely she calls him, not "my cousin" but "my uncle" (*Wee-nâ-gee*).<sup>5</sup> A man calls his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, not "my cousin" but "my mother" (*E-nâ-hâ*), and conversely she calls him, not "my cousin" but "my son" (*We-zhun-ga* or *We-zhin-ga* according as he is older or younger than she).<sup>6</sup> In all these cases, as I have already pointed out,<sup>7</sup> the child of the brother ranks as senior to the child of the sister : if the two are males, then the son of the brother ranks as "uncle" and the son of the sister ranks as "nephew" of his cousin ; if the two are females, then the daughter of the brother ranks as "mother" and the daughter of the sister ranks as "daughter" of her cousin. If the two are one male and one female, then the male, who

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 178 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 70, 74.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 322, 323, 331, 332.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 325, 333, 334.

<sup>5</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 324, 325, 331, 332.

<sup>6</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 323, 333, 334.

<sup>7</sup> Above, p. 71.

is the son of the brother, ranks as "uncle" of his female cousin, who is the daughter of the sister; and on the other hand the male, who is the son of the sister, ranks as "son" of his female cousin, who is the daughter of the brother. Thus in all cases a preference is shewn for the male line over the female.

It seems probable, as Morgan thought, that this remarkable treatment of cousins, the children of a brother and a sister, represents an older and ruder stage in the development of the classificatory system than the stage at which such relations are placed, as among ourselves, in the rank of cousins.<sup>1</sup> If that is so, we conclude that the Omahas and other Siouan or Dacotan tribes of the Missouri, as well as certain Algonkin tribes, have preserved the classificatory system in a more primitive form than the Iroquois and the Sioux or Dacotas proper, who, like ourselves, treat as cousins the children of a brother and sister.<sup>2</sup>

This treatment of cousins seems to represent an early stage in the history of the classificatory system.

### § 10. *Totemism among the other Dacotan Tribes of the Missouri*

The other Siouan or Dacotan tribes of the Missouri also had totemism, but their systems are far less fully known than that of the Omahas, and accordingly they may be dismissed more rapidly.

Other Siouan tribes.

Thus the Ponkas or Punkas, whose dialect is akin to that of the Omahas,<sup>3</sup> were found by L. H. Morgan to be organised in eight totemic clans as follows:—

Totemic clans of the Ponkas according to L. H. Morgan.

- |                  |                 |              |           |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------|
| 1. Grizzly Bear. | 2. Many People. | 3. Elk.      | 4. Skunk. |
| 5. Buffalo.      | 6. Snake.       | 7. Medicine. | 8. Ice.   |

Marriage within the clan is prohibited. Descent is in the male line, children belonging to the clan of their father. The office of sachem is hereditary in the clan.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 177, 179 sq.

<sup>2</sup> As to the Iroquois, see above, p. 28; as to the terms for cousins (the children of the father's sister or of the mother's brother) among the Sioux

or Dacotas, see L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 322-325, 331-334.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 177.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 155.

J. Owen Dorsey's account of the totemic system of the Ponkas.

According to the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, who, as a missionary to the tribe for several years, had special opportunities of studying its customs, the social organisation of the Ponkas is much more elaborate.<sup>1</sup> The tribe is divided into two moieties, one called Cheejoo and the other Wajaje; the Cheejoo moiety is again subdivided into two phratries, namely the Thunder or Fire phratry and the Wind-makers or War phratry; and the Wajaje moiety is in like manner subdivided into two moieties, namely the Earth phratry and the Water (?) phratry. Each phratry is again subdivided into two clans, and some of the clans are further subdivided into subclans. The whole may be exhibited in tabular form as on the opposite page.

Among the Ponkas, as among the Omahas, many of the totems and taboos refer to the buffalo, which furnished the tribe with their chief means of subsistence.

From this it appears that the clans and subclans of the Ponkas, with their taboos, agree to a considerable extent with those of the Omahas. It is interesting in both tribes to observe how many of the clans and the taboos have reference to buffaloes, which furnished these tribes with their principal means of subsistence. Similarly among the Herero and other pastoral tribes of Africa, who have the totemic system, a large proportion of the totemic taboos have reference to the cattle.<sup>2</sup> This observation should warn us against falling into the common error of treating totemism as a religion or worship of animals and plants. While it is true that the system invests animals, plants, and other natural objects with a degree of awe and mystery which seem strange to us, this superstitious respect never amounts to worship in the proper sense of the word so long as totemism is totemism. It is only when totemism proper has fallen into decay that a religion in the strict sense of the word may grow out of its ruins.

Tribal circle of the Ponkas.

Like the Omahas, the Ponkas camped in a circle, one half of the circle being assigned to the Cheejoo moiety and the other half to the Wajaje; and each phratry and each clan had its fixed place in the circle.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 228 sq. I have changed Dorsey's spelling. See above, p. 93 note <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 358, 362 sq.

<sup>3</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 228.

The Ponkas have, with merely dialectical variations in the terms, the classificatory system of relationship in the same form as the Omahas. The agreement extends to the

The classificatory system of relationship among the Ponkas.

TOTEMIC SYSTEM OF THE PONKAS

Moieties.	Phratries.	Clans.	Subclans.
Cheejoo	Thunder Fire or	1. Legs stretched out (in reference to a dead beast)	1. Wears-tails ( <i>i.e.</i> locks of hair) : Does-not-touch-charcoal : Does-not-touch-verdigris. 2. Does-not-touch-blood. 1. Does-not-touch-a-buffalo-tail. 2. Does-not-eat-buffalo-tongues. 3. Does-not-eat-deer-and-elk. 1. Real Ponka, Keepers-of-a-sacred-pipe. 2. Grey Ponka. 1. Buffalo-tail : Does-not-eat-buffalo-tongues : Does-not-eat-a-very-young-huffalo-calf. 2. Does-not-touch-a-buffalo-head or skull. 1. Dark Osage : Keepers-of-a-sacred-pipe : Does-not-touch-verdigris : Does-not-touch-charcoal. 2. Grey Osage : Does-not-touch-serpents. 3. Owl (now extinct). 1. Does-not-touch-a-buffalo-head (or skull). 2. Does-not-touch-a-buffalo-calf. 3. Does-not-touch-the-yellow-hide-of-a-buffalo-calf. 4. Does-not-eat-buffalo-tongues.
		2. Touch not the skin of a black bear	
	Wind-makers or War	3. Wildcat	
		4. Bald Human Head (Elk people)	
Wajaje	Earth	5. Medicine: Does-not-touch buffalo-tails (Buffalo people)	
		6. Dark Buffalo	
	Water (?)	7. Wajaje, Osage	
		8. Reddish-yellow Buffalo <sup>1</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> The Ponka name is *nuqc*, which, says Dorsey, is miscalled *nuvc*, "ice." Hence it would seem that the name of the eighth clan in Morgan's list (above,

p. 117) is a misnomer. In this clan (Reddish-yellow Buffalo) the subclans are uncertain, but the four taboo names exist as in the table.

treatment of cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively.<sup>1</sup>

The Iowas,  
another  
Siouan  
tribe.

Their  
totemic  
clans and  
phratries.

Subdivision  
of the clans  
into sub-  
clans with  
secondary  
totems  
derived  
from the  
primary.

Iowa  
traditions  
of the  
descent  
of the clans  
from their  
totemic  
animals.

The Iowas, another Siouan or Dacotan tribe of the Missouri, lived in a large village, cultivated maize and beans, and trafficked with traders from St. Louis in the skins of beavers, otters, raccoons, deer, and bears.<sup>2</sup> They were divided into two phratries; each phratry was subdivided into four or five clans; and each clan was again subdivided into subclans. In the tribal circle each phratry camped by itself in one of the semicircles. The table on the opposite page exhibits the Iowa phratries, clans, and subclans, as these were ascertained by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey.<sup>3</sup>

In this list the names of the subclans compared with those of the clans seem to shew very clearly that among the Iowas, as among so many other totemic tribes, the clans have a tendency to split into subclans with secondary totems derived from the primary. Thus we may suppose that the Black Bear clan has split up into the subclans Black Bear with a White Spot, Black Bear with a Red Nose, etc.; that the Wolf clan has split up into the subclans White Wolf, Black Wolf, etc.; that the Eagle clan has split up into the subclans Golden Eagle, Grey Eagle, etc.; that the Elk clan has split up into the subclans Big Elk, Young Elk, etc.; and similarly with all the rest.

The Iowas have a tradition that the Bear clan and the Wolf clan used to live underground in the form of bears and wolves respectively, and that the Eagle and Pigeon clans came to earth in the shape of birds. They say, too, that the Owl clan came out of a hollow tree near the Red Bank; that the Snake clan came out of the bank near the water; and that the Beaver clan issued forth from a little

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 612 sq.

<sup>3</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 238 sq. Morgan gives a list of eight existing Iowa clans and one

extinct clan (*Ancient Society*, p. 156). It agrees perfectly with Dorsey's, except that it does not indicate the distribution of the clans into phratries and their subdivision into subclans. I subjoin his list for comparison:—  
1. Wolf. 2. Bear. 3. Cow Buffalo.  
4. Elk. 5. Eagle. 6. Pigeon.  
7. Snake. 8. Owl;

and an extinct Beaver clan.

TOTEMIC SYSTEM OF THE IOWAS

Phratries.	Clans.	Subclans.
First	1. Black bear	1. Large black bear with a white spot on the chest. 2. A black bear with a red nose (literally, Nose White). 3. Young black bear, a short black bear. 4. A small reddish black bear, motherless ; it has little hair and runs swiftly.
	2. Wolf . .	1. White-wolf. 2. Black-wolf. 3. Grey-wolf. 4. Coyote.
	3. Eagle and Thunder-being	1. Real or Golden Eagle. 2. Ancestral or Grey eagle. 3. Spotted-eagle. 4. Bald eagle.
	4. Elk (now extinct)	1. Big-elk. 2. Young-elk (?). 3. Elk-somewhat-long. 4. Young-elk (?).
	5. Beaver <sup>1</sup> .	1. Big-beaver. 2. (Meaning of name unknown). 3. Young-beaver. 4. Water-person.
Second	6. Pigeon .	1. Big-raccoon. 2. Young-raccoon. 3. Young-pigeon. 4. Prairie-chicken, grouse.
	7. Buffalo .	1. Big-buffalo-bull. 2. Young-buffalo-bull. 3. Young-buffalo-bull-that-is-distended (?). 4. Buffalo-calf.
	8. Snake (now extinct)	1. Yellow-snake (Rattlesnake). 2. Real-snake (species of snake shorter than the rattlesnake). 3. Copperhead-snake (?). 4. Grey-snake.
	9. Owl (now extinct)	The names of the subclans are forgotten.

<sup>1</sup> The survivors of the Beaver clan have joined the Beaver clan of the Oto tribe.

stream in an island of the river.<sup>1</sup> These legends all point to a belief that the human clanspeople are descended from their totemic animals.

Marriage,  
descent,  
and rela-  
tionship.

The rules of marriage, descent, and inheritance are the same among the Iowas as among the Ponkas,<sup>2</sup> and they have the classificatory system of relationship in the same form.<sup>3</sup>

The  
Otoes and  
Missouris :  
their  
totemic  
clans.

The Otoes and Missouris are two Siouan or Dacotan tribes of the Missouri valley who have long coalesced into one. According to Morgan, the united tribes were divided into eight totemic clans as follows :—<sup>4</sup>

- |           |            |                 |         |
|-----------|------------|-----------------|---------|
| 1. Wolf.  | 2. Bear.   | 3. Cow Buffalo. | 4. Elk. |
| 5. Eagle. | 6. Pigeon. | 7. Snake.       | 8. Owl. |

Thus the clans agreed in their totems as well as in their number with those of the Iowas. Like them, too, they were exogamous, no man being allowed to marry a woman of his own clan. But unlike the clans of the Iowas, Ponkas, and Omahas, the clans of the Otoes and Missouris are hereditary in the female line, children belonging to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. The office of sachem is also hereditary in the clan, and therefore in the female line. Taken together with the case of the Mandans, another Siouan or Dacotan tribe who retain maternal descent, the custom of the Otoes and Missouris raises a presumption that all the Siouan or Dacotan tribes had

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. William Hamilton, quoted by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "The Social Organization of the Siouan Tribes," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iv. (1891) pp. 338-340. These legends were originally published by Mr. Hamilton in 1848 in a letter to the children of Presbyterian Sunday Schools. Mr. Hamilton is Owen Dorsey's authority for the list of Iowa clans given above.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II, pp. 293 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 156. The list of Oto clans given

by J. Owen Dorsey agrees with that of Morgan, except that it inserts a Beaver clan and does not distinguish the Black Bear from the Wolf clan. Of the Missouri clans Dorsey ascertained the names of three, namely the Black Bear, Eagle or Thunderbird, and the Elk. Of these the Eagle or Thunderbird clan is subdivided into four subclans, namely Thunderbird, Eagle, Hawk, and A-people-who-eat-no-small-birds-which-have-been-killed-by-larger-ones. This last subclan is said to be a recent addition. See J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 240.

formerly mother-kin instead of father-kin, and that the change from the one line of descent to the other, wherever it has taken place among them, has been comparatively recent.<sup>1</sup>

The Otoes have the classificatory system of relationship in a form which agrees with that of the Omahas.<sup>2</sup>

Classifi-  
catory  
system.

Another tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock who had totemism were the Kansas or Kaw. Their language is most nearly akin to that of the Osages. According to Morgan, the Kansas or Kaw were among the wildest of the American Indians, yet withal an intelligent and interesting people. They long resisted all attempts to convert them to the Christian religion, of which the trappers and whisky-dealers in their neighbourhood did not perhaps afford an altogether shining example.<sup>3</sup> But they were not nomads. When the explorers Lewis and Clark visited them in 1804, they inhabited two villages on the Kansas River, to which they had been compelled to retreat from the Missouri by the inroads of the Sauks.<sup>4</sup> The members of Major Long's expedition in 1819 found the Kansas inhabiting a large village or town of a hundred and twenty houses on the Kansas River. The houses were circular, built of wood, thatched with mats and bark and covered completely over with earth. In the middle of the house was the fireplace, and raised bedsteads ran round the walls, which were hung with neatly-made reed-mats. In addition to the flesh of the buffalo, which they hunted till the vast herds of that useful animal were extinguished by the reckless improvidence of the white man, the Kansas subsisted on maize, beans, pumpkins, musk-melons, and water-melons. The work of cultivation was done by the women.<sup>5</sup>

The  
Kansas  
or Kaw,  
another  
Siouan  
tribe.

Their  
houses and  
mode of  
subsistence.

The Kansas or Kaw were visited in 1859 by L. H.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 155, 156.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 156; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 653 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Expedition under*

*the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905) i. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains under the Command of Major S. H. Long* (London, 1823), i. 110 sqq. The tribe is here called the Konzas.

The  
totemic  
clans of the  
Kansas.

Morgan,<sup>1</sup> who found them divided into fourteen totemic and exogamous clans as follows:—

- |                   |              |             |                   |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1. Deer.          | 2. Bear.     | 3. Buffalo. | 4. Eagle (white). |
| 5. Eagle (black). | 6. Duck.     | 7. Elk.     | 8. Raccoon.       |
| 9. Prairie Wolf.  | 10. Turtle.  | 11. Earth.  | 12. Deer Tail.    |
| 13. Tent.         | 14. Thunder. |             |                   |

Segmentation  
of the  
Eagle clan.

In this list, as Morgan points out, there are two Eagle clans and two Deer clans. This affords, he adds, a good illustration of the segmentation of a clan, the Eagle clan having probably split into two fragments, which, retaining the original eagle totem, distinguished themselves from each other as Black Eagles and White Eagles. The rules of marriage and descent among the Kansas were the same as among the Ponkas; that is, intermarriage within the totem clan was prohibited; children belonged to the clan of their father, not of their mother; and both property and the office of sachem were hereditary in the clan.<sup>2</sup>

Marriage  
and  
descent.

J. Owen  
Dorsey's  
account of  
the social  
organisa-  
tion of the  
Kansas.

Arrange-  
ment of the  
phratries  
and clans  
in a tribal  
circle.

At a later time the social organisation of the Kansas was carefully investigated by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey. He found them divided into sixteen clans, which were grouped in seven phratries and subdivided into a number of subclans. The tribe camped in a circle, in which the clans had their fixed places. Eight clans, composing the *Yata* or left side of the tribe, camped in the semicircle on the left side of the line of march; and the other eight clans, composing the *Eeshtungga* or right side of the tribe, camped in the semicircle on the right side of the line of march. These two halves or sides of the tribe, the *Yata* and the *Eeshtungga*, formed what may be called superior phratries, since no man was allowed to marry a wife from his side of the tribal circle.<sup>3</sup> The mode in which among the Kansas, and apparently among all the other Dacotan tribes of the Missouri who camped in circles, the exogamous groups were thus locally segregated from each other is very noteworthy; since it may help us to understand the method in which the somewhat complex relations between the groups were kept clear in the minds of those who had to observe

Such a  
local  
separation  
of the  
exogamous  
divisions  
was  
probably  
adopted  
when  
exogamy

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 156 *sq.*

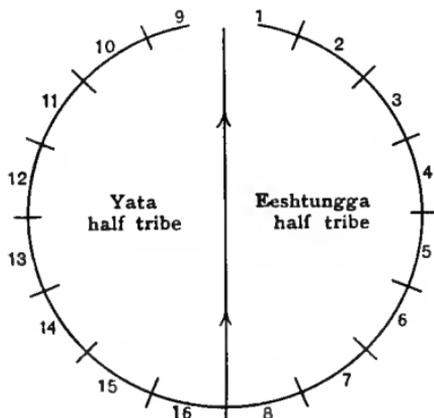
<sup>3</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 230, 232.

them. It seems probable, as I have already pointed out in dealing with the Central Australians,<sup>1</sup> that when exogamy was first instituted the groups within which marriage was prohibited were for the sake of distinction locally separated from each other. Once the distinction between the kinship groups was clearly established in the minds of the people, the need of locally segregating them would be less urgent, and they might safely be allowed to intermingle freely, as they generally do in totemic communities. Yet still on certain occasions, when the tribe acted in concert, as in council or on the march, it might be deemed desirable to distinguish the kinship groups to the eye as well as to the mind by assigning them separate places at the council-board or in the camp. Such an arrangement would materially contribute to prevent the sharp but intricate lines, which at once united and divided the kinship groups, from becoming altogether blurred and confused.

was first instituted for the sake of facilitating the distinction between them.

The social organisation of the Kansas in phratries, clans, and subclans, as these were ascertained by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, is exhibited in the following table, in which the clans are arranged and numbered according to their order in the tribal circle.<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that clans of the same phratry do not always camp together. For the sake of clearness a diagram is subjoined, in which the places of the clans are numbered in the tribal circle.

Table of the phratries and clans of the Kansas.



<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. pp. 246 *sqq.*  
<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 230-232.

## TOTEMIC SYSTEM OF THE KANSAS

Phratries.	Clans.	Subclans.
I.	1. Earth, or Earth-lodge makers	1. Large Earth. 2. Small Earth.
II.	2. Deer, or Osage . . .	1. Real deer. 2. Eats-no-deer. 3. Kills-deer, or Kills-quadrupeds.
III.	3. Ponka . . . . .	1. Ponka people. 2. Wear-red-cedar (fronds)-on-their-heads.
III.	4. Lodge-in-the-rear ; Last-lodge ( <i>Kaze</i> , <i>Kansa</i> )	1. Wind people, or South-wind people, or Camp-behind-all. 2. Small-wind, or Makes-a-breeze-near-the-ground.
III.	5. Black bear . . . . .	1. Real Black-bear, or Eats-raw (food). 2. Wears-tails (locks of hair)-on-the-head.
I.	6. Ghost . . . . .	Not ascertained.
IV.	7. Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back	Not ascertained.
V.	8. Carries-the-sun-on-his-back	Not ascertained.
I.	9. Elk . . . . .	1. Real Elk. 2. <i>Sahage</i> (meaning unknown).
VI.	10. White eagle . . . . .	1. Legs-stretched-out-stiff ; White-eagle people. 2. Wade-in-blood ; Blood people.
VI.	11. Night . . . . .	1. Night-people. 2. Walks-shining (Star people ?).
VII.	12. Holds-the-fire-brand-to-sacred-pipes, or Small <i>Hangga</i>	1. Hawk-that-has-a-tail-like a "King-eagle" ; Little-one-like-an-eagle. 2. Raccoon people, or Small lean raccoon.
VII.	13. Large <i>Hangga</i> ; <i>Hangga</i> apart from the rest, or Stiff-deer-tail	A black eagle with spots. Subclans not recorded.
II.	14. Buffalo (bull), or Big Feet	1. Buffalo with dark hair. 2. Reddish-yellow buffalo.
V.	15. <i>Cheejoo</i> peacemaker	(Red-hawk people ?) Subclans not recorded.
II.	16 Thunder-being people ; Grey-hawk people	Subclans not recorded.

Magical ceremonies for the control of the totems. Ceremony of the Thunder-

Some of the totemic clans of the Kansas, like certain of the clans of the Omahas, appear to have been supposed to exercise a magical control over their totems for the general good. Thus when the first thunderstorm broke in the spring of the year, the people of the Thunder-being clan used to put a quantity of green cedar on a fire, making a great smoke.

The storm ceased after the members of the other clans had offered prayers. The Buffalo clan helped the Thunder-being clan in the worship of the Thunder-being, by sending one of their men to open the sacred bag of grey hawk skin and remove the mystery pipe.<sup>1</sup> Again, when there was a blizzard or storm accompanied by severe cold and heavy snow, the other Kansas used to beg the men of the *Kaze* or *Kansa* clan to interpose, because they were Wind People. They said to one of that clan, "O grandfather, I wish good weather. Please cause one of your children to be decorated." Then the youngest son of one of the *Kaze* men was chosen for the purpose and painted with red paint. Thus decorated, the youth rolled over and over in the snow, reddening its white surface for some distance around him. That was supposed to stop the storm.<sup>2</sup> These ceremonies for stopping thunderstorms and snowstorms, performed respectively by Thunder People and Wind People, appear to resemble in principle the *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australians: they are magical rites performed by members of totemic clans with the intention of controlling their totems for the general good of the community. It seems probable that such ceremonies were commonly practised by the American Indians, as by the aboriginal Australians, though unfortunately very little indeed about them has been observed and recorded.

being clan at the first thunder-storm in spring.

Ceremony of the *Kaze* clan during a snow-storm.

Analogy of these ceremonies to the *intichiuma* rites of the Central Australians.

The Kansas would not marry any of their kindred, however remote. Women before marriage laboured in the fields, served their parents, carried wood and water, and cooked. But when the eldest daughter married, she commanded the lodge, her mother, and all her sisters; for her sisters, in accordance with a custom widely prevalent among the North American Indians, were destined also to be the wives of her husband. The Kansas observed the law of the levirate. On the death of her husband the widow scarified herself, rubbed clay on her body, and neglected her dress for a year, after which the eldest brother of her deceased husband took her to wife without any ceremony, removing her and her children, whom he regarded as his own, to his house.

Marriage customs of the Kansas.

Marriage with several sisters.

The levirate.

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* pp. 410 sq.

If the deceased man left no brother, the widow might marry whom she liked. Some Kansas had four or five wives, mostly sisters.<sup>1</sup>

The classificatory system of relationship among the Kansas.

The Kansas or Kaws had the classificatory system of relationship in the same form as the Omahas, including the peculiar position assigned to cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively.<sup>2</sup> The main outlines of the system were detected among the Kansas by the members of Major Long's expedition in 1819; for they have recorded that in this tribe "the niece has great deference for the uncle; the female calls her mother's sister *mother*, and her mother's brother *uncle*. The male calls his father's brother *father*, his father's sister *aunt*, his mother's sister *mother*, and his mother's brother *uncle*."<sup>3</sup>

The Osages another Siouan people of the Missouri valley.

Closely allied by language and blood to the Kansas, with whom they freely intermarried, were the Osages, another tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock in the basin of the Missouri. They called themselves Waw-sash-e, which the French traders corrupted into Osage. The tribe possessed fine horses, which they captured wild and kept in the best order. But they were settled in villages on the Osage River, had made considerable progress in agriculture, and were less addicted to war than their northern neighbours. In person the Osages were tall and well-built. L. H. Morgan did not succeed in reaching them when he was among the Missouri tribes in 1859 and 1860.<sup>4</sup>

The social system of the Osages; the Peace Side and the War Side.

The social system of the Osages has been described by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey. According to him three primary divisions or tribes, each including seven clans, coalesced into a nation of fourteen clans, several of the original clans being suppressed in order that the number of the clans in the tribal

<sup>1</sup> Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains under the Command of Maj. S. H. Long* (London, 1823), i. 115, 116.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 178 sq., and Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), i. 116 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905) i. 43 sq.; Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), iii. 106-108; L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 177; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 157.

circle should not exceed fourteen, seven on one side of the circle and seven on the other. Those on the left are called *Chee-zhoo*; they are the Peace Side. Those on the right are called *Hang-ka* and *Washashe* (Osage); they are the War Side. The Peace clans might not take animal life of any sort, but were obliged to content themselves with vegetable food, till they made an agreement with the War clans to supply them with vegetable food in exchange for flesh, which the War clans could obtain. Some of the clans are divided into subclans. The list of the fourteen clans with their subclans<sup>1</sup> will be found on the next page.

The totemic clans of the Osages.

Before they attacked an enemy, the Osages painted their faces afresh. This was the "death paint." All the clans on the *Chee-zhoo* or Peace side used "fire paint," which was red, applying it with the left hand all over the face. They also put mud on the left cheek. The clans on the War side put mud on the right cheek. Some warriors who acted like black bears painted themselves with charcoal alone.<sup>2</sup>

The war-paint of the Osages.

The Osages are said to have universally believed that they were descended from a snail and a beaver. A flood, they alleged, swept a snail from the banks of the Osage River down to the Missouri and left it high and dry on the shore. Warmed by the sun, the snail ripened into a man, who, after receiving a bow and arrow from the Great Spirit, returned to the Osage River. There he fell into a dispute with a beaver for the possession of the stream; but the dispute was happily settled by his marrying the beaver's daughter and sharing the enjoyment of the river with her family. From their union sprang the nation of the Osages, "who have ever since preserved a pious reverence for their ancestors, abstaining from the chase of the beaver, because in killing that animal, they killed a brother of the Osage.

Belief of the Osages that they are descended from a snail and a beaver.

Their respect for beavers.

<sup>1</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 233 sq.; *id.* "An Account of the War Customs of the Osages," *The American Naturalist*, xviii. (Philadelphia, 1884) pp. 113-114. In the latter article the order of clans 3 and 4 is inverted; and the names of the clans are simplified. In the text I

have omitted some of the alternative names of the clans and subclans. As before, I have altered Dorsey's peculiar spelling, setting some of the consonants on their feet instead of on their heads, etc. See above, p. 93, note<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "An Account of the War Customs of the Osages," *The American Naturalist*, xviii. (Philadelphia, 1884) pp. 132 sq.

TOTEMIC SYSTEM OF THE OSAGES

Sides.	Clans.	Subclans.
Chee-zhoo (Left or Peace Side)	1. Those-who-wear-tails-or-locks-of-hair - on - their heads	1. Sun and Comet people. 2. Wolf people.
	2. Buffalo-bull face	1. ? 2. Hide-with-the-hair-on.
	3. Those-who-carry-the-sun-on-their-back, Sun-carriers	1. Sun-people. 2. Swan people.
	4. Chee-zhoo peace-makers, or Red eagle	1. Touches-no-blood, or Red-eagle (really a hawk). 2. Bald eagle, or Sycamore people.
	5. Night people	1. Night people. 2. Black-bear people.
	6. Buffalo bull	1. Buffalo-bull. 2. Reddish-yellow buffalo.
	7. Thunder - being, or Camp-last	(Not recorded.)
Hang - ka and Washashe (Right or War Side)	8. Elder Osages	1. White Osage. 2. Turtle-carriers. 3. Tall-flags, etc. 4. Deer-lights, or Deer people. 5. Fish people. 6. A deer subclan, called by some, "Turtle-with-a-serrated-crest-along-the-shell."
	9. Hang-ka apart from the rest, or Real Eagle people	
	10. Ponka peace-makers	1. Pond-lily } or according to another account { 2. Dark Buffalo } 1. Flags. 2. Watsetsi (?) 3. Red cedar.
	11. Hang-ka-having-wings, or White-eagle people	1. Elder Hüsata. 2. Hüsata.
	12. Black bear <sup>1</sup> { A B	1. Black bear. 2. Small cat. 1. Swan. 2. Dried pond-lily.
	13. Elk	
	14. Lighters - of - the - sacred - pipes, or South-wind people, or Wind people, or Fire people	

<sup>1</sup> This clan (No. 12) is divided into two parts, which were originally separate clans: A. Wearing-a-tail (or

lock)-of-hair-on-the-head; B. Wearing-four-locks-of-hair.

Of late years, however, since the trade with the whites has rendered beaver skins more valuable, the sanctity of these maternal relatives has visibly reduced, and the poor animals have nearly lost all the privileges of kindred."<sup>1</sup> This legend, with the custom said to be based on it, has the appearance of being totemic ; yet neither the beaver nor the snail appears in the extant list of Osage totems. It is possible that they were the totems of clans which have become extinct.

The Osages had the classificatory system of relationship in a form which, apart from dialectical differences in the terms, agreed with that of the Omahas.<sup>2</sup>

The classificatory system.

Another tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock in the region of the Missouri were the Quappas. When they were discovered by the French they inhabited five villages on the Arkansas River. The following names of their totemic clans were obtained by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey from a full-blooded member of the tribe :—Deer, Elk, Eagle, Small-bird, Ancestral, Black Bear, Grizzly Bear (?), Buffalo (ordinary), Reddish-yellow Buffalo, Beaver, Fish, Star, Crane, Dog (or Wolf?), Thunder-being, Panther, Turtle, Serpent, and Sun. Mr. Dorsey's informant was not able to say on which side of the tribal circle each clan encamped.<sup>3</sup> The Quappas had the classificatory system in a form which coincided with that of the Osages.<sup>4</sup>

The Quappas, another Siouan tribe : their totemic clans

The Winnebagoes are a tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock, who claimed to be the Elder Brothers of the Omahas, Otoes, Iowas, and Missouris, and their claim was conceded by these tribes.<sup>5</sup> When they were first discovered they were established at the head of Green Bay, Lake Michigan, and around Winnebago Lake in the present State of Wisconsin.

The Winnebagoes, another Siouan tribe.

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905) i. 43-45.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of*

*the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> J. E. Fletcher, "Origin and History of the Winnebagoes," in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. (Philadelphia, 1856) pp. 227, 235 sq.

Totemic  
clans of the  
Winne-  
bagoes.

They are the so-called *Puants* of the early French explorers. The Winnebago dialect belongs to the Siouan or Dacotan family of speech, but occupies in some respects a peculiar position. It approximates to the dialects of the Missouri tribes rather than to the language of the Sioux or Dacotas proper.<sup>1</sup> The Winnebagoes were divided into eight totemic and exogamous clans, of which the names are given by Morgan as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

- |          |          |             |             |
|----------|----------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Wolf. | 2. Bear. | 3. Buffalo. | 4. Eagle.   |
| 5. Elk.  | 6. Deer. | 7. Snake.   | 8. Thunder. |

Another list of the Winnebago clans was obtained by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey from a full-blooded Winnebago of the Wolf clan. It agrees with that of Morgan except that it substitutes a Water-monster clan for the Thunder clan, and that instead of the Eagle clan it exhibits a Bird clan subdivided into four subclans, namely Eagle, Pigeon, Hawk (probably), and Thunder-bird.<sup>3</sup>

Marriage  
and descent  
among the  
Winne-  
bagoes :  
traces of  
mother-kin.

The rules of marriage, descent, and inheritance were the same among the Winnebagoes as among the Ponkas; that is, intermarriage within the clan was forbidden, children belonged to the clan of their father, not of their mother, and both property and the office of sachem were hereditary in the clan.<sup>4</sup> Yet traces of an older custom of female descent or mother-kin may perhaps be detected among the Winnebagoes; for Carver, who travelled in these regions in 1766, 1767, and 1768, observes that "some nations, where the dignity is hereditary, limit the succession to the female line. On the death of a chief, his sister's son sometimes succeeds him in preference to his own son; and if he happens to have no sister, the nearest female relation assumes the dignity. This accounts for a woman being at the head of the Winnebago nation, which, before I was acquainted with their laws, appeared strange to me."<sup>5</sup>

The Winnebagoes possessed the classificatory system of

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of*

*the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 240 sq.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, Third Edition (London, 1781), p. 259.

relationship in a form closely agreeing with that of the Omahas and Kansas ; amongst other points of agreement it placed cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, in the relation of uncle and nephew, or mother and daughter to each other, according as the cousins were males or females.<sup>1</sup>

The classificatory system of relationship.

An interesting account of the superstitions of the Indian tribes about Green Bay (*Baie des Puans*), Lake Michigan, is given in one of the Jesuit reports for 1672, and as the Winnebagoes were probably one at least of these tribes, the account may be here subjoined. If it does not directly bear on their totemic system, it does so indirectly, by illustrating that general attitude of mind towards nature of which totemism is a special product. "Four different peoples," says the Jesuit missionary, "are placed towards the head of the bay and live there partly by what they gather from the earth, and partly by fishing and hunting. Two others rather more distant dwell usually on the rivers which discharge into the same bay on the north side ; and all recognise diverse sorts of divinities, to which they often offer sacrifices. These peoples have their gods, as the pagans had theirs formerly ; they have them in the sky, in the air, on the earth, in the woods, in the waters, and even in the infernal regions ; and as there have been found theologians who assign particular intelligences not only to the stars but also to the earth for the preservation of each species of thing, so those of our savages who are esteemed intelligent by their fellows entertain a belief that in addition to the sun and the thunder, which they recognise as gods of the sky and the air, every sort of beast, fish, and fowl, has a particular guardian spirit (*genie*), which has care of it, which watches over its preservation, and which defends it from harm.

Superstitions of the Indians about Green Bay, Lake Michigan.

Guardian spirits of beast, fish, and fowl.

"That is why, just as the Egyptians erected altars to rats and mice, so these peoples have a particular regard for these creatures, as appears from a mouse which we had caught and thrown out of the house. For a young girl having seized the mouse and being desirous of eating it, her father took the creature first and fondled it tenderly. And

Guardian spirit of mice.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 180, and Table II. pp. 293 *sqq.* As to this treatment of cousins, see above, pp. 70, 74, 115 *sqq.*

when we asked him why he did so, 'It is,' said he, 'because I would appease the guardian spirit (*genie*), who has charge of mice; in order that my daughter may not suffer from such an unusual viand.'

Veneration for the bear and ceremonies when it is killed.

"There are certain animals, to the guardian spirits (*genies*) of which they pay much more respect than to others, because they are more useful to them. The veneration which they have for the bear is incredible; for when they have killed one of these animals in the chase, they usually make a solemn feast of it with very special ceremonies. They carefully preserve the beast's head, paint it with the most beautiful colours they can find, and during the feast they set the head in a conspicuous place, that it may receive the adoration of all the guests and the praises which they bestow on it, one after the other, in their finest songs.

Custom of fasting before a hunt in order to dream of the animal which is to be killed.

"They act somewhat in the same way towards the other divinities; but to propitiate them they practise diverse sorts of devotions, of which the commonest and most considerable is this. They remain four or five days without eating, in order that by thus weakening their heads they may be able in a dream to see one of their divinities, on whom they imagine all their good fortune to depend. And because they believe that they could not be lucky in the chase of the deer or the bear, if they had not first seen them in a dream before going to seek the beasts, their whole care is to get a sight in sleep of the animal which they wish to catch. That is why they prepare themselves for their hunts by great fasts, which they prolong sometimes for ten days, as the Outagami nation does more usually. Indeed they do much more, for while the men are out hunting, they oblige the little children to fast, in order that they may dream of the bear which their kinsfolk are gone to look for; and they fancy that the beast will be caught if it has been once dreamed of, even by children."<sup>1</sup>

The Mandans, another Siouan tribe of the Upper Missouri.

A Siouan or Dacotan tribe of the Upper Missouri valley are the Mandans, who having had the good fortune to be described by the painter Catlin and other travellers are amongst the best known of North American Indians, though they

<sup>1</sup> *Relations des Jésuites*, 1672, p. 38 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858).

seem never to have played an important part in history. When they were visited in the first half of the nineteenth century, their once numerous villages had been reduced to two, which were situated on the Missouri about four miles below the mouth of the Knife River. Their principal village or town occupied a position of great natural beauty and strength, being built on a bluff at a bend of the Missouri and protected on two sides by the river, while the prairies stretched away, far as the eye could see, till their interminable carpet of green, unbroken by a tree, and changing into blue in the distance, touched the rim of the horizon. The houses of the village were of circular shape, from forty to sixty feet in diameter, solidly built of timber and covered with earth, which earned for them with white men the disparaging name of "dirt lodges." In spite of the name, however, the houses were not only commodious, but very neat and comfortable. The fire-place occupied the centre and the smoke escaped by a hole in the roof. Bedsteads, screened off by curtains of buffalo or elk skin, ran round the walls. Each house could accommodate from twenty to forty inmates. In the middle of the village was an open circular space, in which public festivals were held and religious rites celebrated. One of the huts facing on this open space was the council house or "Medicine Lodge," where some of the most sacred ceremonies were performed. It was in this lodge that the young Mandan warriors annually submitted to many of those dreadful tortures which Catlin has made famous by his descriptions and sketches.<sup>1</sup> The Mandans subsisted partly by agriculture and partly by the chase. Their staple foods were buffalo meat and maize. They raised a good deal of maize and some beans, pump-

Their principal village or town.

Their houses or "dirt lodges."

The "Medicine Lodge."

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Expedition under Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905) i. 185 sq.; Geo. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), i. 80 sqq., 169 sqq.; Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-1841), ii. 104 sq., 116 sqq.; L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*

and Affinity, p. 181; Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, 1877), pp. 6 sqq., 13 sq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 796 sqq. Lewis and Clark spent the winter of 1804-1805 at the principal Mandan village; Catlin resided for several months in the same village in 1832; and Prince Maximilian visited it in 1833.

The staple foods of the Mandans were buffalo meat and maize.

kins, and tobacco. The corn was sown in May and reaped in October. During the summer the women thrice hoed the ground with the shoulder-blades of buffaloes, for which in later times iron hoes were substituted. The season of the green corn was a time of great festivity with the Mandans. What they did not then eat of the corn was dried and packed away in *caches*, as the French called such storehouses, that is, in pits six or eight feet deep, shaped like a jug and tightly closed at the top. But the Mandans depended mainly on the flesh of the buffalo, and when the herds did not approach their villages they sometimes suffered much from hunger; for being a small weak tribe they dared not venture far afield in search of the animals lest they should be cut off by their powerful enemies the Sioux.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamous clans of the Mandans.

According to enquiries made by L. H. Morgan at the old Mandan village in 1862, the Mandans were divided into seven exogamous clans as follows:—

1. Wolf.
2. Bear.
3. Prairie Chicken.
4. Good Knife.
5. Eagle.
6. Flathead.
7. High Village.

Female descent of the clans.

Marriage within the clan was as usual forbidden, but contrary to the rule of most Siouan or Dacotan tribes of the Missouri the descent of the clan was in the female line, that is, children belonged to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. Taken with other exceptions, which have already met us, this raises a presumption that descent was originally in the female line among all the tribes of the Siouan or Dacotan stock. Property and office were both hereditary in the clan.<sup>2</sup> When a man married an eldest daughter, he had a right to all her sisters.<sup>3</sup> A woman never spoke to her son-in-law, the husband of her daughter; but if he brought her the scalp of a slain foe, from that moment the two were free to converse with each other.<sup>4</sup>

Right to marry a wife's younger sisters. Avoidance of wife's mother.

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905) i. 220; Geo. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), i. 121 sq.; Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-

1841), ii. 123 sqq., 192 sqq.; Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, pp. 8 sq., 23 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, ii. 130.

<sup>4</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *op. cit.* ii. 132.

Like all the other Indian tribes with which we are here concerned, the Mandans had the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man called his father's brother "my father" (*Tâ-tay*), and his mother's sister "my mother" (*Nâ-a*); but his mother's brother he called "my uncle" (*Tâ-wâ-râ-to-ra*), and his father's sister he called "my aunt" (*P-to-me-nick*). In his own generation he called his cousins, the children of his father's brother, "my elder brother" (*Moo-kâ*), "my younger brother" (*Me-sho-kâ*), "my elder sister" (*P'-tâ-me-a*), "my younger sister" (*P'-tâ-me-ha*), according to their sex and age. In the generation below his own he called his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Me-ne-ka*) and "my daughter" (*Me-no-hâ-ka*); but his sister's son and daughter he called "my nephew" and "my niece."<sup>1</sup>

The classificatory system of relationship among the Mandans.

The Mandans performed certain magical ceremonies for the increase of the food supply, which in principle resemble the *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australian aborigines, the only essential difference between them being that, whereas among the Australians the ceremony for increasing any particular article of food is only performed by the persons who have that article of food for their totem, there appears to have been no such limitation among the Mandans. Strictly speaking, therefore, the ceremonies which the Mandans performed were not totemic; but as they agree in principle with the magical totemic ceremonies performed by their kinsmen the Omahas and the Kansas,<sup>2</sup> as well as by the Central Australians, a brief description of them may not be out of place in this work.

Magical ceremonies performed by the Mandans for the increase of the food supply.

We have seen that the staple foods of the Mandans were two, namely, buffalo meat and Indian corn. Both these necessities of life they attempted to increase and multiply by ceremonies based on the principle of imitative or homœopathic magic. First, in regard to buffaloes, it was a standing rule of the Mandan village that every man must possess the

The Buffalo dance. In order to make the buffaloes to come the Mandans used to

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 184 sq., and Table II. pp. 293 sqq. The terms for elder and younger sister are the same in the tables. Morgan noted

this and thought there might be a mistake. He was not able to obtain a complete set of the Mandan terms of relationship.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 104-106, 126 sq.

dress themselves in buffalo skins and mimic the action and voice of the buffalo.

skin of a buffalo's head with the horns, and this he had to keep in constant readiness hanging on a post at the head of his bed, that he might be able at a moment's notice to put it as a mask on his own head, and so disguised to turn out and dance for buffaloes in the public square, whenever the chiefs might command him so to do. Sometimes the dancers wore the entire skins of buffaloes, with horns, hoof, and tail all complete. The order to dance the buffalo dance was issued whenever no buffaloes had been seen for some time, and the pressure of hunger began to be felt in the village. Thereupon from ten to fifteen men, each wearing the head and horns of a buffalo, and armed with the bow or spear with which they were accustomed to slaughter the beasts, would sally out into the public square and there stamp, grunt, and bellow in imitation of buffaloes till they could stamp, grunt, and bellow no more. As each grew tired he signified it by bending forward and sinking towards the ground ; whereupon one of his fellows would draw his bow and hit him with a blunt arrow. The man so struck then dropped like a dead buffalo and was dragged out of the ring by the heels by the bystanders, who brandished their knives over him and went through the motions of skinning and cutting him up. The place of the wearied dancer was at once supplied by another, who danced into the ring with his mask on, and carried on the pantomime till exhausted nature compelled him also to desist. In this way the dance was kept up day and night by relays of dancers till the buffaloes appeared, even though the performance might last without a moment's intermission for weeks. All the time the drums were beating, the rattles rattling, the spectators singing or yelling themselves hoarse ; and all the time the sentinels on the neighbouring hills were straining their eyes to catch the first sight of the herd like moving specks in the distance. The moment they did so, they signalled the joyful news to the village by waving their robes. Then at last the dance ceased, the drums throbbed no longer, all was bustle in preparation for the hunt. Spears were polishing, bows were twanging, horses pawing and snorting in impatience. Then there was a great clatter of hoofs, a whirlwind of galloping horses, and they were off.

The dance had been successful; it had compelled the buffaloes to come.<sup>1</sup>

In this ceremony, which has been graphically described for us by the painter Catlin, the pretence of being buffaloes and of being killed and cut up as such was clearly supposed, on the principles of imitative or homœopathic magic, to produce the effect which it mimicked; it obliged the animals to come and be killed. The ceremony was not observed at stated intervals but only as occasion arose, whenever the buffaloes were long of coming. But the Mandans regularly performed another magical ceremony for buffaloes every year in spring, when the willows burst into leaf on the banks of the river. The intention of this annual rite, as the manner of its celebration clearly shews, was not to ensure the killing but rather the procreation of buffaloes. The actors were indeed disguised like buffaloes as in the other ceremony; they wore the entire skins of buffaloes with the horns and tails complete; the heads of the buffaloes were thrown over their heads, their eyes peered through the eye-holes of the animals, and they imitated the motions of buffaloes. But the scene which they acted was not the slaughter of the beast, but the leap of the buffalo bull on the buffalo cow. When that scene had been publicly acted in the presence of the whole population, wound up to the highest pitch of excitement, the actor who personated the buffalo bull was mocked by the women and children, bespattered with filth, and ignominiously driven away from the village into the prairie. There he was again beset by a throng of women and children, and the artificial implement of fertility was wrested from his body by one of the women, who wrapped it in a bunch of wild sage and, escorted by two matrons on each side, bore it back triumphantly to the village. There she was lifted by her four female attendants on to the roof of the Medicine Lodge, over the door, where she stood and harangued the multitude for some time,

Annual ceremony performed in spring for the multiplication of buffaloes. It consisted of a dramatic representation of the coupling of the buffaloes by men dressed in buffalo skins.

<sup>1</sup> Geo. Taplin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), i. 83, 127-129. Each buffalo-mask worn by a dancer had usually attached to it a strip

of skin of the whole length of the animal's back with the tail at the end, so that while the head and horns of the buffalo were on the dancer's head, its tail swept the ground at his heels.

claiming that "she held the power of *creation*, and also the power of life and death over them; that she was the father of all the buffaloes, and that she could make them come or stay away, as she pleased."<sup>1</sup>

Both these buffalo ceremonies are based on the principle of imitative magic.

While the two buffalo dances of the Mandans which have just been described, differed from each other both in their immediate purpose and in the manner of their celebration, the ultimate aim of both was one and the same; it was to ensure a plentiful supply of food for the tribe. And as the aim of the two ceremonies was identical, so too was the principle on which both were supposed to produce the desired result. It was the principle of imitative or homœopathic magic.

Magical ceremony performed by the Mandans in spring to ensure a good crop of maize.

The same magical principle was resorted to by the Mandans for the purpose of ensuring an abundant supply of their other staple food, the Indian corn. They celebrated in spring and autumn what they called "the Corn Medicine Festival of the Women" (*Wahka-Sinhusch*). For they thought that the Old Woman, who never dies, causes the fruits of the earth to grow and sends the migratory water-fowl in spring—the swans, the geese, and the ducks—as symbols of the fruits and as her own representatives, the wild goose signifying maize, the wild swan pumpkins, and the wild duck beans. So in spring days, when the birds were expected, the Indians got much dried meat ready and hung it up as

<sup>1</sup> George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa, a Religious Ceremony, and other Customs of the Mandans* (London, 1867), pp. 6, 9, 16-24, and *Folium Reservatum*, pp. i.-iii. Compare *id.*, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), i. 157 sq., 164 sqq. Catlin speaks of "dancing what they call, *Bel-lohck-na-pic* (bull-dance); to the strict observance of which they attribute the coming of buffaloes to supply them with food during the season." But the nature of the dance clearly indicates that the purpose of the ceremony was not so much to ensure the coming as the multiplication of the buffaloes. A remarkable feature of the ceremony, which is not mentioned by Catlin, was

that during its celebration the men offered the use of their wives to the older men and the offer was generally accepted. The same feature characterised the bull-dance of the Minnetares or Hidatsas, a tribe akin to the Mandans. Probably it was regarded as a magical rite which sympathetically promoted the procreation of buffaloes. See *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905) i. 209 sq.; Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), ii. 59 sq.; Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-1841), ii. 181, 263-267.

an offering to the Old Woman on rows of long poles in front of the village. Then on one of these days the old women of the village, as representatives of the Old Woman who never dies, assembled at the poles, each of them carrying a stick with a maize-cob fastened to the top. They sat down, laid their sticks before them on the earth, danced in a circle round the poles, and then took their maize-sticks in their hands. While they did so, old men beat drums and rattled rattles. Meantime younger women came and put a little dry powdered flesh in the mouths of the old women, each of them receiving in return a grain of the consecrated maize which she ate. Also three or four grains of the maize were placed in their dish, which were afterwards carefully mixed with the seed-corn and were supposed to impart luck and fertility to it. After that the dried meat which hung on the poles belonged to the old women, because they represented the Old Woman who never dies.

The Old Woman who never dies, and her birds, the symbols of the fruits of the earth.

Such was the Corn Medicine Festival of the Women which the Mandans held in spring. In autumn the festival was repeated, but its purpose, we are told, was then to attract the herds of buffaloes and to ensure a supply of their flesh. At that time, instead of a stick inserted into a cob of maize, every woman carried in her arms a whole plant of maize, which she had rooted out of the ground. They named the maize and also the birds, which symbolised the fruits of the earth, by the name of the Old Woman who never dies, and they cried to them in autumn, "Mother, have pity on us! Send us not the sharp cold too soon, that we may have meat! Let not all the game go away, that we may have something for the winter!" They thought that the birds flying south in autumn carried with them to the Old Woman the dried meat and other things which they had hung up on the poles as thank-offerings to her for the crops she had given them, and they imagined that she ate the meat which the birds brought her. Old women who could not afford to give a costlier offering would hang up the foot of a buffalo on one of the poles; and when the Old Woman who never dies received such a humble gift brought her by one of the birds, she would take it and say, "This poor offering is dearer to me than the costliest gifts"; and she

Ceremony in autumn to attract the buffaloes; appeal to the Old Woman who never dies.

would boil a piece of it with her maize and eat it with relish.<sup>1</sup>

The Old Woman is a corn-goddess, a savage equivalent of Demeter and Ceres.

In these ceremonies the Old Woman who never dies has clearly attained to the rank of a corn-goddess, the equivalent of the Greek Demeter and the Roman Ceres. For she is supposed to cause the crops to grow; she is actually, like her Greek and Roman counterparts, identified with the corn, since it is called by her name; she receives offerings, and is prayed to by the women under the title of Mother. All this is purely religious. Yet the personification of the goddess by the old women and the fertilisation of the seed-corn by them are magical in their nature, since they are not propitiations of the deity; far from that, they are usurpations of her divine functions by women, who take it on themselves to represent instead of to worship the goddess. Thus, whereas the Mandan ceremonies designed to ensure a supply of buffalo meat were purely magical, the ceremony for the fertilisation of the ground exhibits a blending of magic with religion. The distinction is interesting, since the intellectual advance from magic to religion is thus associated with the social advance from hunting to agriculture.

Minnetaree ceremony to promote the growth of the corn.

A somewhat similar ceremony intended to promote the growth of the corn was observed by the Minnetarees or Hidatsas, who also, as we saw, resembled their kinsmen the Mandans in dancing a bull-dance for the multiplication of buffaloes. The ceremony has been described by Dr. Edwin James as follows:—

“Amongst the Minnetarees, is a ceremony called the corn dance; which, however, has but little claim to the title of a dance. Notice being given of this ceremony, by the village criers, the squaws repair to the medicine lodge, in which the magi are seated, performing their incantations, carrying with them a portion of each kind of seed which they respectively intend to plant the ensuing season; as an ear of maize, some pumpkin, water-melon, or tobacco-seed. These are attached to the end of small sticks, which are stuck in the ground, so as to form a right line in front of the magi. The squaws then strip themselves entirely of their

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, ii. 182-184.

garments, and take their seats before the spectators. The magi then throw themselves into a violent agitation, singing, leaping about, pointing to the sky, the earth, the sun, and the north star, successively. After these paroxysms have subsided, the squaws arise ; and each one taking her respective sticks, holds them up with extended arms. One of the magi being provided with a large bunch of a species of bitter herb, dips it in a vessel of water, and sprinkles copiously the seeds and persons of the squaws, with much grotesque gesticulation. This concludes the ceremony ; when the seeds are supposed to be fertilized, and to be capable of communicating their fertility to any quantity of their kind. The women then assume their clothing, and return home, being careful to deposit the fertilized seed with their stock ; after which they may proceed to planting as soon as they please." <sup>1</sup>

In this Minnetaree ceremony it will be noticed that the fertilisation of the seed is performed by men, not by women ; yet the presence of naked women at the ceremony, each bearing the seed which is to be fertilised, shews that their help was deemed essential to the success of the rite. We may conjecture that their co-operation was based on the principle of imitative magic, their maternal functions being supposed to aid the production of the corn and other fruits of the earth. The conjecture is confirmed by the evidence of Prince Maximilian, who witnessed this same corn dance of the women among the Minnetarees, the intention of which, he tells us, was to ensure a good crop of maize in the coming year. In the middle of the hut, where a fire was blazing, stood a tall strong woman dressed in a long robe of yellow leather decorated with many tassels and pieces of red and blue cloth. She pretended to have a maize-cob in her body which she could conjure out and in at will. The music struck up and four other women began to dance, waddling like ducks with tiny steps in time to the rapid beat of the drum, while their arms hung limp at their sides. Meantime the other big woman danced alone by the fire, warming her hands at the flames and then holding them to

Women as well as men take part in the fertilisation ceremony.

Prince Maximilian's description of the Minnetaree ceremony for ensuring a good crop of maize. A woman pretended to bring up a cob of maize out of her mouth.

<sup>1</sup> Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains under the Command of Maj. S. H. Long* (London, 1823), ii. 58 sq.

her face. At last she began to totter and to swing her arms to and fro. Then her head drooped backwards, and in her open mouth appeared the point of a white cob of maize, which gradually protruded more and more, while the convulsive movements of the dancer increased in violence. When the cob was half out of her mouth, it seemed as if she would faint, and another woman ran to her assistance, put her arms round the sufferer's body, and set her on the ground. There she lay in convulsions, supported by her companion, while the music rose higher than ever. Other women stroked the arms and breast of the patient with bunches of wormwood, and the maize-cob gradually vanished again. Then the dancer rose to her feet, danced about for a little, and was relieved by another.<sup>1</sup>

In this scene the medicine-woman, as the writer calls her, seems to have personated the corn-goddess giving birth to the corn from her own body. In the Eleusinian mysteries the culminating point of the ceremonies was reached when the high priest, in a blaze of light, presented to the initiated a reaped ear of corn, while he cried with a loud voice that the goddess had been delivered of a sacred boy.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps in the temple at Eleusis, as in the Indian hut on the prairie by the Missouri, the goddess was personated by a woman who feigned to bring forth from her body the good gift of the goddess to mankind, an ear of corn. At all events we may assume with some degree of probability that the Old Woman who never dies, who makes the corn to grow, and whom the Mandans addressed as "Mother," was originally, like Demeter and Ceres, nothing but a personification of the corn itself. If any doubt remains in the reader's mind, it may be dissipated by a custom which is practised by the Arickarees, an Indian tribe of the Upper Missouri whose survivors now live in the same village with the survivors both of the Mandans and the Minnetarees. "In every Arickaree lodge," we are told, "there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, ii. 190, 268-270.

<sup>2</sup> Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium*, v. 8. p. 164 (ed. L. Duncker and F. G. Schneidewin).

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ar as  
'Mother.'

corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.'"<sup>1</sup> In this simple worship of the mother-corn we may see as it were in miniature the origin of some of the great goddesses of classical antiquity, Isis, Demeter, and Ceres, the only substantial difference between them being that whereas the corn-goddess of America was a personification of maize, the corn-goddesses of the old world were personifications of wheat or barley.

Before concluding this subject I would remind the reader that there is no ground for connecting either the buffalodances or the corn-dances of these Indians with totemism; in other words, there is no evidence that such dances were danced by men and women who had the buffalo or the corn for their totem. If nevertheless I have called attention to them in a treatise on totemism it is merely because in their aim and method these dances or rather dramas present a close analogy to the purely totemic ceremonies of the Central Australians, which similarly aim at increasing the food supply by means of imitative or homœopathic magic.

These ceremonies for the multiplication of buffaloes and corn are magical but not totemic.

Another tribe of the Upper Missouri valley are the Minnetarees or Hidatsas, as they now generally call themselves. The name Minnetarees, by which they have been

The Minnetarees or Hidatsas.

<sup>1</sup> Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, 1877), p. 12. As to the Arickaree worship of maize, see Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, ii. 244 sq. "Maize," he says, "is one of the chief mysteries ('medicines') of the Arickarees, and they honour it in many ways." He describes a very sacred bird-box, which was thought to be a most powerful means of promoting the growth of maize and the other crops. The box was about six feet long, but narrow, with seven gourd-bottles inserted on the top. Inside it was full of the stuffed skins of many birds, but only of migratory birds which passed the summer in the Arickaree country. The box also contained a famous medicine-pipe, which was only smoked at great festivals and on extraordinary

occasions. This priceless treasure, which, we are told, the Arickarees prized as much as Christians do the Bible, was kept in a medicine-hut, fastened high up. One of the chief mysteries or religious festivals of the Arickarees was celebrated with this bird-box when the fields had been sown and the first pumpkins were ripe. Also in summer, when the trees were in leaf, they took an evergreen tree, a juniper, peeled its stem, painted it with red, white, and blue stripes, and set it up before the medicine-hut. Then the precious bird-box was taken down and the sacred hocus-pocus performed with it. On the analogy of the Mandan belief (see above, p. 140) we may conjecture that the summer-birds, whose skins were kept in the mystic box, symbolised the various fruits of the earth, which the ceremony was designed to quicken.

commonly known, was applied to them by their neighbours the Mandans. From the French traders they received, very unjustly, the epithet *Grosventres*. When the tribe was visited by Lewis and Clark in 1804, they occupied villages on the Knife River. The remnant of the tribe, together with the survivors of the Mandans and the Arickarees, now inhabit the village of Fort Berthold on the Missouri in North Dakota. A remote affinity may be traced between the languages of the Minnetarees and the Mandans, but none between these languages and that of the Arickarees, with whom they live; a competent observer was not able to detect a single word alike in the Mandan and Arickaree tongues. On the other hand the language of the Minnetarees or Hidatsas is more nearly related to that of the Upsarokas or Crows, and it appears that these two tribes are immediate subdivisions of the same people. But though the speech of the Minnetarees or Hidatsas differs somewhat widely from that of the Mandans, the two tribes have been intimately connected with each other for centuries, and their culture, civil and religious, is of the same type. The Minnetarees or Hidatsas built commodious and comfortable houses of the same pattern as the Mandans; they cultivated maize, beans, pumpkins, and tobacco; they built boats of buffalo-hide; they manufactured pottery, made mats and baskets of various sorts, and fashioned arrow-heads out of flint and horn. They garnished their clothing with porcupine quills, which they coloured brilliantly with dyes of Indian discovery. They even knew how to manufacture glass and make rude beads and pendants out of it; and they possessed various pigments with which they recorded events in symbolic pictures. Yet though they were settled in villages and tilled the ground their staple food down to about 1870 was buffalo flesh, and their principal standard of value was a buffalo-horse, that is, a horse fleet enough to run down a young buffalo bull. With the nomadic tribes they exchanged their agricultural produce for horses. When the Dacotas saw a certain flower (*Liatris punctata*) blooming on the prairies, they knew that the corn was ripe, and they repaired to the villages of the farming Indians to trade. From the time they came in sight over the bluffs in the distance till the

Their mode  
of life;  
their arts  
and crafts.

Their  
staple  
food was  
buffalo  
meat.

moment they disappeared behind them again, there was a truce to the warfare between these Bedouins of the prairie and the village Indians.<sup>1</sup> We have seen that the Minnetarees, like the Mandans, performed magical dances or ceremonies to ensure a supply of their two staple foods, buffalo meat and maize ;<sup>2</sup> and annually in July they celebrated their great medicine-dance or dance of penitence, at which their young warriors, like those of the Mandans, voluntarily submitted themselves to excruciating tortures.<sup>3</sup> It was the opinion of L. H. Morgan that the partial civilisation of the tribes of the Upper Missouri valley, characterised by agriculture, communal timber-framed houses, and a peculiar system of religion or magic, was imported into this region by the Minnetarees when they immigrated thither from the south and imparted their superior knowledge to the Mandans, who had been settled in that country before them. Certainly the Mandans could not have learned either agriculture or house-building from the Sioux or Dakotas, for that nation of roving hunters was ignorant of both these arts.<sup>4</sup> In personal appearance the Minnetarees and Mandans were among the finest specimens of the Red Man in North America. Prince Maximilian describes with admiration the tall well-built figures of the Minnetarees, their long plaited hair decked with feathers, and the beautiful bronze colour of their skin set off by the red paint on their faces and the strings of white and sky-blue beads which they wore.<sup>5</sup>

Morgan's view that the partial civilisation of the Upper Missouri tribes was imported from the south.

The Minnetarees or Hidatsas are, or were, divided into seven exogamous clans as follows :—<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, pp. 17 sqq., 23 sqq., 85 ; L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 185 sq. ; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 158 ; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 547 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 140 note <sup>1</sup>, 142-144.

<sup>3</sup> Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), i. 254-256 ; Washington Matthews, *Ethnology and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, pp. 45 sq.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-*

*sanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 181-186 ; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 158 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 411 ; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 159.

<sup>6</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 159. As to this list the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey observed that "Dr. Washington Matthews could have furnished a corrected list from his own notes had they not unfortunately been destroyed by fire" ("Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 242).

Exogamous clans of the Minne- tarees or Hidatsas.	1. Knife.	2. Water.	3. Lodge.
	4. Prairie Chicken.	5. Hill People.	6. Unknown Animal.
	7. Bonnet.		

The large proportion of artificial objects in this list is suspicious, but L. H. Morgan, to whom we owe it, seems to have entertained no doubt that the clans so named were of the ordinary type. Intermarriage within the clan is forbidden; descent is in the female line; and both property and the office of sachem are hereditary in the clan.<sup>1</sup> A man who marries the eldest of several sisters has a claim to the others as they grow up, and he generally marries them, unless in the meantime they have formed other attachments and refuse to live with him. As certain female cousins are regarded as younger sisters, a man has often much latitude in choosing wives under this law. As a rule, the Minnetarees or Hidatsas observe the law of the levirate; that is, a man usually takes to wife the widow of his deceased brother, unless she expresses unwillingness, and he may adopt the orphans as his own children.<sup>2</sup> Like other Indian tribes of the Siouan or Dacotan stock, the Minnetarees deem it improper for a man to hold a direct conversation with his mother-in-law; but this custom seems to be falling into disuse.<sup>3</sup>

Right to  
marry a  
wife's  
younger  
sisters.

The  
levirate.

Avoidance  
of a wife's  
mother.

The classi-  
ficatory  
system of  
relation-  
ship among  
the Minne-  
tarees or  
Hidatsas.  
Terms for  
father and  
mother.

Further the Minnetarees or Hidatsas have as usual the classificatory system of relationship; but their form of the system is characterised by one anomalous feature, and by another which deviates from every form we have hitherto met with, though it has its counterpart, as we shall see, in the system of the Gulf nations. In the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother "my father" (*Tâ-ta*) and his mother's sister "my mother" (*Ih-kâ*); but his father's sister he calls "my grandmother" (*Kâ-ru-hâ*), and his mother's brother he calls "my elder brother" (*Me-â-ka*). This is an anomalous relationship in which the system of the Minnetarees and the Crows differs from that of all other tribes of American Indians. A Crow man calls his

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, *Indians*, p. 53.  
p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Washington Matthews, *Ethno-  
graphy and Philology of the Hidatsa*

<sup>3</sup> Washington Matthews, *op. cit.*  
p. 54.

father's sister, not like a Minnetaree, "my grandmother," but "my mother" (*E-ke-á*).

In his own generation a Minnetaree or Hidatsa man calls his male and female cousins, the son and daughter of his father's brother, "my elder brother" (*Mee-á-ká*), "my younger brother" (*Mat-so-gá*), "my elder sister" (*Mat-tá-we-á*), "my younger sister" (*Má-tá-ka-zhá*), according to the sex and age of the person. But his male cousin, the son of his father's sister, he calls "my father" (*Tá-ta*), and his female cousin, the daughter of his father's sister, he calls "my mother" (*Ih-ká*). Conversely he calls his male cousin, the son of his mother's brother, "my son" (*Má-de-shá*), and his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, he calls "my daughter" (*Má-ká*). A woman applies the same terms to her cousins, the children either of her father's sister or of her mother's brother; that is, she calls them not her cousins but her father or mother, her son or daughter, according to their sex and according as they are the children of her father's sister or of her mother's brother. This treatment of cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, will meet us again in the system of the Gulf Indians. It differs from the treatment of such cousins among the Omahas, Kansas, and other tribes of the Dacotan stock, in as much as, unlike the system of these tribes, which assigns seniority to the brother's child over the sister's child,<sup>1</sup> it assigns seniority to the sister's child over the brother's child, thus shewing a preference for the female line. For of cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, it is the children of the sister who rank as "father" and "mother" of their cousins; and it is the children of the brother who rank as "son" and "daughter" of their cousins.

In the generation below his own a Minnetaree or Hidatsa man calls his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Ma-de-shá*) and "my daughter" (*Má-ká*); but his sister's son and daughter he calls "my younger brother" (*Mat-so-gá*) and "my younger sister" (*Má-tá-ka-zhá*). This remarkable deviation from the ordinary form of the classificatory system is shared by the Upsarokas or Crows, and it is peculiar to these two tribes. A woman calls her sister's son and

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 115-117, 128, 133.

daughter "my son" (*Mă-de-shă*) and "my daughter" (*Mă-kă*); but her brother's son and daughter she calls "my grandchild" (*Met-a-wă-pish-sha*). This last denomination is a deviation from the common form of the classificatory system.<sup>1</sup>

Terms for wife and wife's sisters, for husband and husband's brothers.

Further, it deserves to be noticed that a man applies the same term *itadamia* to his wife and to her sisters, especially to her younger sisters, which is natural enough, since they are his potential wives, he having a customary right to marry them in his wife's lifetime. But the wife applies quite different terms to her husband (*kida*) and to his brothers (*isikisi*), which is also natural, since they have not the right to marry her in their brother's lifetime, though they have at least a preferential right to marry her after his death.<sup>2</sup>

Belief of the Minnetarees or Hidatsas that there is a cave where children live, who can enter into women and be born of them.

It deserves to be noted that the Minnetarees or Hidatsas entertained a belief as to the birth of children which closely resembles the Central Australian theory of conception.<sup>3</sup> We possess two independent accounts of the Minnetaree belief. The older of the two, which we owe to Major Long's expedition of 1819-1820, runs thus: "At the distance of the journey of one day and a half from Knife-creek, which divides the larger and smaller towns of the Minnetarees from each other, are situate two conical hills, separated by about the distance of a mile. One of these hills was supposed to impart a prolific virtue to such squaws as resorted to it for the purpose of crying and lamenting, for the circumstance of their having no male issue. A person one day walking near the other mount, fancied he observed upon the top of it two very small children. Thinking they had strayed from the village, he ran towards them to induce them to return home; but they immediately fled from him, nor could his utmost speed overtake them,

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 188 sq. and Table II. pp. 293 sqq. Compare Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, pp. 55-57.

<sup>2</sup> Washington Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 57. But a man has another term (*ua*) by which he can distinguish his

actual wife from her sisters. Similarly he has terms by which he can distinguish his actual father from his father's brothers and his actual mother from his mother's sisters (Washington Matthews, pp. 55-57).

<sup>3</sup> As to the Australian theory, see vol. i. pp. 93 sq., 182 sq., 188 sqq., 576 sqq.

and in a short time they eluded his sight. Returning to the village, the relation of his story excited much interest, and an Indian set out next day, mounted on a fleet horse, to take the little strangers. On the approach of this individual to the mount, he also saw the children, who ran away as before, and although he endeavoured to overtake them by lashing the horse into his utmost swiftness, the children left him far behind. But these children are no longer to be seen, and the hill once of singular efficacy in rendering the human species prolific, has lost this remarkable property."<sup>1</sup>

However, the property in question, or at least the faith of the Indians in it, seems to have survived much longer than the explorers imagined; for Dr. Washington Matthews, whose account of the tribe was published in 1877, speaks of the belief as if it were still entertained by some of the Hidatsas. He says: "The other famous oracle, to which they now often refer, as they have still some fancies connected with it, was the *Makadistati*, or 'House of the Infants,' a cavern, near the Knife River, which they supposed extended far into the earth, but whose entrance was only a span wide. This cave, they say, was inhabited by pigmies, or mysterious infants, who came out only at night, and then with great caution, lest they should be observed, and who followed a wise and watchful leader that knew the scent of a man and snuffed the air as he advanced, like the leader of a band of antelope. They suppose that if he detected the presence of a human being, he gave the alarm and all retreated. After rainy nights, they saw tracks of some animals going from and returning to the cave, which tracks they said were those of the infants. The oracle was thus consulted: The childless husband, after a long fast, would repair to the neighborhood of the cave at night, and secrete himself behind a boulder, to the leeward, to watch; if, in his hunger-weakened brain, he had a vision of the infants, he returned home, confident that he would be a father within a year. The barren wife who desired children would, at sunset, lay at the mouth of the cave a tiny play-ball and a little bow and arrow. If the ball was missing in the

Dr.  
Washington  
Matthews'  
account of  
the cave  
called the  
"House  
of the  
Infants,"  
to which  
barren  
women  
resorted in  
order to  
obtain  
offspring.

<sup>1</sup> Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), i. 253 sq.

morning, she believed that within a year she would be the mother of a girl; while if the bow and arrow were missing, she supposed she would be the mother of a boy. If neither were 'taken,' she went back with little hope, and could not consult the oracle again until a year had elapsed. There are those among them who imagine that, in some way or other, their children come from the *Makadistati*; and marks of contusion on an infant, arising from tight swaddling or other causes, are gravely attributed to kicks received from his former comrades when he was ejected from his subterranean abode."<sup>1</sup>

According to this last account it appears that some at least of the Hidatsas or Minnetarees imagine the "House of the Infants" to be inhabited by spirit children, who can project themselves into barren women and be born of them. This belief is identical with that of the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia, and also with that of the Melanesians of the Banks' Islands.<sup>2</sup> A similar belief is entertained in certain circumstances by the Baganda of Central Africa. For in Uganda still-born babes and children born feet foremost are buried at cross-roads, and mounds are raised over their remains; and when women or girls pass by such a grave, they throw grass, sticks, or dust on it for the purpose, so they say, of preventing the ghost of the child from entering into them and being reborn.<sup>3</sup> Finding this crude theory of conception at points so distant from each other, we can hardly doubt that it has been held by savages far more commonly than would appear from the few instances of it which have been recorded. As I have already repeatedly pointed out, such primitive theories probably furnish the starting-point of totemism; and it is therefore not without significance that they are held in what may be called the classic lands of totemism, the heart of America, the heart of Africa, and the heart of Australia.

A Siouan or Dacotan tribe closely akin by blood and

<sup>1</sup> Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, 1877), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 182 sq., 188 sqq., vol. ii. pp. 89 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> From notes furnished by the Rev.

J. Roscoe, who had already described the custom somewhat more briefly. See his "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 30.

Analogy  
of the  
Hidatsa or  
Minnetaree  
belief to  
that of the  
Central  
Australians.

language to the Minnetarees or Hidatsas are the Upsarokas or Crows. In 1804 they were found by Lewis and Clark on the Knife River. Unlike their kinsmen the Minnetarees, who were agricultural and village Indians, the Crows were a roving tribe of hunters, who neither dwelt in villages nor tilled the ground, except that they grew a little tobacco. With their skin tents they moved about from place to place on horseback, hunting the buffaloes and every sort of game. They were a haughty tribe, who looked down with contempt on the whites. A troop of these barbarous cavaliers was a picturesque sight, as they sat their fine horses on panther-skins, their bronzed faces painted with many colours, their long hanging hair, of which they were very proud, decked with fluttering feathers, their bows and arrows slung on their backs, and guns or spears in their hands. When Prince Maximilian travelled in their country, they were reckoned to number four hundred tents and to muster from nine to ten thousand horses, some of them very fine animals. They roamed the prairies from the Yellowstone and Cheyenne Rivers to the Big Horn River and the Rocky Mountains. Their foes were the Dacotas, Blackfeet, and Cheyennes; their friends the Minnetarees and Mandans.<sup>1</sup>

The Upsarokas or Crows, a Siouan tribe of hunters.

According to L. H. Morgan, the Crows were divided into the following exogamous clans:—<sup>2</sup>

Exogamous clans of the Crows.

- |                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Prairie Dog.         | 2. Bad Leggings.       |
| 3. Skunk.               | 4. Treacherous Lodges. |
| 5. Lost Lodges.         | 6. Bad Honours.        |
| 7. Butchers.            | 8. Moving Lodges.      |
| 9. Bear's Paw Mountain. | 10. Blackfoot Lodges.  |
| 11. Fish Catchers.      | 12. Antelope.          |
| 13. Raven.              |                        |

Only two or three of these names appear to be totemic; the others resemble those of the dancing bands or societies,

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905), i. 187; Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 395 sq., 398 sq.; L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 185; *Handbook of American Indians north*

*of Mexico*, i. 367 sqq. The name Crow as applied to this tribe is a translation through the French *gens des corbeaux* of their own name for themselves, namely, *Absároke*, which means crow, sparrow-hawk, or bird people.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 159.

It seems doubtful whether the Crow clans are totemic.

Rules of marriage and descent.

Right of a man to marry all his wife's younger sisters in her lifetime. Frequency of this custom among the American Indians.

which are common in Indian tribes. Morgan himself was inclined for a time to take the same view; however, he says that the organisation of the Crows in clans or gentes, as he calls them, was clearly established by their rules of descent, marriage customs, and laws of inheritance with respect to property. His interpreter among the Crows was Robert Meldrum, then a factor of the American Fur Company, who had lived in the tribe for forty years, was one of their chiefs, and had mastered their language so perfectly that he thought in it. The rules of marriage, descent, and inheritance among the Crows were the same as among the Minnetarees; that is, no man might marry a woman of the same clan, children belonged to the clan of their mother, not of their father, and property was hereditary in the clan.<sup>1</sup>

The Crows observed a remarkable marriage custom which we have already met with among other Indian tribes.<sup>2</sup> If a man married the eldest daughter of a family, he had a right to marry all her younger sisters when they grew up, even in the lifetime of his first wife, their eldest sister. He might waive the right; but if he insisted, his claim to the women would be admitted by their clan. Morgan found the same custom with regard to the marriage of sisters practised by at least forty other Indian tribes.<sup>3</sup> Such a custom, taken together with the custom of the levirate, which allows brothers to marry the same woman successively, appears to be most naturally explicable on the hypothesis that it has survived from a time when a group of brothers regularly married a group of sisters.<sup>4</sup>

The last tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock which we shall notice here, though it does not belong to the

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 159. Prince Maximilian says that the Crows were divided into eight bands or societies, each of them with its own dance. Among the names of these bands were Buffalo-hulls, Prairie-foxes, Shorn Heads, Little Dogs, and Big Dogs. See Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 401. The Prince's

evidence is in favour of the view that the divisions of the Crows were not totemic clans, but dancing bands or societies. We shall deal with these bands or societies later on.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 65, 85, 127, 136, 148.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> See also above, vol. ii. pp. 266 sq.

Missouri valley, are the Biloxi. They were a small tribe living in the southern part of what is now the State of Mississippi. Formerly they were reckoned to the Muskogean stock, which comprised the Indian tribes occupying the south-east portion of the United States. But the researches of Messrs. A. S. Gatschet and J. Owen Dorsey have proved that the language of the Biloxi was Siouan. The tribe is nearly or actually now extinct. A few survivors whom J. Owen Dorsey visited in 1892 and 1893 at Lecompte in Louisiana gave him the names of three of their clans, the Deer, the Bear, and the Alligator. Descent was traced in the female line. Though the exogamy of the clan appears to have broken down, the Biloxi retained the classificatory system of relationship in a peculiarly elaborate form. Thus they had terms for at least three degrees beyond grandparents; they had distinct terms and groups for father's elder sister, father's younger sister, father's elder brother, father's younger brother, and similarly for the mother's elder and younger brothers and sisters. They distinguished between the son of an elder sister and the son of a younger sister, and similarly between the daughter of an elder sister and the daughter of a younger sister. A man might not marry the daughter of his brother's wife nor the sister of his wife's father; but he might marry his deceased wife's sister, and a woman might marry her deceased husband's brother.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting, but not surprising, to find the classificatory system of relationship outlasting the exogamy of the totemic clans.

The Biloxi, a Siouan tribe of the south.

Their clans.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Biloxi.

Marriage with a deceased wife's sister and with a deceased husband's brother.

### § 11. Totemism among the Gulf Nations

The south-eastern portion of what is now the United States, from the Mississippi on the west to the Atlantic on the east, and from the Tennessee River on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, was inhabited by five principal Indian nations, which, following Morgan, we may call the

The Gulf nations, the Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 243 sq.;

J. Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East* (Washington, 1894), pp. 14-17; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 147 sq.

Gulf nations. These were the Creeks, the Seminoles, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees. Of these the first four belonged to the same linguistic stock, which has been called the Muskogean, from *Muskogee*, more properly *Maskoki*, the name by which the Creeks, the leading nation of the four, called themselves. The Choctaws and Chickasaws were subdivisions of the same people; their dialects are closely allied. But the variation between the Creek and the Choctaw dialects is very great. The Seminoles are derived from the Creeks. On the other hand the Cherokees belonged to an entirely different linguistic family, being an outlying branch of the Iroquoian stock. The territory occupied by the Muskogean peoples comprised the present States of Mississippi and Alabama, with parts of Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. All the nations of this region had made considerable progress in culture. They were sedentary and agricultural, inhabiting large villages or rather towns of substantially built houses. Politically the Muskogean nations were organised in confederacies, each of which was governed by a federal council composed of representatives, who met annually or as occasion required at a place and time appointed by the chief. Each town was in like manner ruled by a council of its own, a miniature of the federal council. Thus the constitution of these Indians bore some resemblance to that under which the same region is still governed by a white race instead of a red.<sup>1</sup>

Among these nations the confederacy of the Creeks formed the largest division of the Muskogean family. In early times they occupied the greater part of Alabama and Georgia, and for about a century before they were finally removed, between 1836 and 1840, to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi, they owned some fifty towns.<sup>2</sup> The confederacy included six tribes, namely the Creeks proper or Muskogees (*Maskoki*), as they called themselves, the Hitchetes, Yoochees, Alabamas, Coosatees, and Natchez, all

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 189 sq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 245 sqq., 961 sq. As to the languages of the Muskogean family, see A. S. Gatschet, *A Migra-*

*tion Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. (Philadelphia, 1884) pp. 53 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 257; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 362 sq.

of whom spoke dialects of the same language, with the exception of the Natchez, who were admitted to the confederacy after their settlement on the lower Mississippi had been broken up and the tribe dispersed by the French in 1730.<sup>1</sup> Taken altogether the Creeks were the most powerful and notable Indian nation in the southern territories of the United States.<sup>2</sup> Their land is a pleasant one and the climate salubrious. The winters are soft and mild, and the summers sweet and wholesome. Running waters and constant breezes temper the heat of summer, and in the autumn the air is fragrant with the perfume of the ripening aromatic shrubbery, which abounds throughout the country. In the eighteenth century the towns and villages of the Creeks were built along the banks of rivers, where the land was fertile, the water clear, and the air pure. The number of houses in them varied from twenty to two hundred. A distinction was drawn between the Red or War towns and the White or Peace towns; the Red towns were governed by warriors only, and the White towns by civil officers. These towns were distinguished from each other by red and white poles respectively. In the centre of each town was the public square, which was the place for public meetings and the celebration of festivals, especially for the annual busk or feast of first fruits in autumn, when the new maize was eaten with solemn rites.<sup>3</sup> A Creek town

The towns  
of the  
Creeks.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 160 sq.; compare *id.*, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 189; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 362 sq. As to the Natchez (*Naktche*), see A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 34 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Gatschet, *op. cit.* i. 118.

<sup>3</sup> J. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 257; W. Bartram, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians* (1789), with prefatory and supplementary notes by E. G. Squier, p. 61; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 120-122; Caleb Swan, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 258, 262 sqq., 279. The article of W. Bartram to which I

have referred (*Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians*), is, I understand, an extract from the *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, vol. iii. Part i. (1853). I possess a copy of the article, but without the general title. As to the Creek festival or the new fruits at harvest, see J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 96-111; W. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, etc.* (London, 1792), pp. 507 sq.; A. Hodgson, *Letters from North America* (London, 1824), i. 131 sq.; B. Hawkins, "Sketch of the Creek Country," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, iii. (Savannah, 1848) pp. 75-78; A. A. McGillivray, in

Creek agri-  
culture.

had generally a large tract of excellent arable land adjoining or near it. The crops raised by the inhabitants included maize, rice, sweet potatoes, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons. The whole population planted their crops in one vast field together, yet every family or household had its own plot, which was marked out from the rest by a narrow strip of grass or any other natural or artificial boundary. Thus the whole plantation was an assemblage of lots adjoining each other, all comprised within one enclosure or general boundary. In the spring, after the ground had been already prepared, early one morning the sound of a conch shell summoned all the people to meet in the public square. Thither accordingly they repaired with their hoes and axes, and thence they proceeded to the fields, where they began to plant, not every one in his own plot, but all together working at one part of the field till it was finished. And when the rising crops were ready for dressing and cleansing, the people wrought all together in the same manner. When the harvest was come and the busk or feast of first fruits was over, every man carried off the ripe grain from his own patch and laid it up in his own granary. But before the crops were brought home from the field, a large crib or granary called the king's crib was set up in the plantation, and in it each family deposited as much or as little of the fruits of the earth as they thought fit. The grain and other fruits thus laid up in the king's crib served the king or chief (*mico*) as a public treasure over which he had control for the general good. Besides their cereals and roots the Creeks cultivated peaches, oranges, plums, and figs; several species of palms furnished them with a variety of agreeable and nourishing food; and grapes they had in abundance. They extracted a sweet oil from acorns and made use of it in their cookery. And in addition to the common field or public plantation every householder in a town enclosed a garden next to his house, where he planted maize, rice, squashes and so forth; and these, being planted earlier and tended more carefully, bore fruit before the crops in the common field were ripe.<sup>1</sup>

H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 267 sq. Elsewhere I have given a description of this

festival based on the original authorities (*The Golden Bough*,<sup>2</sup> ii. 329 sqq.).

<sup>1</sup> W. Bartram, *Travels through*

At the head of every Creek town was a chief (*mico*), whom the whites commonly called the king. He was elected for life from one particular tribe or totemic clan; for example, in one town he was always chosen from the Eagle clan. On his death, if his nephews were fit for office, one of them always succeeded his uncle; but if they were unfit, another of the next of kin was chosen, the office always descending in the female line. It was the king's duty to convene the council and preside over its deliberations in the public square. The council heard complaints, judged disputes, and decided questions of peace and war as well as all other matters of public concern. The king was little more than its president, and though he was treated with profound respect he dressed like an ordinary citizen, hunted with his family, and even worked daily in the field with his axe and hoe. His house was distinguished from those of other people only by its size. The king's body was beautifully tattooed in blue with figures of the sun, moon, and stars, animals of the chase, landscapes, battles, and so forth. The royal standard, which the Creeks always carried with them to battle, was made from the tail feathers of a species of vulture. Next in dignity to the king was the War Chief, who commanded the army. He was appointed to office by the king. Further, in every town there was a High Priest or chief Medicine-man, a person of great power and consequence in the state. The council never decided on an expedition against an enemy without his advice and assistance. He foretold, and even professed to produce, rain, thunder, and lightning; he claimed to heal diseases, to practise witchcraft, and to invoke or exorcise evil spirits. Sometimes the king combined the offices of War Chief and High Priest with his proper regal functions, and then his power became very formidable and dangerous to the liberty of the citizens; and he must be a very cunning man if he died in his bed

Each Creek town was governed by a king (*mico*) and council.

Duties of the king.

His mode of life.

The War Chief.

The High Priest or chief Medicine-man.

*North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, etc.* (London, 1792) pp. 509-511; *id.*, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians* (1789), with prefatory and supplementary notes by E. G. Squier, pp. 39-41, 47-49. For a detailed account of the

various Creek towns, their situation, fields and orchards, see Col. Benjamin Hawkins, "A Sketch of the Creek Country in the years 1798 and 1799," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. Part i. (Savannah, 1848) pp. 19 *sqq.*

The annual  
new fire.

and not by the rifle or the tomahawk.<sup>1</sup> One of the duties of the High Priest was to make the new fire annually at the Feast of the First Fruits in autumn. This he did by rubbing two dry sticks against each other. All the fires in the town or nation had previously been put out and they were afterwards rekindled with the new fire. A perpetual fire burned in a large circular building commonly called the Rotunda. It was guarded by priests, and no woman might set foot within the building under pain of death.<sup>2</sup>

The  
houses of  
the Creeks.

The houses of well-to-do people among the Creeks consisted of four buildings arranged round a square courtyard. One of these buildings served as a kitchen and winter lodging-house; another as a summer lodging-house and hall for receiving visitors; a third consisted of a warehouse for storing skins and furs; and the fourth, completing the square, was commonly in two stories and comprised a granary, a storeroom, a parlour, and a spacious and airy pavilion on the upper floor, where the head of the family reposed and received his guests in the hot weather. Smaller or less wealthy families contented themselves with houses composed of one, two, or three buildings.<sup>3</sup>

The Creeks were divided into more than twenty-two

<sup>1</sup> B. Hawkins, "Sketch of the Creek Country," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. Part i. (Savannah, 1848) pp. 68, 69 sq.; W. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida*, etc. (London, 1792) pp. 149, 492-495; *id.*, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians* (1789) with prefatory and supplementary notes by E. G. Squier, pp. 19, 23 sqq.; Caleb Swan, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 279; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, pp. 156 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. Bartram, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians, with prefatory and supplementary notes by E. G. Squier*, pp. 26 sq.; J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 105-108. As to the Rotunda, which stood near the public square, see B. Hawkins, "Sketch

of the Creek Country," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. Part i. (Savannah, 1848) pp. 71 sq., from whose description we should not infer that any special sanctity attached to the fire in the Rotunda. He says: "In the centre of the room, on a small rise, the fire is made, of dry cane or dry old pine slabs, split fine, and laid in a spiral circle. This is the assembly room for all people, old and young; they assemble every night, and amuse themselves with dancing, singing, or conversation. And here, sometimes, in very cold weather the old and naked sleep." See further Caleb Swan, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 265 sq.; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 174-176.

<sup>3</sup> W. Bartram, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians, with prefatory and supplementary notes by E. G. Squier*, pp. 55 sq.

exogamous clans, of which the following have been recorded :—

Exogamous  
clans of the  
Creeks.

- |                  |            |                   |
|------------------|------------|-------------------|
| 1. Wolf.         | 2. Bear.   | 3. Skunk.         |
| 4. Alligator.    | 5. Deer.   | 6. Bird.          |
| 7. Panther.      | 8. Wind.   | 9. Toad.          |
| 10. Mole.        | 11. Fox.   | 12. Raccoon.      |
| 13. Fish.        | 14. Maize. | 15. Sweet potato. |
| 16. Hickory nut. | 17. Salt.  | 18. Wild-cat.     |
| 19. Beaver.      | 20. Otter. | 21. Buffalo.      |
| 22. Snake,       |            |                   |

and several others, whose native names are recorded, though their meanings have been forgotten.<sup>1</sup>

In the eighteenth century James Adair rejected "the wild notion which some have espoused of the North American Indians being Præ-Adamites," but adopted what he conceived to be the rational view that they were lineally descended from the ancient Israelites, either while that Chosen People was still a maritime power (whenever that may have been), or more probably after the captivity.<sup>2</sup> He was personally acquainted with the Creek, Choctaw, Chikasaw, and Cherokee nations, and appears to have been an accurate observer, however little we may now be disposed to accept his genealogical theories and his attempts to resolve Indian words into Hebrew. On the totemism of these nations his observations deserve to be quoted, though we cannot say how far they apply to the Creeks in particular: He says: "As the Israelites were divided into tribes, and had chiefs over them, so the Indians divide themselves: each tribe forms a little community within the nation, and as the nation hath its particular symbol, so hath each tribe the badge from which it is denominated. The sachem of each tribe is a necessary party in conveyances and treaties, to which he affixes the mark of his tribe, as a corporation with

James  
Adair's  
account of  
totemism  
among the  
tribes of  
this region.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 161; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 155 sq. The two lists given by these writers are independent and for the most part in agreement with each other. The Beaver and Otter clans are not mentioned by Morgan; and the Buffalo and Snake clans are mentioned neither

by Morgan nor Gatschet. As to these two last, see below, pp. 162, 163. Compare H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, i. 275, where the Creek clans mentioned are those of the Tiger (Panther), Wind, Bear, Wolf, Bird, Fox, Root, Alligator, and Deer.

<sup>2</sup> J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 11 sqq.

us doth their public seal. If we go from nation to nation among them, we shall not find one, who doth not lineally distinguish himself by his respective family. The genealogical names which they assume are derived, either from the names of those animals, whereof the *cherubim* are said in revelation to be compounded, or from such creatures as are most familiar to them. They have the families of the *eagle*, *panther*, *tyger*, and *buffalo*; the family of the *bear*, *deer*, *raccoon*, *tortoise*, *snake*, *fish*, and likewise of the *wind*. . . . The Indians, however, bear no religious respect to the animals from which they derive the names of their tribes, but will kill any of the species, when opportunity serves. The wolf, indeed, several of them do not care to meddle with, believing it unlucky to kill them; which is the sole reason that few of the Indians shoot at that creature, through a notion of spoiling their guns.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus it appears from Adair’s account that among the Creeks and kindred nations men had no superstitious regard for their totemic animals. On the other hand, we learn from him that the social tie, which knits together members of the same totemic clan, was strong among these nations. For after describing what he calls the tribes or families named after animals, that is, the totemic clans, he proceeds thus: “I have observed with much inward satisfaction the community of goods that prevailed among them, after the patriarchal manner, and that of the primitive christians; especially with those of their own tribe. Though they are become exceedingly corrupt, in most of their ancient commendable qualities, yet they are so hospitable, kind-hearted, and free, that they would share with those of their own tribe the last part of their provisions, even to a single ear of corn. . . . When the Indians are travelling in their own country, they enquire for a house of their own tribe; and if there be any, they go to it, and are kindly received, though they never saw the persons before—they eat, drink, and regale themselves with as much freedom as at their own tables.”<sup>2</sup> It would seem that the relationship between members of the same clan, who inhabited different towns,

<sup>1</sup> J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 15 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. Adair, *op. cit.* p. 17.

Closeness  
of the  
social tie  
between  
members  
of the same  
clan.

was closer than that between members of different clans who inhabited the same town. For Adair tells us that "when a warrior dies a natural death (which seldom happens) the war-drums, musical instruments, and all other kinds of diversion are laid aside for the space of three days and nights. In this time of mourning for the dead, I have known some of the frolicsome young sparks to ask the name of the deceased person's tribe; and once, being told it was a *raccoon* (the genealogical name of the family), one of them scoffingly replied, 'Then let us away to another town, and cheer ourselves with those who have no reason to weep; for why should we make our hearts weigh heavy for an ugly, dead racoon?' But notwithstanding they are commonly negligent of any other tribe but their own, they regard their own particular lineal descent in as strict a manner as did the Hebrew nation."<sup>1</sup>

Amongst the clans mentioned by Adair are those of the Buffalo and the Snake. These seem to have become extinct since his time, for they are not noticed by Morgan or Gatschet, our principal modern authorities. However, the Buffalo clan is mentioned by Major Caleb Swan, who travelled among the Creeks in the winter of 1790-1791. He says: "On the post, or on a plank over each of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on."<sup>2</sup>

Buffalo  
and Snake  
clans.

Totemic  
emblems.

Marriage between persons of the same clan was forbidden, and among the Creeks, as among the Seminoles and all the nations of the Muskogean family, descent was in the female line. Children took their clan from their mother, not from their father. Property and the office of head chief or king (*nico*) were hereditary in the clan. The king, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> could only be chosen from one particular clan, but the royal clan differed in different towns. In one town it was the Eagle clan, in another the Raccoon clan, in another the Bear clan, and in another probably the Wind clan. In cases of adultery and murder, only the relations

Rules of  
marriage  
and  
descent.

<sup>1</sup> J. Adair, *History of the American Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 265.

<sup>2</sup> C. Swan, in H. R. Schoolcraft's

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 159.

of the injured person who belonged to his clan had the right of judging and obtaining satisfaction: the king and the council were debarred from any interference.<sup>1</sup>

Trace  
of the  
levirate.

Amongst the Creeks and kindred nations it appears that the law of the levirate was observed in a somewhat peculiar form; for James Adair, sniffing about for traces of Judaism among the Indians, thought he detected a particularly strong scent in the relation of a widow to her deceased husband's brother. After mentioning the Hebrew law which obliged a man to raise up seed to his deceased brother by marrying his childless widow, he goes on: "The Indian custom looks the very same way; yet it is in this as in their law of blood—the eldest brother can redeem. Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years; yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart, for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station—and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herself in the same manner as the Hebrew widow, who was refused by the surviving brother of her deceased husband, became free to marry whom she pleased. The warm-constituted young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brothers-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of that mortifying law."<sup>2</sup> This account seems to shew that an old custom, which obliged an elder brother to marry the widow of his deceased younger brother, had dwindled away to a custom which allowed the widow to marry whom she pleased, if only the elder brother of the deceased had once exercised his marital right.

The classifi-  
catory  
system of  
relation-  
ship among  
the Creeks.

The Creeks, like all the other Gulf nations, including the Cherokees, possessed the classificatory system of relationship, though in a form which presents certain anomalies.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 153, 154. Compare L. H. Morgan, *Ancient*

*Society*, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> J. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, pp. 189 sq.

Thus among the Creeks, in the generation above his own a man called his father's brother "my little father" (*Chul-kÿ-che*) and his mother's sister "my little mother" (*Chuch-kÿ-ce*); but his mother's brother he called "my uncle" (*Chu-pâ-wâ*), and his father's sister he called "my grandmother" (*Chu-pÿ-se*). Classifica-  
tory terms  
for father  
and mother.

In his own generation he called his cousins, the children of his father's brother, "my other brother" (*Un-it-te-châ-ke-to*) and "my sister" (*Chu-wun-wâ*); and he called his cousins, the children of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" (*Chu-hlâ-hâ*), "my younger brother" (*Chu-chÿ-se*), and "my sister" (*Chu-wun-wâ*), according to their sex and age. But, as usually happens under the classificatory system, his relations to his other cousins, the children either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, were different. He called his male cousin, the son of his father's sister, "my little father" (*Chuhl-kÿ-che*), and he called his female cousin, the daughter of his father's sister, "my grandmother" (*Chu-pÿ-se*). Conversely, he called his male cousin, the son of his mother's brother, "my son" (*Chup-pÿ-che*); and he called his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, "my daughter" (*Chuch-hus-te*). A woman likewise called her female cousin, the daughter of her father's sister, "my grandmother" (*Chu-pÿ-se*); and, conversely, she called her female cousin, the daughter of her mother's brother, "my grandchild" (*Um-os-sÿs-wâ*). But her male cousin, the son of her father's sister, she called "my little father" (*Chuhl-kÿ-che*); and her male cousin, the son of her mother's brother, she called "my grandchild" (*Um-os-sÿs-wa*). In this treatment of cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, the Creek form of the classificatory system agrees with the Minnetaree form in assigning to the cousin who is the child of the sister seniority of rank over the cousin who is the child of the brother. For the son of the sister is "little father" to his cousin, the son of the brother; and the daughter of the sister is "grandmother" to her cousin, the daughter of the brother. Thus, like the Minnetaree, and unlike the Omaha form of the classificatory system,<sup>1</sup> the Creek form shews a preference for the female line; Preference  
shewn for  
the female  
line.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 115-117, 149.

and this is natural enough, since the Creeks have retained maternal descent or mother-kin.

Classi-  
ficatory  
terms for  
nephews  
and nieces.

In the generation below his own a Creek man calls his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Chup-pŭ-che*) and "my daughter" (*Chu-chus-te*); but his sister's son and daughter he calls "my nephew" (*Un-ho-pŭe-wă*) and "my niece" (*Un-hăk-pu-te*). In the generation below her own a woman calls her sister's son and daughter "my little son" (*Cuch-ho-sŭ-che*) and "my daughter" (*Chu-chus-wă*). Thus far the relationships between a Creek man and woman and what we should call their nephews and nieces are normal according to the classificatory system, except that a woman calls her sister's son "my little son" instead of "my son." But when we come to the relationship between a woman and her brother's children, the Creek form of the classificatory system presents an anomaly; for instead of calling them "my nephew" and "my niece," as she would do in the normal form of the system, she calls them both "my grandchild" (*Um-os-sus-wă*).<sup>1</sup> A similar anomaly occurs in the Choctaw form of the classificatory system.<sup>2</sup>

Peculiarities of the  
Creek  
form of  
the classi-  
ficatory  
system.

The reader is perhaps now sufficiently familiar with the classificatory system of relationship to perceive for himself the other points in which the Creek form of it diverges from the normal pattern. But it may not be amiss to indicate some of them. In the first place, then, a man distinguishes his father's brother from his father by calling him "my little father," and similarly he distinguishes his mother's sister from his mother by calling her "my little mother." This change marks an advance; the father's brother is no longer confounded with the father nor the mother's sister with the mother. Again, in his own generation, while he continues to call his male cousins, the sons of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" and "my younger brother," according to their ages, he gives a quite different name (translated by Morgan "my other brother") to his male cousins, the sons of his father's brother. This also

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 *sqq.*; compare *id.* pp. 190

*sq.* (where the system presented is the Choctaw, not the Creek).

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 176 *sq.*

marks an advance ; certain cousins are no longer confounded with brothers. Lastly, the treatment of cousins, who are the children not of two brothers or of two sisters, but of a brother and a sister, also differs from that accorded to them in the ordinary type of the classificatory system ; for whereas under the ordinary form of the system these children would be cousins to each other, just as with us, under the Creek form of the system they are little father and son, little father and daughter, or grandmother and grandchild. Similar, but not identical, treatment of such cousins occurs in the Minnetaree and Choctaw forms of the classificatory system.<sup>1</sup>

The Seminole Indians of Florida are a branch of the Creeks, from whom they seceded and by whom they were looked down upon as outcasts. Their language does not differ appreciably from the Creek. But they never attained the same power and importance as the parent stock, though they offered a stubborn resistance both to the Spaniards and to the troops of the United States.<sup>2</sup> Indeed the Government of the United States, on the confession of one of its citizens, has never been able either to conciliate or to conquer these intractable Indians. The mass of the Seminoles has been deported from their native country to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi, but in 1880 more than two hundred Seminoles still remained in Florida, spread in scattered settlements over

The Seminoles of Florida, a branch of the Creek Indians.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 149, and below, pp. 175 sq.

<sup>2</sup> As to the history of the Seminoles, see A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 66 sqq. The attempt of the United States Government in 1832 to banish the Seminoles from Florida to the west of the Mississippi resulted in a war which raged with unabated fury for five years, entailing an immense expenditure of blood and treasure. As to the identity of the Seminole and Creek language, see A. S. Gatschet, *op. cit.* i. 73. On the other hand it has been said that the

Creek and Seminole dialects differ so widely as to be hardly intelligible ; but this statement is made on the authority of General McGillivray, who, although he was called their great chief by the Seminoles, had seldom, if ever, visited their country, and few of them had ever seen him. See H. R. Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 260. The Creek chief, Alexander McGillivray, was the son of a Scotch trader by a half-breed mother. See J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 209 sq.

The  
country  
of the  
Seminoles.

an otherwise almost uninhabited region and rarely seeing the face of a white man. Their country is a vast and nearly unbroken plain, which exhibits a remarkable alternation of the most exuberant fertility and almost absolute sterility. For miles the traveller may pass over low ridges of dry dazzling white sand interspersed with a growth of dwarf palmetto and of sparse pinewoods, which afford little or no shade from the burning rays of the nearly tropical sun. Then for miles again he may splash through sedgy swamps or shallow lakes, for so level is the country that the sluggish streams have no proper banks and the water overflows on all sides in reedy grass-fringed meres and morasses. Where the ground rises a few inches above the dead flat it is commonly covered with dark pines or oaks, which rise like islets above the marsh. Where it sinks a few inches, the swamp is generally filled with cypress trees, forming sombre sharply-marked thickets. Again, it is a far-spreading savannah of springy turf, a great expanse of green lawns and swelling knolls, over which the traveller passes with delight to rest from time to time in the shade of noble woods of intermingled pines and oaks, of beeches with massive trunks like the shafts of a cathedral aisle, of palms and magnolias, of luxuriant groves of oranges and lemons, spangled with their golden fruit, and mirrored in the still clear water of a glassy lake. Over all is spread the serenity of a sky of eternal summer; for lying on the edge of the tropics the country, where it is not a sandy waste, is green throughout the year with a profusion of foliage, fruit, and flowers. It was well named by the Spaniards Florida, the Flowery Land.<sup>1</sup>

Fertility  
of the  
country.

The country abounds with game, and the waters with fish, and the soil, where it exists, being a soft black loam, is of such fertility that it needs only to be cleared of trees, vines, and underwood and to be planted, in order to yield an abundant return of maize, sweet potatoes, melons, or anything else that thrives in a warm and equable climate.

<sup>1</sup> W. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, etc.* (London, 1792), pp. 168-216; Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole

Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), pp. 477-599, 504, 508, 512, 527-529.

Indeed nature has here been so bounteous to man and made life so easy for him, that it might seem as if his energy, unbraced by any serious difficulties to contend with, must in time be sapped and he must sink into languor and indolence, content with the present and heedless of the morrow. At all events, from whatever cause, the Seminoles never played the conspicuous part in history which was sustained by their kinsfolk the Creeks. Yet a modern American observer of the remnant of the tribe in its native haunts has drawn a very favourable picture of their physical appearance and character. The men are tall, strong, handsome, and well-built, the women very comely. They are intelligent, affectionate, and industrious, the men working with the women in the fields, as well as hunting and fishing for the support of their families. The women are virtuous and modest; there are no half-breed whites among them; death at the hand of her relations would be the penalty inflicted on the woman who gave birth to such a child. They dislike the Government of the United States and everything even remotely connected with it, and they have probably good reasons for doing so.<sup>1</sup> Not less favourable is the portrait painted of the Seminoles and their country by a traveller towards the end of the eighteenth century, at a time when the tribe had not yet been conquered in war and banished for the most part from its native land to a remote region of the West. He says: "The Siminoles are but a weak people with respect to numbers. . . . Yet this handful of people possesses a vast territory; all East Florida and the greatest part of West Florida, which being naturally cut and divided into thousands of islets, knolls, and eminences by the innumerable rivers, lakes, swamps, vast savannas and ponds, form so many secure retreats and temporary dwelling places, that effectually guard them from any sudden invasions or attacks from their enemies; and being such a swampy, hommocky country, furnishes such a plenty and variety of supplies for the nourishment of varieties of animals, that I can venture to assert, that no part of the globe so abounds

Character  
of the  
Seminoles.

W.  
Bartram's  
account  
of the  
Seminoles.

<sup>1</sup> Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), pp. 479, 481, 482, 490 *sqq.*, 504, 529-531.

with wild game or creatures fit for the food of man. Thus they enjoy a superabundance of the necessaries and conveniences of life, with the security of person and property, the two great concerns of mankind. The hides of deer, bears, tigers and wolves, together with honey, wax and other productions of the country, purchase their clothing, equipage, and domestic utensils from the whites. They seem to be free from want or desires. No cruel enemy to dread; nothing to give them disquietude, but the gradual encroachments of the white people. Thus contented and undisturbed, they appear as blithe and free as the birds of the air, and like them as volatile and active, tuneful and vociferous. The visage, action, and deportment of the Seminoles form the most striking picture of happiness in this life; joy, contentment, love, and friendship, without guile or affectation, seem inherent in them, or predominant in their vital principle, for it leaves them but with the last breath of life. It even seems imposing a constraint upon their ancient chiefs and senators, to maintain a necessary decorum and solemnity, in their public councils; not even the debility and decrepitude of extreme old age is sufficient to erase from their visages this youthful, joyous simplicity; but like the gray eve of a serene and calm day a gladdening, cheering blush remains on the western horizon after the sun is set."<sup>1</sup> Since Bartram thus wrote, the birds to which he compared the Seminoles are mostly flown and their nests are empty.

The small remnant of the tribe still living in Florida in 1880-1881 was found to be divided into at least nine exogamous clans, of which the names were as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

- |          |                     |               |
|----------|---------------------|---------------|
| 1. Wind. | 2. Tiger (Panther). | 3. Otter.     |
| 4. Bird. | 5. Deer.            | 6. Snake.     |
| 7. Bear. | 8. Wolf.            | 9. Alligator. |

Thus the clans, so far as they go, agree with those of the Creeks.<sup>3</sup> No man is allowed to marry a woman of his own clan; the children belong exclusively to the mother and

<sup>1</sup> W. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country,* etc. (London, 1792), pp. 209 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole

Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), p. 507.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 161.

Exogamous  
clans of the  
Seminoles.

Rules of  
marriage  
and  
descent.

take their clan from her, not from their father. The two hundred and eight persons who made up this fragment of the tribe consisted of thirty-seven families, and these were distributed into twenty-two camps, in each of which, with one apparent exception, all the persons but the husbands belonged to a single clan.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known as to any religious or magical rites practised by the totemic clans. If we may judge by the analogy of their kinsmen the Creeks, who are said to have no respect for their totemic animals,<sup>2</sup> it seems probable that among the Seminoles also the superstitious side of totemism has long fallen into decay. The principal ceremony in which the native religious beliefs of the Seminoles find expression is the Green Corn Dance, held at the time when the maize is ripe in May and June. It resembles the Creek Feast of First Fruits, being an annual purification and rejoicing to celebrate the eating of the new corn. But the details of the festival are unknown.<sup>3</sup> Maize is the principal product of Seminole agriculture, but the people also highly value an edible root called *koonti*, which yields an excellent flour. They say that when Jesus Christ was incarnated on earth He came down first at Cape Florida and there bestowed this valuable root on the Red Man.<sup>4</sup>

The Green  
Corn  
Dance.

A more important tribe than the Seminoles were the Choctaws, who in the eighteenth century were perhaps the most numerous branch of the Muskogean stock. They held the middle and southern parts of what is now the State of Mississippi, where they had, according to early authors, from fifty to seventy villages. Their territory began some two hundred miles north of New Orleans and extended from the Mississippi on the west to the Tombigbee River and east of it. It is, or was in those days, a pleasant land of rich pastures, watered by numerous springs and brooks, broken here and there by hills, and shaded by fine timber, such as oak, hickory, walnut, and poplar. The climate is

The  
Choctaws,  
a numerous  
branch of  
the Musk-  
ogean  
stock.

<sup>1</sup> Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), pp. 507, 508.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole

Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), pp. 499, 510, 522 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Clay MacCauley, *op. cit.* pp. 499, 504, 513 sqq., 519.

happy and healthy. The towns of the Choctaws, who were a settled and agricultural people, stood on the banks of the small streams which flow into the Mobile River. The tribe waged constant war with their kinsmen the Creeks and Chickasaws. In the long struggle between France and England for the possession of America, the Choctaws sided with the French; they received an annual subsidy from the French court. The Englishman Adair paints their character in the darkest colours, the only virtues he allows them being their intense love of their native land and their utter contempt of danger in the defence of it. Even the French traveller Bossu, while he speaks of their devotion to France and their warlike character, has little good to say of their intelligence and their morals. In the early part of the nineteenth century, about 1832, the Choctaws migrated or were transferred to a rich and beautiful country on the Red River, to the west of the Mississippi.<sup>1</sup>

Their  
devotion to  
the French.

Their  
character.

Totemic  
and  
exogamous  
clans of the  
Choctaws.

The Choctaws were divided into totemic and exogamous clans. The first, apparently, to observe and record their totemic system was an Englishman, Adam Hodgson, who travelled among them in 1820. He says: "My half-breed Choctaw also informed me, that there were tribes or families among the Indians, somewhat similar to the Scottish clans; such as, the Panther Family, the Bird Family, the Racoon Family, the Wolf Family. He belonged to the Racoon Family, but his children to the family of his wife; families being perpetuated in the female line—an institution originating, perhaps, in polygamy. By marriage, the husband is considered as, in some degree, adopted into the family of his wife; and the mother's brothers are regarded as, in some respects, entitled to more influence over the children than their own father. The suitor always consults them (sending them the usual propitiatory offering of a blanket) when he wishes to marry their niece; and, if they approve,

<sup>1</sup> J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 282-285; Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, Seconde Édition (Paris, 1768), ii. 87 sqq., 100; G. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the Ameri-*

*can Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), ii. 45 sq., 122 sq.; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 100 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 288 sq.

the father consents as a matter of course. I have since had this confirmed by information from many different sources. Those of the same family or clan are not allowed to intermarry; although no relationship, however remote, can be traced between them; and although the ancestors of the two parties may have been living, for centuries, in different and distant nations. A marriage between a brother and a sister would not excite a stronger sensation, or be more loudly condemned. Indeed, wherever any of the family or clan meet, they recognise one another as brothers and sisters; and use one another's houses, though personally strangers, without reserve."<sup>1</sup> The same traveller also tells us that "the Choctaws formerly placed their dead on a scaffold, in a large chamber, called the House of Bones, a particular portion of which was reserved for each particular family, as the Raccoon Family, or the Panther Family."<sup>2</sup>

According to L. H. Morgan, the Choctaws were divided into eight exogamous clans, which were equally distributed between two phratries as follows:—<sup>3</sup>

Morgan's list of the Choctaw clans.

TOTEMIC SYSTEM OF THE CHOCTAWS

Phratries.	Clans.
I. Divided People . . . . .	{ 1. Reed. 2. <i>Law Okla.</i> 3. <i>Lulak.</i> 4. <i>Linoklusha.</i>
II. Beloved People . . . . .	{ 1. Beloved People. 2. Small People. 3. Large People. 4. Cray Fish.

It will be observed that none of the totemic clans mentioned by Hodgson (namely, the Panther, Bird, Raccoon,

<sup>1</sup> Adam Hodgson, *Letters from North America written during a Tour in the United States and Canada* (London, 1824), i. 244-246.

<sup>2</sup> Adam Hodgson, *op. cit.* pp. 258 sq.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 162.

and Wolf clans) are noticed by Morgan; but on the other hand all of them are included in his list of the Chickasaw clans.<sup>1</sup> It is possible, therefore, that Hodgson's informant, a half-blood Choctaw, whose wife was a Chickasaw and whose hut stood on the frontier between the two tribes,<sup>2</sup> referred to the Chickasaw and not to the Choctaw clans. But it is also possible that the Panther, Bird, Raccoon, and Wolf clans among the Choctaws were overlooked by Morgan, or that they had become extinct before his time.

Rules of marriage and descent.

Though property passed in the female line, a man might give it in his lifetime to his children. Such a practice might help to shift descent from the female to the male line.

No man might marry a woman of any clan in his own phratry, but he might marry a woman of any clan in the other phratry. Descent was in the female line. Both property and the office of sachem were hereditary in the clan. A Choctaw once expressed to Dr. Cyrus Byington, who laboured devotedly in the tribe as a missionary for forty-five years, a wish that he might be made a citizen of the United States in order that his children might inherit his property instead of his clan kindred, who would take it under the old clan law. For Choctaw custom distributed a man's property after his death among his brothers and sisters and the children of his sisters, all of whom were members of his own clan, whereas his children belonged not to his clan but to their mother's. However, a man was allowed to give his property in his lifetime to his own children, and if he did so, they could hold it against the members of their father's clan. Many Indian tribes now have considerable property in domestic animals, houses, and lands owned by individuals, and in these tribes it has become a common practice for a father to bestow his property during his life upon his children in order that it may not pass from them to his clan kindred after his death. As property increases, the disinheritance of a man's children under a rule of maternal descent arouses more and more opposition; hence in some Indian tribes, including the Choctaw, the law of inheritance has been changed and the right of succession invested exclusively in the children of the deceased owner.<sup>3</sup> Thus the growth of private property has been a powerful agent

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Adam Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, i. 240.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 162 sq.

in shifting descent from the female to the male line, and thereby substituting father-kin for mother-kin.

The Choctaws tell a story to account for the origin of their Cray-fish clan. They say that the ancestors of the clan were a species of cray-fish who lived long ago under ground, going on their hands and feet in a great cave where there was no light for miles. They neither spoke nor understood any language, but they used to come up through the mud into the sunshine. The Choctaws watched for them and tried to talk to them and to strike up an acquaintance, but the cray-fish escaped back into their cave. However, one day the Choctaws contrived to smoke a parcel of them out of their den, and treated them kindly, taught them the Choctaw language, taught them to walk on two legs, made them cut off their toe nails, and pluck the hair from their bodies, and after that they adopted them into the Choctaw nation. But the rest of the cray-fish are still cray-fish under ground.<sup>1</sup>

Legend of the descent of the Cray-fish clan from real cray-fish.

The Choctaws possess the classificatory system of relationship in a form closely similar to that of their kinsmen the Creeks. Thus, in the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother "my father" (*A-ki*) and his mother's sister "my mother" (*Ush-ki*); but his mother's brother he calls "my uncle" (*Um-ush-i*) and his father's sister he calls "my aunt" (*A-huk-ne*).

The classificatory system of relationship among the Choctaws.

In his own generation a Choctaw man calls his cousins, the children either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" (*Um-un-ni*), "my younger brother" (*Suh-nâk-fish*), and "my sister" (*An-take*), according to their age and sex; whereby it is to be observed that, as in some other forms of the classificatory system, while there are two quite distinct words for "elder brother" and "younger brother," there is only one word for "sister," whether elder or younger. But as usual the relationship between cousins, who are the children of a brother and sister respectively, differs from that between cousins, who are the children of two brothers or of two sisters. Thus, a Choctaw man calls his male cousin, the son of his

Classificatory terms for cousins.

<sup>1</sup> Geo. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), ii. 128.

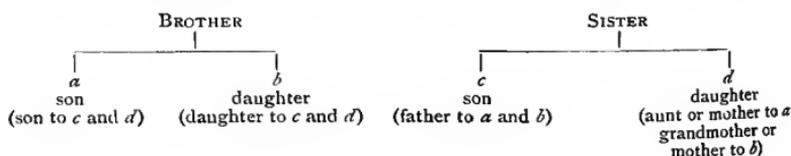
father's sister, not "my brother" nor yet "my cousin," but "my father" (*A-kĭ*); and, similarly, a woman calls her male cousin, the son of her father's sister, "my father" (*A-kĭ*). A man calls his female cousin, the daughter of his father's sister, not "my sister" nor yet "my cousin," but "my aunt" (*A-huc-ne*) or "my mother" (*Ush-kĭ*); but a woman calls her female cousin, the daughter of her father's sister, "my grandmother" (*Up-puk-ne*) or "my mother" (*Ush-kĭ*). Conversely, a man calls his cousins, the children of his mother's brother, "my son" (*Suh-sŭh*) and "my daughter" (*Suh-suh-take*), according to their sex; and, similarly, a woman calls her cousins, the children of her mother's brother, "my son" (*Suh-sŭh*) and "my daughter" (*Suh-suh-take*). Thus in the Choctaw as in the Creek form of the classificatory system a preference is shewn for the female line by making the cousin who is the son or daughter of the sister senior in rank to the cousin who is the son or daughter of the brother. For the son of the sister ranks as "father" to his cousins, the son and daughter of the brother; and the daughter of the sister ranks as "aunt" or "mother" to her male cousin, the son of the brother, and she ranks as "grandmother" or "mother" to her female cousin, the daughter of the brother. And on the other hand, the son and daughter of the brother rank as "son" and "daughter" to their male and female cousins, the son and daughter of the sister.<sup>1</sup>

Preference  
shewn for  
the female  
line.

Classifi-  
catory  
terms for  
nephews  
and nieces.

In the generation below his own a Choctaw man calls his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Suh-sŭh*) and "my daughter" (*Suh-sŭh-take*); but his sister's son and daughter he calls "my nephew" (*Sub-ai-yih*) and "my niece" (*Suh-bĭh-take*). A woman calls her sister's son and daughter "my son" (*Suh-sŭh*) and "my daughter" (*Suh-sŭh-take*). So far the relationships of a Choctaw man and woman to what we should call their nephews and nieces are entirely normal according to the classificatory system; but

<sup>1</sup> The following tree will make the relationships of these cousins clear:—



the relationship between a woman and the children of her brother is anomalous, for whereas according to the normal type of the classificatory system she should call them "my nephew" and "my niece," she actually calls them "my grandson" (*Sup-uk - nõk - ne*) and "my granddaughter" (*Sup-uk*).<sup>1</sup> We have seen that a similar anomaly occurs in the Creek form of the classificatory system.<sup>2</sup>

To the north of the Choctaws lay the territory of their kinsmen but enemies the Chickasaws, a still more warlike tribe, who were as steady in their loyalty to England as the Choctaws in their devotion to France. The dialects of the two tribes were closely allied and they differed little in their manners and customs, except that the Choctaws were more sedentary and devoted to agriculture, the Chickasaws more restless and turbulent.<sup>3</sup> But if the Chickasaws paid less attention to their fields, they seem to have paid more to their persons. A traveller passing from the Choctaws to the Chickasaws noticed the greater magnificence of dress among the latter tribe and the far greater profusion of silver ornaments which they wore. Thus adorned, he says, they cut a splendid figure as they galloped through the woods.<sup>4</sup> Their country was situated in the north of what is now the State of Mississippi. "The Chikkasah," says Adair, "live in as happy a region as any under the sun. It is temperate; as cool in summer as can be wished, and but moderately cold in winter. There is frost enough to purify the air, but not to chill the blood; and the snow does not lie four-and-twenty hours together. This extraordinary benefit is not

The  
Chicka-  
saws.

The  
country of  
the Chicka-  
saws.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 190 sq., and Table II. pp. 293 sqq. Morgan here gives two forms of the Choctaw system, which differ somewhat from each other. Thus in one form a father's sister's daughter ranks as "mother" to her cousins, the son and daughter of her mother's brother; in the other form she ranks as "aunt" to her male cousin, the son of her mother's brother and as "grandmother" to her female cousin, the daughter of her mother's brother. In the text I have not noted all the variations of the two

forms.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 352 sqq., 358; Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana* (London, 1774), p. 310; L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 189; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 90 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 260 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Adam Hodgson, *Letters from North America* (London, 1824), i. 255 sq.

from its situation to the equator, for the Cheerake country, among the Apalahche mountains is colder in a surprising degree, but from the nature and levelness of the extensive circumjacent lands, which in general are very fertile."<sup>1</sup> A traveller passing through the Chickasaw country on the borders of Mississippi and Alabama describes with delight the prospect which suddenly opened out when, after journeying for days through dense forests, he at last emerged on the brow of a hill and saw spread out below and beyond him a wide expanse of wooded and broken country with a romantic river winding through it. All was solitude and silence except for the warbling of birds in the branches; the only signs of human habitation were a solitary hut and a patch of Indian corn. Yet the fragrance of the woods, the magnificence of the forest-trees, the cooing of doves, and the ethereal charm of the delicious climate of Mississippi softened or dissipated the impression of melancholy which the sight of this savage wilderness, stretching away to the horizon, naturally made upon the mind; and it was with regret that towards evening the traveller passed from the land of the Chickasaws into the settlements of the whites.<sup>2</sup>

Totemic  
and  
exogamous  
clans of the  
Chickasaws.

Like their kinsmen but hereditary foes, the Creeks and Choctaws, the Chickasaws were divided into totemic and exogamous clans, and these clans were distributed into two phratries. The social organisation of the tribe, according to L. H. Morgan, was as follows :—<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> Adam Hodgson, *Letters from North America* (London, 1824), i. 262-266. Afterwards the Chickasaws were removed to a fertile and well-

watered district in the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi. See H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, i. 312.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 163.

## TOTEMIC ORGANISATION OF THE CHICKASAWS

Phratries.	Clans.
I. Panther	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Wild Cat.</li> <li>2. Bird.</li> <li>3. Fish.</li> <li>4. Deer.</li> </ol>
II. Spanish .	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Raccoon.</li> <li>2. Spanish.</li> <li>3. Royal.</li> <li>4. <i>Hush-ko-ni</i>.</li> <li>5. Squirrel.</li> <li>6. Alligator.</li> <li>7. Wolf.</li> <li>8. Blackbird.</li> </ol>

This list of the Chickasaw clans was obtained by Morgan from the Rev. Chas. C. Copeland, an American missionary residing with the tribe. Another list, which omits some of the foregoing clans, mentions in addition a Tiger clan, a Catamount clan, and a Skunk clan, the last being the least respected of all.<sup>1</sup> No man was allowed to marry a woman of his own clan; descent was in the female line, children belonging to the clan of their mother, not of their father; and both property and the office of sachem were hereditary in the clan.<sup>2</sup> The head chief, or king (*minko*), as he has been called, was always chosen from the Royal clan; the office was hereditary in the female line.<sup>3</sup>

Rules of marriage and descent.

The Chickasaws possess the classificatory system of relationship in a form like that of their near kinsmen the Choctaws; many of the terms of relationship are verbally the same.<sup>4</sup> It would be needless, therefore, to repeat the account of the system which has been given above.<sup>5</sup>

The classificatory system of relationship.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 96 sq., on the authority of Gibbs.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, i. 311; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 97. The title *minko*

applied to the chief or king of the Chickasaws is clearly identical with *mico*, the title which the Creeks bestowed on their head chiefs or kings.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 175-177.

The  
Caddos.

The Caddos, a name contracted from *Kadohadacho*, that is, "the real Caddo," formed one of the chief tribes of a confederacy, which embraced about a dozen tribes and claimed as their original territory the whole of the lower Red River and adjacent country in Louisiana, Eastern Texas, and Southern Arkansas. They formed the southern group of a linguistic family, of which the northern group included the Arickarees of North Dakota, and the middle group the Pawnees.<sup>1</sup> The charm and beauty of the old homes of the Caddos on the Red River in Texas are described in enthusiastic terms by the painter Catlin. He says that as he and his companions sat their horses on a bluff in the prairie and drank in with their eyes the landscape, as it rolled away before them till its swelling waves of deepest green melted into the blue of the mountains which rimmed the horizon, far far away, the very horses on which they rode seemed sensible of the beauty of the scene and forgot to graze, as with deep-drawn sighs, high-arched necks, and starting eyeballs they gazed into the distance. For days they had been travelling, now over ridges sprinkled with oak-woods, where the ground was mantled with vines laden with clusters of delicious grapes ; now they would be trailing through verdant valleys where the way was often blocked by tangled thickets of plum-trees bent to the earth with the weight of their purple fruit, while the intervening ground was variegated by beds of wild roses, wild currants, and gooseberries, interlaced here and there with huge masses of prickly pears.<sup>2</sup>

The old  
country  
of the  
Caddos.

The  
Caddos  
a settled  
agricultural  
tribe.

The Caddos early came into contact with the Spaniards and the French, and from the oldest records and traditions it would seem that so far as memory goes back they and the kindred tribes of the confederacy have always been tillers of the soil. Their fields extended round their villages and yielded them large crops of maize, pumpkins, and

<sup>1</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 179, 182, 638 ; J. Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1896) p. 1092. As to the Arickaree language, see above, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Geo. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on*

*the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), ii. 45 sq. The point where Catlin was especially struck by the beauty of the landscape was at the meeting of the waters of the Red and False Washita rivers, with Texas on the opposite bank.

melons, their staple foods. They lived in conical huts thatched with grass and grouped round an open space which served for social and ceremonial gatherings. Couches covered with mats ran round the interior of the house, serving as seats by day and as beds by night. The fire was in the centre. They cooked their food in earthenware vessels, made baskets, and wove cloth of vegetable fibres. Their mantles adorned with feathers were much admired by the French. Besides bracelets, necklaces, and ear-rings, they wore rings in their noses, which earned for them the epithet of "Pierced Noses." They did not hunt the buffalo until they came out into the plains. Though they were a brave people, they boasted that they had never shed a white man's blood.<sup>1</sup>

The Caddo or, to give them their full name, the Kadohadacho, are divided into ten totemic clans, which are named as follows:—

The totemic clans of the Caddos.

- |                              |                                   |                                |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Bear ( <i>Nawotsi</i> ).  | 2. Wolf ( <i>Tasha</i> ).         | 3. Buffalo ( <i>Tahnähä</i> ). |
| 4. Beaver ( <i>Tao</i> ).    | 5. Eagle ( <i>Iwi</i> ).          | 6. Raccoon ( <i>Oät</i> ).     |
| 7. Crow ( <i>Kag' aih</i> ). | 8. Thunder ( <i>Kagä-hänin</i> ). | 9. Panther ( <i>K'ishi</i> ).  |
| 10. Sun ( <i>Säko</i> ).     |                                   |                                |

Of these the Bear clan is the most numerous. The Buffalo clan is sometimes called the Alligator (*Koho*), because both animals bellow in the same way. Members of a clan will not kill the animal from which their clan takes its name.<sup>2</sup> The writer to whom we are indebted for these particulars says nothing as to the rules of marriage and descent in the clans. But we may perhaps assume that the clans are, or were, exogamous, and that descent is in the female line; in other words, that no man may marry a woman of his own clan, and that children take their clan from their mother, not from their father. That amongst the Caddos descent was traced through the mother is expressly mentioned by another writer.<sup>3</sup>

Respect of the clans-people for their totems.

While no Caddo would kill an animal of his own particular totemic species, all Caddos without distinction of

<sup>1</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 179 sqq., 182; J. Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part ii.

(Washington, 1896) pp. 1094 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. Mooney, *op. cit.* p. 1093.

<sup>3</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 181.

Respect of the Caddos for the eagle : ceremonies observed at killing the bird for the sake of its feathers.

totemic clan abstained from killing eagles and panthers. With them, as with other Indian tribes, the eagle was a sacred bird, and in the old times only a few medicine-men, who knew the sacred formula, would dare to kill an eagle for the sake of its feathers. Were any one else to slay an eagle, it was believed that his family would die or some other great misfortune would befall him. The formula consisted of certain secret prayers and rites. The eagle-killer always took a robe or some other valuable offering with him, and after he had shot the eagle, he recited the prayer, pulled out the tail and wing feathers, and covered the body of the dead bird with the robe, which he left there as a peace offering to the spirit of the eagle.<sup>1</sup> This general respect for the eagle is not totemic, because it is shared by the whole tribe instead of being confined to the members of a particular clan. Totemism implies that within the tribe there are groups of kinsfolk, each group respecting its own species of natural or occasionally artificial objects, that is, its totem, but not respecting the totems of the other groups. Hence an animal which is revered by all the members of a tribe without distinction is not strictly speaking a totem at all, and ought not to be so designated. It may indeed have been originally a totem, that is, the sacred animal of a particular clan within the tribe. But there is no necessity that it should ever have been so ; the respect for the animal may have sprung from causes quite independent of totemism.

The Cherokee and their mountain country.

The Cherokee were the mountaineers, the Indian Swiss, of the South. They held the whole region of the Alleghany Mountains, from the head-streams of the Kanawha and the Tennessee southward almost to the site of Atlanta, and from the Blue Ridge on the east to the Cumberland Range on the west. The country, comprising an area of 40,000 square miles, is now included in the States of Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama.<sup>2</sup> The Cherokee divided their territory into two,

<sup>1</sup> J. Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1896) pp. 1093, 1100. As to the Cherokee practice in regard

to eagles, see below, pp. 187 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) p. 14.

the lowlands and the highlands, the former intersected by the head-waters of the beautiful meandering Savannah River, the latter by the streams that flow westward to join the Mississippi. The climate even of the lowlands strikes a native of Carolina as sharp and cold in winter, but that of the highlands is much more severe. For there the mountains are high, and on their northern slopes the ice and snow last till late in the spring. In this lofty rugged chilly country the towns of the Cherokee were widely scattered, being built for the most part on stretches of level and fertile land beside some river or creek shut in by frowning mountains, whose tops were veiled in black and blue clouds or lit up fitfully by scattered rays of sunshine. The Indian paths wound along the foot of the mountains, following the beds of the streams, and were so steep in places that horses often pitched and reared in the attempt to scramble up them. Yet there is not, says an old writer, a more healthful region under the sun than this country; for the air is commonly open and clear, and abundance of wholesome water gushes from every hillside to join the cold crystalline rivers. For the most part the rivers are very shallow and pleasant to the eye, their limpid streams flowing swiftly along without overflowing their banks. But when heavy rain has fallen on the snow of the high mountains, the swollen torrents, whirling blocks of ice in their current, come rushing down the crags with tremendous violence, and sweep away rocks, pinewoods, and oakwoods in their impetuous career.<sup>1</sup>

The Cherokee belong to the stock of the Iroquois, as is proved by their language, which is spoken in several dialects.<sup>2</sup> They are amongst the most civilised of American Indians. Like the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, they lived in settled villages or towns and practised agriculture, raising crops of maize and beans. Their houses were oblong in shape, built of logs and plastered with clay both

The Cherokee amongst the most civilised of American Indians.

<sup>1</sup> J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 226-230, 233, 236. For detailed descriptions of the beautiful scenery in the Cherokee country, see W. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country*, etc. (London, 1792),

pp. 306 *sqq.*, especially pp. 328 *sq.*, 350 *sqq.*, 360 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) p. 16; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 245 *sq.*

Their  
houses.

outside and inside, the whole being roofed with bark or shingles. Each house was partitioned transversely into three apartments, and had besides a small conical hut, called the winter or hot house, distant a few yards from the front door. The town-house or council-house was a rotunda built of wood and sometimes raised on an artificial mound. In the middle of the town-house was a fire-pit in which burned or smouldered a perpetual fire in charge of a fire-maker. All the fires in the town were obtained from the one in the town-house. The council of the village or town held its meetings in this circular building, and here too the annual Green-Corn Dance and other national ceremonials were celebrated. Couches or seats ran round the inside of the building for the accommodation of spectators. The only entrance to the edifice was a narrow door; window or chimney there was none. The smoke escaped by the door.<sup>1</sup>

The  
perpetual  
fire.

The  
Cherokee  
alphabet,  
national  
press, and  
national  
constitu-  
tion.

In the early part of the nineteenth century a Cherokee of mixed blood named Sequoya, or, as the whites called him, George Gist, after years of patient study invented a syllabary or alphabet to represent the sounds of the Cherokee language. It was adopted by his nation, whom it at once raised to the rank of a literary people. In the course of a few months the Cherokee were able to read and write in their own language. Types were cast and books and newspapers printed in the native tongue. One of the newspapers was published in English and Cherokee and distributed free at the expense of the nation. Simultaneously with the institution of a national press the Cherokee, in a general convention of delegates held for that purpose in 1827, adopted a national constitution based on the assumption of a distinct and independent Cherokee nationality. Thus with a political constitution, a national press, a well-developed system of industries and home education, and a government administered by educated Christian men, the Cherokee were now justly entitled to

<sup>1</sup> W. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, etc.* (London, 1792), pp. 365-367; J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the*

*Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 395 sq., 502 sq.; *id.* "Cherokee Mound-building," *American Anthropologist*, ii. (1889) pp. 167-171.

be considered a civilised people.<sup>1</sup> The prospect was fair, but it was soon clouded.

The neighbouring States, and Georgia in particular, coveted the territory of the Cherokee, and when violence and chicanery alike failed to shake the attachment of the patriots to their native land, the United States Government in 1838 sent troops, drove the Indians from their homes at the point of the bayonet, and forced them to emigrate on foot and in waggons, in the dead of the winter, to the lands which had been assigned to them in the Indian Territory beyond the Mississippi. On that march of death, as it has been called by an American writer, the exiles perished by the hundred and the thousand. In their new home they set themselves bravely to retrieve their shattered fortunes. The national government was reorganised, the national press restored, the missions revived, and the work of civilisation again taken up. At the close of the Civil War, in which the Cherokee suffered severely for their adhesion to the South, the Government of the United States pledged its faith to leave them in undisturbed possession of their lands and to guard them against intrusion. The pledge was not kept. The whites again encroached, and again, after long but vain resistance the Indians yielded to the inevitable. Only a few years ago—in 1906—the national government of the Cherokee was abolished and their lands divided. The Cherokee nation as such ceased to exist. The despoiled Indians dream of quitting the country of their fathers and seeking in some foreign land, in Mexico or South America, a haven of rest, where the long arm of the United States can reach and harass them no more. A remnant of the tribe, who fled to the mountains in 1838, contrived to elude the man-hunt of the soldiers, and their descendants still cling to the old ancestral home among the mountains, the woods, and waters of the Alleghanies. They are a peaceable, law-abiding folk, kindly and hospitable, providing for their simple wants by their industry and neither asking nor receiving help from Govern-

Expulsion of the Cherokee from their homes by the United States troops.

Broken faith of the United States Government.

Abolition of the Cherokee constitution and division of their lands.

An Indian dream.

<sup>1</sup> J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*,

Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 108-113.

ment. Their fields, orchards, and fish-traps, with a few domestic animals and a little hunting, supply them with food, while, by the sale of ginseng and other simples gathered in the mountains, as well as by fruit and honey of their own raising, they procure what additional comforts they need from the traders. The old folk still cleave to their ancient rites and sacred traditions, but the dance and the once favourite ball-play are neglected, and the long Indian day draws fast to evening.<sup>1</sup>

According to L. H. Morgan, the Cherokee were anciently divided into ten exogamous clans, which were named as follows:—

- |           |               |                  |                   |
|-----------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Wolf.  | 2. Red Paint. | 3. Long Prairie. | 4. Deaf (a bird). |
| 5. Holly. | 6. Deer.      | 7. Blue.         | 8. Long Hair.     |
| 9. Acorn. | 10. Bird.     |                  |                   |

Of these ten clans the two last were extinct when Morgan wrote. Marriage within the clan was forbidden. Descent was in the female line.<sup>2</sup> The Cherokee possess the classificatory system of relationship in a form agreeing so closely with that of the Choctaws that it need not be considered separately.<sup>3</sup>

While the clans of the Cherokee had animals and plants for their totems, it should be observed that these Indians entertained many superstitious beliefs and observed many superstitious practices in reference to animals and plants which had no connection whatever with totemism. This observation is the more necessary because with some writers there appears to be a tendency, whenever they find superstitious beliefs and practices concerned with animals and plants, to derive them all from totemism, actual or hypo-

<sup>1</sup> Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), pp. 129 sqq.; J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 114-181; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 246 sq.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 164. A list of seven Cherokee

clans is given by Mr. A. S. Gatschet on the authority of Mr. Richard Wolf, a delegate of the Cherokee people to the United States Government. So far as this list goes, it seems to agree with that of Morgan. See A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 27.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 192, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

Exogamous  
clans of the  
Cherokee.

The classi-  
ficatory  
system of  
relation-  
ship.

The  
Cherokee  
have many  
super-  
stitious  
beliefs and  
customs in  
regard to  
animals  
and plants,  
which are  
independ-  
ent of  
totemism.

thetical. Such a derivation is by no means necessary. There appears to be no reason why even among totemic peoples there should not be many superstitions connected with animals and plants which are and always have been quite independent of totemism. If we doubted this, the example of the Cherokee might suffice to satisfy us. Thus, for instance, the eagle and the snake were not totems of the Cherokee, yet these Indians regarded eagles and snakes as sacred or supernatural beings and treated them accordingly. The eagle, we are told, is the great sacred bird of the Cherokee, as of nearly all the Indian tribes, and it figures prominently in their ritual, especially in everything that pertains to war. The particular species on which so high a value was set was the golden or war eagle (*Aquila chrysoetus*), called by the Cherokee the "pretty-feathered eagle," on account of its beautiful tail feathers, white tipped with black, which were in great demand for ceremonial and decorative purposes. Among the Cherokee in old times the killing of an eagle was an event which concerned the whole settlement and could be undertaken only by the professional eagle-killer, who was chosen for the work because he was an adept in eagle-lore, having learned the ceremonies which had to be observed and the prayers which had to be said in order to obtain pardon for the sacrilege and ward off vengeance from the tribe. The eagle might be killed only in the winter or the late autumn, when the crops were gathered in and the snakes had retired to their dens for their winter sleep. They thought that if an eagle were slain in summer, a frost would blight the maize, and the songs of the Eagle dance, danced when the feathers were brought home, would so anger the snakes that they would become doubly dangerous. So the Eagle songs were never sung till the snakes had gone to sleep for the winter and could not hear them. When the people of a Cherokee town decided to hold an Eagle dance, they hired a professional eagle-killer to procure the feathers for the occasion. He repaired alone to the mountains with his gun or bow and arrows, and there, after a long vigil of prayer and fasting, he hunted till he had killed a deer. Having exposed the carcass in a

Cherokee  
super-  
stitions  
about the  
eagle.

Ceremonies  
at killing  
an eagle for  
its feathers.

Apologies  
offered to  
the dead  
eagle.

prominent place on one of the highest cliffs, he hid himself hard by and sang in a low undertone songs to draw down eagles from the sky. When an eagle had swooped on the carrion, he shot the bird and standing by its dead body prayed that it would not wreak its vengeance on his tribe, because it was not a Cherokee but a Spaniard who had done the foul deed. Then leaving the dead eagle on the ground, he hastened to the town and announced that a snowbird had died. This he did to deceive the eagles, in order that they might think he had only killed a poor little snowbird and not one of their fierce and majestic selves. Four days later hunters went out and brought back the eagle feathers to the town, where a dish of venison and corn was set on the ground before them and they were invited to eat, because it was thought that they must be hungry after their journey. And the carcass of the deer, which the eagle-killer had shot, was left lying on the ground beside the carcass of the eagle as a sacrifice to the eagle-spirits. The same day on which the feathers were brought in, the Indians danced the Eagle dance.<sup>1</sup>

Super-  
stitious  
respect  
of the  
Cherokee  
for snakes.

Again, snakes are not totems of the Cherokee, yet these Indians hold the creatures in awe and are very careful not to offend them. All snakes are regarded by them as supernatural (*anida'wehi*) and as endowed with a certain influence over the other animals and plants. It is said that the snakes, the deer, and the ginseng are allies, and that an injury done to any one of them is avenged by all. He who kills snakes will see, or fancy he sees, them swarming about him with glistening eyes and darting tongues, till the sight drives him crazy and he roams the woods unable to find the way out. Certain songs, such as those of the Townhouse dance, are offensive to snakes, therefore they are not danced till late in the autumn when the snakes have withdrawn to their dens for the winter. And for fear of hurting the feelings of the reptiles, it is never said that a man has been bitten by a snake, but only that he has been scratched by a brier. Moreover, when

<sup>1</sup> J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*,

Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 281-283.

a man merely dreams that he has been bitten by a snake, he must be treated in exactly the same way as if he had been actually bitten; for in fact a snake ghost has stung him, and if the sufferer were not so treated, the place would certainly swell and ulcerate, not perhaps at the time, but sooner or later, it may be years afterwards. The rattlesnake is deemed by the Cherokee to be the chief of the snake tribe, and they fear and respect him accordingly. Few Cherokee will dare to kill a rattlesnake, unless they are actually compelled to do so, and even then they will atone for the crime by begging pardon of its ghost, either in their own person or through the medium of a priest. Otherwise the kinsfolk of the slain rattlesnake would send one of their number to track down the murderer and sting him to death. Nevertheless, rattlesnakes are killed by the Cherokee for the sake of their rattles, teeth, flesh, and oil, which are greatly prized for occult or medical uses. But the slaughter is done only by certain priests who know the rites and prayers necessary for obtaining pardon from the victim and his injured fellow-snakes. Whenever a rattlesnake is killed, its head must be cut off and buried in the ground and the body must be buried in a hollow log. For if the remains were left exposed to the weather, the angry snakes would send such torrents of rain that all the streams would overflow their banks. Moreover, they would tell their friends the deer and the ginseng in the mountains what had been done, so that the deer and the ginseng would hide themselves, and the hunter would seek for them in vain.<sup>1</sup>

Respect for the rattlesnake, which is deemed the chief of snakes.

Ceremonies at killing a rattlesnake.

The respect and fear naturally entertained for such powerful and dangerous creatures as the eagle and the rattlesnake are quite sufficient to explain these superstitious beliefs and practices of the Cherokee; we need not resort to an hypothesis that the eagle and the rattlesnake were once totems of the Cherokee, of which there is no record or evidence whatever.

The Cherokee respect for the eagle and rattlesnake is not totemic.

Further, it may be observed that while the deer and the wolf are certainly Cherokee totems, certain superstitions

<sup>1</sup> J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 294-296.

Super-  
stitious  
beliefs and  
customs  
of the  
Cherokee  
about deer.

attaching to these animals are not limited to members of the Deer and Wolf clans, but appear to be shared by all members of the tribe. Thus, the deer, which still ranges the mountains, was the main stand-by of the Cherokee hunter and consequently figures prominently in Cherokee myth, folk-lore, and ceremonial. Rheumatic pains were supposed to be inflicted by the ghosts of angry deer, which the heedless hunter had omitted to appease. For the deer tribe is ruled by a powerful chief called Little Deer, who watches over his people and takes care that none of them is wantonly put to death. Though none but the greatest masters of the huntsman's craft can see him, this chief of the deer tribe hastens to the spot where a deer has been killed, and bending low asks the blood stains on the ground whether they have heard, that is, whether the hunter has begged pardon for the life which he has taken. If the blood stains say yes, all is well: the hunter has recited the necessary formula and so atoned for his crime. But if the blood stains say no, then Little Deer tracks the huntsman to his house by the blood drops on the trail, and unseen and unsuspected he insinuates into the rash man's body the spirit of rheumatism which will rack him with aches and pains from that time forth.<sup>1</sup>

Super-  
stitious  
beliefs and  
customs  
of the  
Cherokee  
about  
wolves.

Again, though the wolf is the totem of the largest Cherokee clan, the reverence for the formidable animal is not restricted to members of the Wolf clan, but is shared by Cherokee hunters generally. The ordinary Cherokee will never kill a wolf if he can help it, but will let the beast go unscathed, believing that the kindred of a slain wolf would surely avenge his death, and that the weapon with which the deed had been done would never shoot straight again till it had been cleaned and exorcised by a medicine-man. However, when a man's fish-traps or cattle have suffered much from the raids of wolves, he will sometimes hire a professional wolf-killer to abate the nuisance. This man of skill can slaughter wolves with impunity, because he knows the proper rites of atonement. After he has killed a wolf, he prays the animal not to avenge his death on the

<sup>1</sup> J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 263-99.

tribe, because the burden of guilt really rests on other people. And he cleanses the gun which has shot the wolf by unscrewing the barrel, inserting seven small sour-wood rods in it, and leaving it overnight in a running stream.<sup>1</sup>

Further, the Cherokee ascribe mysterious properties and perform curious rites to plants which are not and, so far as we know, never have been their totems. The Cherokee are an agricultural tribe, and accordingly of all vegetables the one which holds the first place in their domestic economy and ceremonial observances is maize (*selu*). In their sacred formulas they invoke the plant under the name of the Old Woman, because they have a legend that maize sprang from the blood of an old woman slain by her disobedient sons. Formerly the most solemn ceremony of the tribe was the annual Green-corn dance, celebrated as a preliminary to eating the new corn. It was at once an expiation for the sins of the past year, an amnesty for public criminals, and a prayer for happiness and prosperity in the year to come. Only such as had duly prepared themselves by prayer, fasting and purification were allowed to partake of this solemn sacrament; and till then no one dared to taste the new corn. Seven ears from the last year's crop were always put carefully aside in order to "attract the corn" until the new crop had ripened; and when the harvest was come and the Green-corn dance was danced, these seven ears were eaten with the rest.<sup>2</sup> At the Green-Corn Dance in ancient times it was customary for each household to procure fresh fire from a new fire kindled in the town-house.<sup>3</sup> Much ceremony also attended the planting and tending of the maize. Thus, when the corn was growing, a priest went into the field with the owner and built a small inclosure in the middle of it. There the two sat themselves on the ground, and the priest, rattle in hand, sang songs of invocation to the spirit of the corn. Soon a loud rustling sound would be heard. It was the Old Woman bringing the corn into the field; but neither of the

Superstitions  
veneration  
of the  
Cherokee  
for maize,  
which they  
personified  
as the Old  
Woman.

The Green-corn dance,  
an annual  
ceremony  
observed  
before  
eating the  
new corn.

Ceremonies  
at the  
planting  
and  
tending  
of maize.

<sup>1</sup> J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 264 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. Mooney, *op. cit.* pp. 242 sqq., 423.

<sup>3</sup> J. Mooney, "Cherokee Mound-building," *American Anthropologist*, ii. (1889) p. 167.

men crouching among the corn might look up till the song was finished. This ceremony was repeated on four successive nights; then when seven more nights had gone by, during which no one might enter the field, the priest himself would come to it and, lo! the young ears would be upon the stalks. Moreover, care was always taken to keep a clean trail from the field to the house, so that the corn might be encouraged to stay at home and not go wandering elsewhere. Again, soon after the maize had been sown, the owner, or a priest, would stand at each corner of the field, one after the other, and weep and wail loudly; but why they did so, the priests cannot now say. It was perhaps, as has been suggested, a lament for the bloody death of the corn-goddess, the Old Woman who had been slain by her sons.<sup>1</sup>

The weeping and wailing for the corn.

Story of the death of the Corn-Woman, and of the fertilising virtue of her blood.

The story of her death was this. Once upon a time there was a woman and her name was Corn (*selu*). She was the wife of a hunter and lived with him at Pilot Knob. They had an only child, a little boy. But the boy had a playmate, a Wild Boy, who sprang from the blood of some game which the woman had washed beside the river. The Wild Boy called himself the little boy's elder brother. Well, one day it happened that the two boys were very tired and hungry and asked their mother for something to eat. She told them to wait and she would fetch it. So off she went with a basket to the storehouse. The storehouse stood on poles high above the ground to keep it out of reach of the animals, and there was a ladder to climb up to it, and a door, but no other opening. Every day when Corn, which was the woman's name, made ready to cook the dinner she would go to the storehouse with a basket, and bring it back full of corn and beans. The storehouse was not large, and the boys, who had never been in it, wondered where all the corn and beans could come from. So no sooner was their mother's back turned than the Wild Boy said to his brother, "Let us go and see what she does." They ran and climbed up at the back of the storehouse, pulled out a piece of clay from between the logs, and peeped

<sup>1</sup> J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the*

*Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 423 sq.

in. What should they see but their mother standing in the middle of the room with the basket in front of her on the floor ; and there she was rubbing her stomach, so, and then the basket was half full of corn ; and then she rubbed under her armpits, so, and the basket was now full to the brim with beans. The two boys looked at each other and said, " This will never do. Our mother is a witch. If we eat any of that stuff, it will poison us. We must kill her." When the boys came back to the house, their mother read their thoughts and said, " So you are going to kill me ? " " That we are," said the boys ; " you are a witch." " Well," said the mother, " when you have killed me, clear a large piece of ground in front of the house and drag my body seven times round the circle. Then drag me seven times over the ground inside the circle, and stay up all night and watch, and in the morning you will have plenty of corn. The boys killed her with their clubs, cut off her head, put it on the roof of the house with her face to the west, and told her, with cutting sarcasm, to look for her husband. Then they set to work to clear the ground in front of the house, but instead of clearing the whole piece they only cleared seven little spots. That is why corn now grows only in a few places instead of over the whole wide world. They dragged the body of their mother Corn round the circle, and wherever her blood fell on the ground, corn sprang up. But instead of dragging her body seven times across the ground, they dragged it only twice, and that is why the Indians still hoe their fields only twice. The two brothers, having disposed of their mother, sat up and watched their corn all night, and in the morning it was full-grown and ripe.<sup>1</sup>

How the corn goddess produced corn and beans from her body.

How she was slain, and how the corn sprang from her blood.

In this story and these customs we may see in germ a myth and ritual of a mother goddess of the corn ; yet although the story and the customs are found among a totemic people, there is no ground whatever for connecting them with totemism.

Myth and ritual of a Corn-goddess in germ.

Again, the Cherokee have many superstitious beliefs and practices connected with ginseng, yet the plant is not one of their totems. They gather it on the mountains, use it in

<sup>1</sup> J. Mooney, " Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 242, 244 sq.

Superstitious beliefs and customs of the Cherokee about ginseng.

medicine, and sell large quantities of it to the traders. The priests address the plant as "Little Man" or "Little Man, Most Powerful Magician" on account of the resemblance which the root often bears to a man's body. The doctor speaks constantly of it as of a sentient being, and it is thought to be able to make itself invisible to such as are unworthy to gather it. In the search for it the first three plants are passed by and the fourth is taken, but not until the doctor has humbly entreated the Great Magician to let him take a small piece of his flesh. Having dug up the plant he drops a bead into the hole and covers it up, leaving it there by way of payment to the plant spirit. After that he gathers the other ginseng plants as he finds them without further ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

Cherokee superstitions about the cedar and the laurel.

Again, with the Cherokee, as with nearly all Indian tribes, the cedar is a sacred tree, but it is not a totem. They burn the small green twigs as incense in certain ceremonies, especially to counteract the effect of evil dreams; for they think that the malicious demons who cause such dreams cannot endure the smell of burning cedar. But cedar-wood is too sacred to be used as fuel. They say that the red tinge of the wood comes from the blood of a wicked magician whose head was hung on the top of a tall cedar.<sup>2</sup> Again, the Cherokee never burn the laurel, yet it is not one of their totems. They use it in medicine and carve spoons and combs out of its close-grained wood. The reason why they will not burn it is simply that in the fire laurel leaves make a hissing, sputtering sound like winter winds or falling snow; so the Cherokee think that to burn them would bring on cold weather.<sup>3</sup> Thus the ground of their objection to putting laurel in the fire is not totemism, but the fallacy

J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) p. 425.

<sup>2</sup> J. Mooney, *op. cit.* p. 421. In order to drive away ghosts from sick people, the Tetons make a smoke with cedar-wood, or they will fasten the wood at the smoke-hole, or lay it down outside the hut. See the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Teton Folk-lore," *American Anthropologist*, ii. (Wash-

ington, 1889) p. 144. The same mythical explanation of the redness of cedar-wood which is given by the Cherokee is alleged also by the Yuchi Indians. See A. S. Gatschet, "Some Mythic Stories of the Yuchi Indians," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) pp. 281 sq.

<sup>3</sup> J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) p. 422.

which underlies homœopathic magic, namely, the assumption that effects resemble their causes.

With these instances before us—and instances of the same sort might be multiplied indefinitely—we must beware of reducing to totemism all the superstitious beliefs and practices which even a really totemic people entertain and observe in regard to animals and plants. Totemism in fact, as I have said before, is only one of the multitudinous forms in which such superstitions have crystallised. It is indeed a common crystal, but there are many others of diverse shapes and colours. In a treatise on totemism it is legitimate and even necessary to emphasise the distinction, because there is a common tendency to confound all sacred animals and plants with totems. The example of the Cherokee, to which I have just called attention, may serve as a warning against this confusion.

Totemism is only one of many forms of superstition concerned with animals and plants.

### § 12. *Totemism among the Pueblo Indians*

Amongst the most interesting and important aborigines of North America are the Pueblo or Village Indians of Arizona and New Mexico. Their importance arises neither from their numbers nor the part which they have played in history; for their numbers are inconsiderable and they have always been a quiet pacific people, more concerned to support themselves by their own industry than to overrun and conquer their neighbours. But in their institutions they form a link or intermediate stage between the barbarous tribes to the north and the civilised Indians of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. They are settled in substantially built villages or towns, to which the Spaniards gave the name of *pueblos*; they subsist mainly by agriculture; and they exhibit some degree of skill and taste in the arts of pottery and weaving. The material basis of their indigenous civilisation was supplied by a single cereal, maize; by a single textile plant, cotton; and by the sandstone or the sun-dried bricks of which they constructed their two-, three-, or four-storied dwellings.<sup>1</sup>

The Pueblo or Village Indians of Arizona and New Mexico.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 254 sqq.

A convenient summary of information on the Pueblo Indians, compiled from

Ruins of Pueblo villages are scattered over a wide area.

Although the Pueblo Indians are now confined to a limited area in Arizona and New Mexico, the abundant ruins of their deserted towns and villages prove that at one time or another they must have occupied the whole region from the Great Salt Lake in Utah southward into Mexico, and from the Grand Canyon of the Colorado eastward to the prairies beyond the Rio Grande. Within this great area, covering about a hundred and fifty thousand square miles, the ruined Pueblos may be numbered almost by thousands.<sup>1</sup>

The natural features and landscape of the Pueblo country.

The natural features of the Pueblo country are very remarkable and have done much to mould the character and institutions of the natives. For the most part the land is an arid wilderness, almost a desert, where animal life is very scarce and vegetation sparse and stunted. These characteristics it owes partly to its great elevation, which varies from six to eight or even nine thousand feet above the sea, and partly to the lack of rain and running water, an effect of the extreme dryness of the air. The surface is generally smooth or slightly undulating. Were a traveller suddenly set down in the midst of one of these high tablelands, he might at first sight imagine it an ideal country for journeying in. But he could not go far without being undeceived. For sooner or later he would find himself on the brink of a yawning chasm which opened suddenly at his feet; or mounting to higher ground he would see, spread out below him, a bewildering network of jagged ravines, a confused tangle of cliffs and gorges, barring his progress. In fact the apparent level of the plateau is gashed and seamed at frequent intervals by tremendous gullies or canyons, as they are called in the country, which nature has scooped and carved to giddy depths out of the sandstone rock. To put

The tablelands and canyons.

the original sources, is furnished by Mr. Fritz Krause, "Die Pueblo-Indianer, eine historisch-ethnographische Studie," *Nova Acta, Abhandlungen der Kaiser. Leopoldin.-Carolin. Deutsch. Akademie der Naturforscher*, lxxxvii. (Halle, 1907) pp. 1-218. For a graphic picture by an eyewitness of the country and life of the Pueblo Indians a book of the late Captain J. G. Bourke (*The Snake-*

*Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, London, 1884) may be recommended.

<sup>1</sup> Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 13; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localisation of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 639.

it otherwise, the country consists of an endless series of isolated tablelands, of no great extent, each terminating in steep rugged slopes or sheer precipices and divided from its neighbours, sometimes merely by a deep and narrow ravine, sometimes by a broad stretch of flat ground. These tablelands are what the Spaniards, the former lords of the land, used to call the *mesas*, and the name still survives in the common speech of the inhabitants. The cliffs which bound the tablelands sometimes run in the same general direction for miles, winding in and out so as to form a long succession of bays and capes, of alcoves and bastions, in the wall of precipice. For the most part the soil is utterly barren. Even near the villages, which are commonly built for safety on the summit of some beetling crag or jutting ledge of rock, there are wide expanses where not a green blade is to be seen, nothing but a waste of drifting sand or a labyrinth of rugged rocks piled in confusion at the foot of the cliffs. The beds of the rivers themselves, except after heavy rain, are generally dry, consisting merely of sandy stony hollows, like the wadies of the Arabian desert. Such scanty vegetation as contrives to find a foothold in the thirsty soil has little in it to relieve the dreary monotony of the landscape; for it consists usually of scrubby dwarf pines and cedars, gnarled bushes of prickly greasewood, or clumps of sad-coloured sagebrush. Yet desolate as the scenery undoubtedly is, it possesses nevertheless a certain charm of its own. The sandstone rocks, of which the country is chiefly composed, are of many tints, most commonly of a bright red; and in the clear desert air, under a sky of the deepest blue, their mighty precipices, soaring pinnacles, and swelling buttresses present a wonderful spectacle as they recede, crag beyond crag, till they melt away in the distance. But the characteristic landscape of the Pueblo region is a dull monotonous expanse of plains bounded only far away by cliffs of gorgeous colours; in the foreground a soil of bright yellow or ashy grey; and over all the most brilliant sunshine, while distant features are softened by a blue haze. For a few weeks in early summer the tablelands are seen at their best. The open stretches are then carpeted with verdure almost hidden under a profusion of flowers. Then, too, the

Situation  
of the  
villages.

Aridity and  
desolation  
of the  
scenery.

The red  
cliffs.

The bloom of early summer. grey and dusty sagebrush takes on a tinge of green: even the furzy greasewood drapes itself in flakes of golden bloom; and every thorny green tablet of the prickly pear seems grafted with rosebuds. Fantastic cactuses of many kinds vie with each other in putting forth the gayest flowers, scentless but gorgeous. But soon all this brightness fades, and the country resumes its habitual aspect of sterile monotony.<sup>1</sup>

The landscape in winter.

Very different, however, is the appearance which the landscape wears in mid-winter, especially if we view it on a day when the Indians of some high-perched village are busy celebrating one of those elaborate religious rites, to which in the dead season of the year the natives of these bleak uplands devote much time and thought. Snow then covers the earth with a mantle of dazzling white; the valley below is white; and white without a speck are the slopes of the tablelands, except where a solitary clump of pines, seen through the distant haze, shews like a blue stain on the blanched hillside. In the foreground the bands of Indians intent on their sacred mission, as they flit about in their bright dresses across the snow, present a constantly shifting kaleidoscope of colours, the effect of which is heightened by the crisp frosty air. The gay scene lasts all the winter day, till the stars begin to sparkle overhead, and in the west the orange light of evening dies away.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 42-44; A. M. Stephen, "The Navaho," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) pp. 345-347; Cosmos Mindeleff, "The Cliff Ruins of Canyon de Chelly, Arizona," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 82-84; *id.* "Navaho Houses," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1898) pp. 477-481; *id.* "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 640-642; Walter Hough, "The Hopi in relation to their Plant Environment," *American*

*Anthropologist*, x. (1897) pp. 33 *sq.* The monotony of the landscape is even more marked in Tusayan, the home of the Hopi Indians, because there the sandstones are mostly of a neutral tint, and consequently there is less of that warmth and play of colour which elsewhere in the Pueblo country goes far to relieve the dullness of the scenery.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 119. I have borrowed from Wordsworth the description of a winter sunset:—

*the stars*  
*Eastward were sparkling clear, and in*  
*the west*  
*The orange sky of evening died away.*

The great lack of the Pueblo country is water. The rainfall, in years when it rains at all, is less than ten inches and dew is rare. Great tracts in the mountains would be utterly uninhabitable for want of water if it were not for the snow which lies deep in winter and percolating through the porous sandstone soil issues in small springs at the foot of the tablelands or in the recesses of the ravines. But such springs are few and far between; they are reached by tortuous trails often known only to the Indians; and they fail in the hot summer days, when the withered grass is dry and brittle and the whole country is parched. In winter the Navaho shepherds and their sheep depend wholly on snow water; and it is the melting snow in spring which causes the grass to grow and vegetation to sprout. Yet meagre as plant life is in this arid region, the Pueblo Indians, till they obtained some sheep and cattle from the whites, supported themselves entirely by agriculture or horticulture; for they are gardeners rather than farmers. Indeed they had no alternative. They could not be hunters, because there is little game to hunt; they could not be fishermen, because there is little fish to catch. Accordingly in their natural state these Indians subsisted almost wholly on vegetable food except for a stray rat, rabbit, or prairie-dog which occasionally went to the pot. A religious fraternity of the Hopi Indians did indeed solemnly turn out once a year and hunt the neighbourhood; but twenty-five men on horseback and many men on foot have been known to scour the country for miles and knock down one rabbit. It seems clear that in such regions man could not live by rabbits nor yet by rats and dogs alone; he must have something else to eat or perish. He found the staple of life in maize.<sup>1</sup>

Scarcity of water in the Pueblo country.

The Pueblo Indians in their native state depended entirely on agriculture.

<sup>1</sup> Walter Hough, "The Hopi in relation to their Plant Environment," *American Anthropologist*, x. (1897) pp. 33 sqq.; Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 42 sq.; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Navaho Houses," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1898)

pp. 478-482; *id.* "Localization of Tusayann Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 640-643; Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Two Summers' Work in Pueblo Ruins," *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1904) p. 194. As to sheep and cattle of the Zuñi Indians, see Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson,

The peculiar type of the Pueblo village originated in the need of defence and of being near the cultivated lands.

Thus the prime necessity of these tribes, when they first migrated or were driven by foes into their present country, was to discover arable land and to settle near it. Except in the valleys of the so-called rivers or rather wadies such land is to be found only here and there in small patches, little sheltered nooks of the tablelands or fertile bottoms of rich alluvial soil in the depth of the canyons. Beside or within reach of these favoured spots the Indians were compelled to fix their abodes. They had no choice. Whatever happened, the crops must be sown and reaped; their failure involved the death of the people. At first, perhaps, when the Indians entered the country they may have lived dispersed in small groups wherever they met with a plot of arable land sufficient for their wants; for it is likely enough that they moved into these deserts only under the pressure of stronger tribes, and that for a while they had no formidable rivals to dispute the possession of the steppes. But as time went on their enemies would follow on their heels, and the need of protecting themselves and their fields from raids and depredations would be more and more felt. Thus they would naturally gather for mutual defence in large fortified villages or towns. Such were in all probability the circumstances which created the peculiar type of Indian village or town known as a Pueblo. These villages were built for safety in positions of great natural strength such as in that rugged and broken country can everywhere be found, whether on the projecting spur of a tableland with access from one side only, or on a pinnacle wholly surrounded by precipices and steep slopes, which could be reached only by a long and arduous climb up a winding and difficult path.<sup>1</sup> For example, the Hopi

“The Zuñi Indians,” *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 368. The Navahoes are not Pueblo Indians, but their country adjoins the Pueblo country on the north and partakes of its character. As to the annual rabbit-hunt of the Pueblo Indians, see Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 78; Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, “The Zuñi Indians,” *Twenty-third Annual*

*Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 89-94. From the detailed account given by Mrs. Stevenson it would seem that the hunt is a religious or magical rite specially designed to bestow fertility on women as well as to ensure a supply of game and rain. According to her, the ceremony is celebrated quadrennially, but may be held oftener in time of great drought.

<sup>1</sup> Cosmos Mindeleff, “The Localization of Tusayan Clans,” *Nineteenth*

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or Moqui villages are built like eagles' eyries on the crests of perpendicular sandstone bluffs at a height of from five hundred to eight hundred feet above the springs on which the villagers depend for their supply of water. All the water used in such a village is carried on the backs of women who patiently trudge up and down the steep and giddy tracks cut in the side of the precipice, each bearing a brimming or an empty pot on her shoulders. It is a common sight to see them toiling slowly up the almost vertical face of the cliff wrapped in their faded blue blankets and bending under a weight of which the strongest man would soon grow weary.<sup>1</sup>

The plan of a Pueblo village differs from that of all other Indian villages in North America. It consists of long rows of quadrangular flat-roofed chambers rising in a series of terraces, one row of chambers above the other, to a height of two, three, four or even five stories, in such a way that each story recedes by a space of ten feet or more from the front wall of the story immediately below it, and hence the inmates of the upper stories can walk out on the flat roofs of the houses below them and use them as promenades. The whole structure viewed from the front thus presents the appearance of a gigantic staircase; viewed from the back it is one perpendicular wall. Such rows of chambers, each chamber forming a separate house with its own fire-place and chimney, may be two or three hundred feet long; and the ground floor, on which all the receding upper stories rest, may be a hundred feet deep. Access from one story to another is obtained by ladders placed against the outside walls; sometimes the upper stories are connected by staircases. In the old villages the ground-floor rooms had no doors opening on the street or public square; the only entrance was a hole in the roof, so that in order to enter one of them it was necessary first to ascend a ladder to the roof and then to descend another ladder into the chamber.

The plan and architecture of a Pueblo village.

The terraced, flat-roofed houses rise above each other in rows like the steps of a gigantic staircase.

*Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 639-646; compare *id.* "The Cliff Ruins in the Canyon de Chelly, Arizona," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American*

*Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 194.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 104, 155, 272.

This arrangement was adopted for the purpose of defence ; for it enabled the inmates, on the approach of an enemy, to retire to the upper stories, draw up the ladders behind them, and then assail the attacking party with a shower of missiles from a position of comparative safety. For a similar reason the tiers of houses were arranged round a square or courtyard in such a way that they presented their terraced front to the square and turned their perpendicular back walls to the open country, thus offering a formidable obstacle to assailants possessed of no better artillery than bows and arrows. But in positions where the nature of the ground furnished a sufficient defence, the tiers of houses were sometimes arranged not in a square but in streets. However, now that the strong arm of the United States Government protects these peaceful Indians from the depredations of their fiercer neighbours, the Navahoes and Apaches, the old type of a fortified village has undergone some modifications, and the population shews a tendency to disperse into a number of lesser settlements planted more conveniently on lower ground near the cultivated lands.<sup>1</sup>

The building materials stone and sun-dried bricks.

Nearly all the ancient Pueblo villages, at least in the provinces of Tusayan and Cibola, were built of the native limestone, a stone which readily breaks into small pieces of regular shape suitable for use in simple masonry without the need of being artificially dressed. The chinks were filled

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 262 ; Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), *passim* ; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 639-646 ; Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zúñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904 *sq.*), pp. 349 *sq.* ; Fritz Krause, "Die Pueblo-Indianer," *Nova Acta, Abhandlungen der Kaiserl. Leopold. Carol. Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher*, lxxvii. No. 1 (Halle, 1907), pp. 40 *sqq.* With reference to the pacific character of the Pueblo

Indians I may cite what Captain Bourke says of the Hopis or Moquis : "They are avaricious in the extreme, vacillating and timid, and generally do not impress one as being so reliable as their immediate neighbours, the Apaches and Navajoes. They have not been known to engage in hostilities with the whites or Indians since the date of American occupation" (J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 255). Another writer observes of the Hopis that "they are an undersized puny race, content with what they have and asking only to be left alone" (Cosmos Mindeleff, "Navaho Houses," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1898) p. 486).

with smaller stones and a mortar of mud. ~~The practice of building with sun-dried bricks instead of stone is now common, but it~~ appears to be comparatively recent, and was perhaps learned by the Indians from the Spaniards. As the bricks which the Indians make are of inferior quality and the walls too thin to bear the weight of the upper stories, houses constructed of this material are apt to fall into ruins.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting feature in the architecture of a Pueblo village is the *kiva*, or the *estufa*, as it used to be called by the Spaniards. This is a sacred chamber in which the civil and religious affairs of the people are transacted. It also forms a place of resort, a club, or lounge for the men. No women frequent these sacred chambers; indeed they never enter them except to plaster the walls at customary periods or during the celebration of certain ceremonies. A village may have several *kivas*; for example, the village of Walpi (Hualpi) has five, and the large village of Oraibi has ten. Some of these sacred chambers belong each to a particular totemic clan; thus among the Hopis or Moquis we hear of *kivas* of the Butterfly, Rabbit, Oak, Corn, and Eagle clans. Many of them have been built by religious societies, which hold their stated observances there; but no *kiva* now serves exclusively for religious purposes. In the province of Tusayan the *kivas* are quadrangular, like the rest of the chambers; but elsewhere they are sometimes circular, as in the village of Taos; and in many of the older ruins the same shape is found. This circular *kiva*, differing from all the other rooms of the village, which are regularly quadrangular, is probably a survival from the time when the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians dwelt in circular huts or tents. Religious conservatism has retained the ancient form for the sacred buildings long after considerations of utility had abolished it from purely secular edifices. For a similar reason, probably, the entrance to a *kiva* is never by a door but always by a hole in the roof, through which you descend into the room by a ladder. Further, it seems to have been a common requirement throughout the Pueblo

The sacred chambers (*kivas* or *estufas*) of the Pueblo villages.

These sacred chambers are sometimes circular, and probably this was the original shape.

<sup>1</sup> Cosmos Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 137-140.

country that the *kiva* should be wholly or partially underground, as it still is in Tusayan.<sup>1</sup>

The population of a large Pueblo village often numbered from a thousand to fifteen hundred persons.<sup>2</sup> In 1852 the seven Hopi or Moqui villages were estimated to contain eight thousand inhabitants; and the population of a single large village, Zuñi, was put as high as four thousand.<sup>3</sup> If these estimates were correct, the Pueblo Indians have since diminished in number; for in 1896 the population of the village of Zuñi was given at 1621 persons, and the total number of Pueblo Indians in Arizona and New Mexico was said to be 10,287.<sup>4</sup>

The principal crop raised by the Pueblo Indians is maize, and they cultivate several varieties of this cereal. The fields, of which some are artificially irrigated by water led to them in channels from springs, often lie at considerable distances from the main settlement; hence many of the Indians have been accustomed to leave their villages in summer and take up a temporary abode in farm-steadings near their fields. In peaceful times such as the present these summer farm-steadings tend to develop into permanent villages. The soil is hoed with primitive implements, and when the corn has been gathered and brought home, it is spread on the terraced roofs of the houses to dry before it is husked and stacked in the store-rooms. Experience has taught the Pueblo Indians to store corn as a provision against a possible failure of crops. The harvests of one or even two years may sometimes be seen piled in large granaries. The corn is ground into flour between millstones, kneaded into a paste, and baked on flat stones into wafers no thicker than sheets of paper, and of interminable length. Besides maize the Indians also grow large quantities of

<sup>1</sup> Cosmos Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 111 sqq.; *id.* "The Cliff Ruins of Canyon de Chelly," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 174 sqq.; J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 119-133, 151, 332.

<sup>2</sup> Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 643.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 80, 85.

<sup>4</sup> F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) p. 346.

Population of the Pueblo villages.

The agriculture of the Pueblo Indians.

The maize is kept in store-rooms.

beans, melons, pumpkins, and onions, and these they also store for winter use. From the whites they have obtained wheat, peaches, apricots, and other plants, which they cultivate to some extent. Of peaches they are extravagantly fond, and every village has its peach orchards. When the fruit is ripe, people who have orchards move to them and live there in temporary or permanent huts till the peaches are gathered and sometimes dried. It is a happy season for the Indians, and especially for the children, who spend their days eating peaches and rolling on the sandhills. Cotton and tobacco are raised in small quantities; in old days the cultivation of native cotton was much more extensive.<sup>1</sup>

Other  
crops.

In modern times the Pueblo Indians, having acquired sheep, goats, and cattle from the whites, have become to some extent a pastoral people. They eat the flesh of these animals and weave the wool of the sheep into blankets, which they adorn with parti-coloured patterns. Their woven stuffs are durable and shew a considerable variety of fabric. Pottery is made by the women without the use of the wheel. In many villages the pots are undecorated, the surface being finished in plain black or red. But in other villages the pottery is adorned with paintings of animals, plants, flowers, and so forth. Some of the designs are said to be totemic. The vessels themselves are sometimes moulded in the form of animals. On ancient vases the figures of beasts and birds are sometimes executed in so purely conventional a style that only the initiated can decipher them. Certain superstitions attend the making of pottery; for example, a bit of wafer bread is deposited in each pot, that the spirit of the pot may consume its spiritual essence.<sup>2</sup>

Flocks and  
herds.

Weaving  
and  
pottery.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 76, 86; Walter Hough, "The Hopi in relation to their Plant Environment," *American Anthropologist*, x. (1897) p. 35; Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 350-354, 361 sqq.; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual*

*Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 640 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 565 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 72; J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 262 sqq.; Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the*

Government of the Pueblo villages.

Among the Hopi or Moqui Indians, one of the principal branches of the Pueblo peoples, the governing body is composed of a council of hereditary clan-elders and chiefs of religious fraternities. Of these officials one is a speaker-chief and another a war-chief; but there has never been a supreme chief among the Hopis. Each village has its own hereditary chief who directs certain communal works, such as the cleaning of springs.<sup>1</sup> The government of Zuñi is described as hierarchical, being in the hands of various priesthoods and other religious fraternities, of whom the Rain Priests, eight men and one woman, form the dominant body. The civil branch of the government consists of a governor with four assistants, and a lieutenant-governor, also with four deputies. These men are all nominated by the Rain Priests. The governor is elected for one year, but he may be re-elected. He and his staff attend to such secular affairs as do not require the intervention of the priests.<sup>2</sup>

The Pueblo Indians are at present restricted to a small area in New Mexico and Arizona.

While Indians of the Pueblo type of culture appear from the ruins of their villages to have at one time occupied the great region of arid plateaus which stretches from central Utah on the north to the Mexican boundary and beyond it to the south, their descendants or successors are now restricted to a comparatively small area in Western New Mexico and Eastern Arizona, over which their villages, about thirty in number, are irregularly distributed. Most of them are scattered along the upper course of the Rio Grande and its tributaries in New Mexico; and a few of them, situated partly in Western New Mexico and partly in Eastern Arizona, lie in the ancient provinces of Cibola and Tusayan, which are drained by the Little Colorado. Locally, the Pueblo villages may be said to fall into three groups, an eastern group on the Rio Grande, a central group on the

There are three groups of them; an

*Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 368, 372-377; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 566. Sheep and cattle were obtained by the Pueblo Indians from the Spaniards in the seventeenth century. See Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of*

*Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 22.

<sup>1</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 565.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 289 sq.

Zuñi plateau, and a western group in Tusayan.<sup>1</sup> But though the Pueblo Indians inhabit contiguous districts, and though their general character and type of culture are the same, it is remarkable that they speak languages of four different stocks, and therefore presumably belong to four different families. The four stock languages spoken by these people are the Tanoan, Keresan, Zuñian, and Shoshonean; and of these the Tanoan language is, or rather used to be, spoken in five different dialects, the Tano, the Tewa, the Tiwa, the Jemez, and the Piro. The Tano are now extinct as a tribe, but their descendants are still scattered throughout the other Pueblo villages, most of them being at Santo Domingo on the Rio Grande. The Tewa occupy the villages of San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Nambe, and Tesuque, all on or near the Rio Grande, together with the village of Hano among the Hopi in Tusayan.<sup>2</sup> The Tiwa, called by the Spaniards Tigua, inhabit the villages of Taos, Picuris, Sandia, and Isleta, all in the valley of the Rio Grande. The Jemez live in the single village of that name, which stands on a small western tributary of the Rio Grande. The Piros, who are now almost completely Mexicanised, are found, mixed with some Tiwa, at the villages of Senecu and Isleta del Sur, below El Paso, on the Rio Grande in Texas and Chihuahua. The Indians who speak the Keres or Keresan language occupy the villages of Acoma, Laguna, Sia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti, all in the Rio Grande valley.

eastern group on the Rio Grande, a central group on the Zuñi plateau, and a western group in Tusayan. They speak languages of four different stocks.

<sup>1</sup> Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 13, with the map.

<sup>2</sup> The difference of language between the people of Hano or Harno and the Hopi or Moqui by whom they were surrounded was long ago noted by Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, who, writing of the Hopi or Moqui villages, observes that "they all speak the same language except Harno, the most northern town of the three, which has a different language and some customs peculiar to itself. It is, however, considered one of the towns of the confederation, and

joins in all the feasts. It seems a very singular fact that, being within 150 yards of the middle town, Harno should have preserved for so long a period its own language and customs. The other Moquis say the inhabitants of this town have a great advantage over them, as they perfectly understand the common language, and none but the people of Harno understand their dialect" (Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 87 sq.). Compare J. W. Fewkes, "The Kinship of a Tanoan-speaking Community in Tusayan," *American Anthropologist*, vii. (1894) pp. 162 sqq.

The people who speak the Zuñi language are confined to the single large village of that name, situated about midway between the Pueblos on the Rio Grande and the Pueblos of the Hopis or Moquis in Arizona. Lastly, the Shoshonean language is spoken by the Hopis or Moquis who occupy the ancient province of Tusayan in North-eastern Arizona: their villages or towns are Oraibi, Walpi, Sichimovi, Mishongnovi, Shupaulovi, and Shongopovi.<sup>1</sup> This diversity of tongues among groups of Indians, all living side by side within a comparatively small area and characterised by the same general type of culture, seems to shew that these groups are descendants of different races who have been driven, probably by the pressure of stronger tribes, into these arid and semi-desert regions; and that the similarity of their civilisation is to be ascribed, not to derivation from common ancestors, but to the effect of peculiar natural surroundings acting alike upon them all, and aided, no doubt, by inter-communication between them.<sup>2</sup>

This diversity of languages seem to shew that the Pueblo Indians belong to different races.

The Pueblo Indians are divided into many totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line.

The Pueblo Indians are divided into a large number of totemic and exogamous clans, and the clans are further grouped in phratries. In former times marriage within the clan, and sometimes within the phratry, was rigorously forbidden; members of the same clan were regarded as brothers and sisters. But nowadays the old rule of exogamy has to some extent broken down and in many villages a man may marry any woman who will have him, without regard to her clan or her phratry. The Pueblo Indians are monogamists. When a man marries, he goes to live in his wife's house. Descent and inheritance are in the female line; children belong to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. Women own the houses, crops, sheep, and orchards, all in fact that pertains to the comfort of the family. The men own the horses and donkeys. No man

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) pp. 345 sq., with Mr. Victor Mindeleff's map (Plate I.), in *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), prefixed to page 13. Authorities differ in their spelling of the names of the Hopi villages. I follow Mr. J. W. Fewkes,

in the *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 561 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Fritz Krause, "Die Pueblo-Indianer," *Nova Acta, Abhandlungen der Kaiserl. Leopold. Carol. Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher*, lxxxvii. No. 1 (Halle, 1907), pp. 108 sqq.

will sell anything in a house without his wife's consent, and when anything is sold the price received belongs to her. At a woman's death her property descends to her daughters.<sup>1</sup>

The most westerly group of Pueblo Indians are the Hopis or, as they used to be called, the Moquis. The name Hopi is a contraction of Hopitu, "peaceful ones," or *Hopitushinumu*, "peaceful all people," the name by which they call themselves. The origin of the name Moqui or Moki, by which these Indians have been popularly known, is uncertain.<sup>2</sup> Their country lies just west of the boundary between New Mexico and Arizona, north and east of the Little Colorado River, and some sixty or seventy miles south of the Grand Colorado. The Hopi villages are seven in number, each built on the crest of a sandstone precipice in a position which must have rendered it practically impregnable to aboriginal foes. They fall into three groups, an eastern, a central, and a western. The eastern group comprises three villages all situated very close together on what is called the Eastern Tableland (*Mesa*). The names of the three villages, beginning at the east, are Hano (or Tegua), Sichomovi (Suchongnewy), and Walpi (Hualpi). Of these three Hano, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> is not strictly speaking a Hopi village, being inhabited by Indians who speak a different language. A broad valley of seven miles of sand, interspersed with the corn, bean, and melon patches of these Indian farmers, divides the Eastern Tableland from the abrupt promontory on which perches, first, the romantic village of Mishongnovi

The Hopis or Moquis, the most westerly group of Pueblo Indians.

Their seven villages.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Samuel Gorman, quoted by L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 180 (as to the Laguna Indians); J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 135 sq., 230, 248 (as to the Moquis or Hopis); Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 24 (as to the Hopis); Mrs. Matilda Cox Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 19-21 (as to the Sia); *id.* "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 291 (as to the

Zuñi); F. H. Cushing, "Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths," *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896), p. 368 (as to the Zuñi); Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington 1900), p. 647. Compare Fritz Krause, "Die Pueblo-Indianer," *Nova Acta, Abhandlungen der Kaiserl. Leopold. Carol. Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher*, lxxxvii. No. 1 (Halle, 1907), pp. 84 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 560.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 207, note 2.

(Mushangnewy); above it, looking like the stronghold of a German robber-baron of the Middle Ages, appear the masonry walls of Shupaulovi (Shupowlewy); and three miles away, on the other wall of a wide and deep ravine, the fortress of Shongopovi (Sumopowy). Nearly ten miles west of Shongopovi is the solitary village or rather town of Oraibi (Oraybe), the largest and most westerly of the Hopi settlements. It occupies a strong position on the summit of a lofty bluff. The inhabitants studiously hold aloof from their kinsmen in the other villages, and their pronunciation of the common Hopi language differs somewhat from that of their fellows. The village of Walpi (Hualpi or Gualpe, as the Spaniards called it) is regarded as the most ancient of the Hopi settlements in Tusayan: it dates from before the middle of the sixteenth century. Some thirty years ago the population of Oraibi was estimated at not less than fifteen hundred.<sup>1</sup>

Clans and  
phratries of  
the Indians  
of Walpi  
and  
Sichomovi.

The Indians of Walpi and its neighbour village of Sichomovi are or were divided into twelve phratries, and each of these phratries is subdivided into a number of totemic clans. The names of these phratries and clans are as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 226 sq., 329 sq.; J. W. Fewkes, "Tusayan Migration Traditions," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 579 sq.; *id.* in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 560 sqq. The forms of the names in brackets are those given by Captain Bourke. For a detailed description of the Hopi (Moqui) villages, with illustrations and plans, see Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 45 sqq. The date assigned to Walpi in the text rests on the authority of Mr. J. W. Fewkes ("Tusayan Migration Traditions," p. 579). Elsewhere Mr. Fewkes argues that Walpi was not founded on its present site till about 1700. See J. W.

Fewkes, "The Kinship of the Tusayan Villages," *American Anthropologist*, vii. (1894) pp. 394 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> J. W. Fewkes, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 562. This is the latest and presumably the most complete list. For earlier lists of Hopi (Moqui) clans, see Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 86 (repeated by L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 179); J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 116 sq., 335 sq.; Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 38 sq.; J. W. Fewkes, "The Kinship of the Tusayan Villages," *American Anthropologist*, vii. (1894) pp. 400 sqq.; *id.* "Tusayan Migration Traditions," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900), pp. 582 sqq.; Cosmos

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HOPI AT WALPI AND SICHOMOVI

Phratries.	Clans.
I. Horn-flute ( <i>Ala-Lengya</i> )	1. Horn ( <i>Ala</i> ); 2. Mountain sheep; 3. Deer; 4. Antelope; 5. Elk; 6. Seed grass; 7. Ant; 8. Red ant; 9. Black ant; 10. Great ant; 11. Tiny ant; 12. Blue flute; 13. Drab or All-colours flute.
II. Waterhouse or Cloud ( <i>Patki</i> )	1. Water-house ( <i>Patki</i> ); 2. Corn; 3. Rain-cloud; 4. Rainbow; 5. Lightning; 6. Agave; 7. Rabbit-brush; 8. Aquatic animal [Duck]; 9. Frog; 10. Tadpole; 11. Bean; 12. Watermelon; 13. Rain.
III. Snake ( <i>Chua</i> )	1. Snake ( <i>Chua</i> ); 2. Puma; 3. Dove; 4. Columnar cactus; 5. Cactus fruit; 6. <i>Opuntia</i> ; 7. <i>Opuntia frutescens</i> ; 8. Marmot; 9. Skunk; 10. Raccoon; 11. Sorrow; 12. Squash; 13. Crane; 14. Pigeon-hawk; 15. Thistle. The last five of these clans are extinct.
IV. Reed ( <i>Pakab</i> )	1. Reed ( <i>Pakab</i> ); 2. Eagle; 3. Hawk; 4. Turkey; 5. Sun; 6. Paluna (Twin-brother of Puhukonghoya); 7. Star; 8. Chicken-hawk; 9. Willow; 10. Greasewood.

[Continued on p. 212.]

Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *ibid.* p. 651. The earliest of these lists (that of Dr. Ten Broeck) comprised only seven clans, namely, the Deer, Sand, Water, Bear, Hare, Prairie-wolf, Rattlesnake, Tobacco-

plant, and Reed-grass clans. Captain Bourke enlarged the list to twenty-three, arranged in ten phratries with one clan over. His list (*The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), p. 336) is as follows:—

Phratries.	Clans.	Phratries.	Clans.
I. Phratry	1. Parrot. 2. Cottonwood.	VI. Phratry	13. Bear. 14. Hemlock.
II. Phratry	3. Macaw. 4. Corn.	VII. Phratry	15. Rattlesnake. 16. Dove.
III. Phratry	5. Frog. 6. Turkey.	VIII. Phratry	17. Tobacco. 18. Cotton-tail Rabbit.
IV. Phratry	7. Eagle. 8. Sun.	IX. Phratry	19. Blue-seed-grass. 20. Buck-grass.
V. Phratry	9. Badger. 10. Butterfly.	X. Phratry	21. Deer. 22. Yellow Wood.
V. Phratry	11. Coyote. 12. Skeleton.		23. Squash.

Phratries.	Clans.
V. Wood ( <i>Kokop</i> )	1. Wood ( <i>Kokop</i> ); 2. Coyote; 3. Wolf; 4. Yellow fox; 5. Grey fox; 6. <i>Zrohona</i> (small mammal); 7. <i>Masi</i> ( <i>Masauu</i> , dead, skeleton, Ruler of the Dead); 8. Piñon; 9. Juniper; 10. Bow; 11. <i>Sikyachi</i> (small yellow bird); 12. <i>Tuwuchi</i> (small red bird).
VI. Cottontail rabbit ( <i>Tabo</i> )	1. Cottontail rabbit ( <i>Tabo</i> ); 2. Jackrabbit.
VII. Sand or Earth ( <i>Tuwa</i> )	1. <i>Kukuch</i> (kind of lizard); 2. <i>Bachipkwasi</i> (kind of lizard); 3. <i>Nananawi</i> (kind of lizard); 4. <i>Momobi</i> (kind of lizard); 5. White sand; 6. Red sand ( <i>Tuwa</i> ); 7. Mud; 8. Flower; 9. Small striped squirrel.
VIII. Bear ( <i>Honau</i> )	1. Bear ( <i>Honau</i> ); 2. Wild-cat; 3. Blue-bird; 4. Spider; 5. Fir.
IX. Sacred Dancer ( <i>Kachina</i> )	1. Sacred Dancer ( <i>Kachina</i> ); 2. Paroquet; 3. Raven; 4. Yellow bird; 5. Blackbird; 6. Spruce; 7. Cottonwood.
X. Tansy mustard ( <i>Asa</i> )	1. Tansy mustard ( <i>Asa</i> ); 2. Blackearth Sacred Dancer ( <i>Kachina</i> ); 3. Oak; 4. Chaparral cock; 5. Magpie; 6. Snow-bunting; 7. Boomerang rabbit-stick; 8. Field-mouse.
XI. Tobacco ( <i>Piba</i> )	1. Tobacco ( <i>Piba</i> ); 2. Pipe.
XII. Badger ( <i>Honani</i> )	1. Badger ( <i>Honani</i> ); 2. Porcupine; 3. Turkey-buzzard; 4. Butterfly; 5. Evening primrose; 6. Sacred Dancer ( <i>Kachina</i> )

Small size of the Hopi clans.

This gives a total of one hundred and two, or rather one hundred and one clans for the two villages of Walpi and Sichomovi, one of the clans (Sacred Dancer, *Kachina*) occurring in two phratries. But of these clans five are now extinct, so that the number of existing clans in these two villages seems to be ninety-six. As the total population of the two villages at the census of 1900 was only 324,<sup>1</sup> it follows that the average strength, or rather weakness, of each clan in these villages was three persons and a fraction, all told. These very remarkable figures deserve to be borne in mind in considering the present state of totemism

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Fewkes, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, l. 562. Of this grand total Walpi

claimed two hundred and five, and Sichomovi had to be content with one hundred and nineteen.

among the Hopis. No wonder the Hopi clans are ex-  
 amous. A man could not have a very large choice of  
 wives in his own clan, when the rest of it, exclusive of  
 himself, is composed of two whole persons and a fragment  
 of a third, all, or rather both, of whom may possibly be  
 males.

Most of these clans occur in the other Hopi villages,  
 though not in Hano. The Bear clan is supposed to be the  
 oldest in Tusayan, and the Snake clan is said to have been  
 among the first to settle in the district. Together, the  
 Snake and Horn people control the Antelope and Snake  
 fraternities and possess the fetishes and other paraphernalia  
 of the famous Snake dance. The palladium of this people  
 is kept at Walpi. The Flute people, once very numerous,  
 are now nearly extinct in the Hopi villages of the Eastern  
 Tableland. The chief of the Flute priesthood controls the  
 Flute ceremony, which occurs biennially, alternating with  
 the Snake dance. There are two divisions of the Flute  
 fraternity, one known as the Drab Flute and the other as  
 the Blue Flute. There are Horn people in most of the  
 Hopi villages, and clans belonging to this phratry are  
 generally named after horned animals. They now join the  
 Snake priest in the Antelope rites of the Snake dance. The  
 Water-house or Cloud (*Patki*) phratry includes a number of  
 clans which came to the Hopi country from the south,  
 bringing with them a high form of sun and serpent worship,  
 which is still prominent at the Winter Solstice ceremony.  
 The Sun priests, who are found in most Hopi villages  
 and are especially strong at Walpi, accompanied the Cloud  
 people.<sup>1</sup> The Snake clan at Walpi is said to be descended  
 from a Snake-woman, who had the power of changing from  
 a snake into a woman. She married a man and gave birth  
 first to snakes but afterwards to human beings, from whom  
 the Snake clan is descended. They established the Snake  
 worship at Walpi, from which it spread to the other Hopi  
 villages.<sup>2</sup>

Distribu-  
 tion of  
 the Hopi  
 clans in  
 other  
 villages.

The Flute  
 people.

The Horn  
 people.

The Cloud  
 people.

The Snake  
 clan is  
 descended  
 from a  
 Snake-  
 woman,  
 who gave  
 birth to  
 snakes.

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Fewkes, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, p. 562 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884),

p. 177; H. R. Voth, *The Traditions of the Hopi* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 30-35 (Field Columbian Museum, Publication 96). A considerable number of other traditions relating to the Hopi clans

The clans  
of the  
village of  
Hano.

The village of Hano, though it ranks with the Hopi Pueblos, is inhabited, as we have seen, by Indians of a different stock. In 1893 the native population of the village of Hano, exclusive of twenty-three husbands of Hano women, numbered one hundred and forty persons. These were divided into eight clans, namely, the Bear, Corn, Tobacco, Pine, Cloud, Earth, Sacred Dancer (*Kachina*), and Sun. Formerly, they included also the Crane, Timber, Pink Conch, Herb, Turquoise Ear Pendant, Stone, and Grass clans; but these have died out since the Hano people settled in Tusayan.<sup>1</sup>

The Hopi  
phratries  
seem to  
have arisen  
by sub-  
division of  
the original  
clans.

From the table of the Hopi phratries and clans given above<sup>2</sup> it will be seen that each phratry bears a name which is also that of a clan included within it. This points to the subdivision of an original clan of that name into a number of new clans, all but one of which took new names for the sake of distinction. On this subject the remarks of Mr. Cosmos Mindeleff deserve to be quoted. Speaking of the Hopi clans he says that under the rule of female descent, by which children belonged to their mother's clan, not to their father's, "a clan in which there were many girls would grow

have been recorded; but as they appear to relate mainly to the migrations of the people and to throw little or no light on totemism, that is, on the relation of the people to their totems, they need not be considered in this work. See Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 16 sqq.; J. W. Fewkes, "Tusayan Migration Legends," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 577 sqq.; H. R. Voth, *The Traditions of the Hopi* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 16-48. From Mr. Voth's book we gather that the clans at the village of Oraibi include the Bear, Spider, Lizard, Sand, Rattlesnake, Badger, Butterfly, and Divided Spring (*Batki*) clans; and that the clans in the village of Mishongnovi include the Divided Spring (*Batki*), Sand, Bear, Parrot, Crow, Crane, Eagle, Corn-Ear, and Sacred Dancer (*Kachina*) clans. For a list of clans in these and the other

Hopi villages, as they existed about 1883, see Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 651.

<sup>1</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 531. Captain J. G. Bourke, writing in 1884, says that the Tegua (Tewa) Indians of Hano were divided into nine clans named as follows: Sun, Corn, Snake, Tobacco, Cottonwood, Pine, Cloud, Bear, and Parrot. See J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), p. 335. According to Mr. Cosmos Mindeleff, about the year 1883 there were at Hano families belonging to the following clans: Bear, Eagle, Sun, Cottonwood, Tansy Mustard (*Asa*), Water (Corn), Water (Cloud), Lizard, Tobacco, and Coyote. See Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 651.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 211 sq.

and increase in importance, while one in which the children were all boys would become extinct. There was thus a constant ebb and flow of population within each clan and consequently in the home or houses of each clan. The clans themselves were not fixed units; new ones were born and old ones died, as children of one sex or the other predominated. The creation of clans was a continuous process. Thus, in the Corn clan of Tusayan, under favourable conditions there grew up subclans claiming connection with the root, stem, leaves, blossom, pollen, etc."<sup>1</sup> Thus, we can understand why lists of totemic clans drawn up at different times among the same people may differ from each other considerably, and yet all of them be correct for the time to which they refer.

The Pueblo Indians of the Zuñian stock are comprised within the single large village of Zuñi, which in 1896 was reported to contain 1621 inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> Their country lies between Tusayan, the land of the Hopi Indians, on the west and the Rio Grande valley, the home of the Eastern group of Pueblo Indians. It appears to correspond to the ancient province of Cibola.<sup>3</sup> The present village of Zuñi, which is the largest of all modern Pueblo villages, stands on a knoll beside the Zuñi River. The position is not naturally a strong one, and appears to have been chosen merely because it is conveniently near to a large stretch of arable land watered by what is rare in the land of the Pueblos, a perennial stream. Three miles to the east of it rises the conspicuous and beautiful tableland of red and white sandstone known as Thunder Mountain, on the summit of which lie the ruins of

The Zuñi  
Indians.

The  
present  
village of  
Zuñi.

The ruins  
of the old  
village of  
Zuñi.

<sup>1</sup> Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 647. Similarly, speaking of the old Hopi gentes (clans), Mr. Victor Mindeleff observes: "There are, moreover, in addition to these, many other gentes and sub-gentes of more recent origin. The subdivision, or rather the multiplication of gentes may be said to be a continuous process; as, for example, in 'corn' can be found families claiming to be of the root, stem, leaf, ear, blossom, etc., all be-

longing to corn; but there may be several families of each of these components constituting district sub-gentes." See Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891) p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) pp. 346, 348.

<sup>3</sup> Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 80.

old Zuñi. Its situation, unlike that of the modern village, is impregnable; for the tableland is a thousand feet above the plain and almost inaccessible, the sides being for the most part too precipitous to be scaled. Two foot-paths traversing abrupt slopes, where holds for hands and feet have been chipped out of the rock, furnish a precarious approach to the summit. Many legends and superstitions of the Zuñi cluster round these airy ruins; and amongst the crags, hidden away in secluded nooks or perched on nearly unapproachable pinnacles and slopes, are many shrines and sacred objects to which the Indians go on pilgrimage.<sup>1</sup>

Totemic  
clans of  
the Zuñi.

The Indians of Zuñi are or were till lately divided into twenty-four totemic clans, of which the names are as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

- |                                  |                                         |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1. Crane or Pelican.             | 2. Grouse or Sagecock (Chaparral Cock). |
| 3. Yellow-wood or Evergreen-oak. | 4. Bear.                                |
| 5. Coyote.                       | 6. Red-top plant or Spring-herb.        |
| 7. Tobacco.                      | 8. Maize-plant.                         |
| 9. Badger.                       | 10. Deer.                               |
| 11. Antelope.                    | 12. Turkey.                             |
| 13. Sun.                         | 14. Sky.                                |
| 15. Eagle.                       | 16. Toad or Frog.                       |
| 17. Water.                       | 18. Rattlesnake.                        |
| 19. Parrot-Macaw.                | 20. Wood.                               |
| 21. Cotton-tail rabbit.          | 22. Black Corn.                         |
| 23. Tortoise.                    | 24. Sun Flower.                         |

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Tilly E. Stevenson, "The Religious Life of the Zuñi Child," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), pp. 539 sq.; Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 80, 89 sq., 97 sq.

<sup>2</sup> F. H. Cushing, "Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths," *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896), p. 368; Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 292; J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American*

*Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) p. 116. Mrs. Stevenson gives a list of sixteen existing and four extinct clans, which agrees with that of Mr. Cushing except that (1) she omits the Water and Rattlesnake clan; (2) she adds the Wood, Cotton-tail rabbit, and Black corn clans; (3) she translates the native word *Pichikwe* as "Dogwood," whereas Cushing translates it "Parrot-Macaw." Elsewhere Mrs. Stevenson records a tradition that the *Pichikwe* (Dogwood clan) was divided into a Macaw (*Mula*) section and a Raven (*Kākā*) section (*op. cit.* p. 40). Captain Bourke gives a list of fourteen clans. In the text the first nineteen clans are taken from Mr. Cushing's list, the next three from Mrs. Stevenson's, and the last two from Captain Bourke's.

With regard to the rules of marriage in Zuñi we have unfortunately no information; but we may presume that the Zuñi clans, like those of other Pueblo Indians, are or once were exogamous, that is, that no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own clan. We are told that descent and inheritance are in the female line,<sup>1</sup> which implies that children belong to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. But "while descent is through the maternal side, the offspring is also closely allied to the father's clan. The child is always referred to as belonging to the mother's clan and as being 'the child' of the father's clan."<sup>2</sup> Further, the Zuñi clans, says Mr. Cushing, are "totemic; that is, they bear the names and are supposed to have intimate relationship with various animals, plants, and objects or elements."<sup>3</sup> But what precisely the relationship is supposed to be between a person and his or her totem, Mr. Cushing omits to say, nor is the omission, so far as I know, supplied by any other writer. Here, as in the case of most of the tribes within the area of the United States, we are left without exact information as to the essence of totemism, that is, the nature of the relation which is supposed to exist between a totemic clan and its totem.

The Eastern group of Pueblo Indians occupy, as we have seen,<sup>4</sup> a considerable number of villages scattered about in the valley of the Rio Grande, and they belong to two linguistic stocks, the Tanoan and the Keresan. Like their western brethren in Zuñi and Tusayan, they are divided into totemic clans, of which the names, if little else, have been recorded. One of the villages inhabited by Indians of the Keresan stock is Acoma, strongly situated on a high rock in New Mexico, about sixty miles west of the Rio Grande. It is said to enjoy the distinction of being the oldest inhabited settlement within the United States. The Spaniards, who visited it in 1583, and estimated its

<sup>1</sup> F. H. Cushing, "Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths," *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 368; Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, *l.c.* The statement is obscure, but I have no means of elucidating it.

<sup>3</sup> F. H. Cushing, *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> Above, pp. 206 *sq.*

population at six thousand persons, speak of the dizzy path that leads up to the town and mention the cultivated fields two leagues away. The number of inhabitants in 1902 had dwindled to five hundred and sixty-six. They were divided into twenty clans named as follows :—

- |                |                  |               |                  |
|----------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|
| 1. Water.      | 2. Yellow corn.  | 3. Red corn.  | 4. Blue corn.    |
| 5. Brown corn. | 6. White corn.   | 7. Eagle.     | 8. Parrot.       |
| 9. Sun.        | 10. Road-runner. | 11. Oak.      | 12. Rattlesnake. |
| 13. Bear.      | 14. Turkey.      | 15. Calabash. | 16. Antelope.    |
| 17. Sky.       | 18. Buffalo.     | 19. Fire.     | 20. Ant.         |

Four of these clans (namely, Blue corn, Brown corn, Buffalo, and Fire) were extinct in 1902. Nothing is said as to the rules of marriage and descent, and nothing as to the relation of people to their totems.<sup>1</sup> On the analogy of those Pueblo Indians as to whose social system we are better informed, we may perhaps assume that the Acoma clans are or were once exogamous, and that the children belong to their mother's clan.

Totemic  
clans  
of the  
Laguna,  
a Pueblo  
people  
of the  
Keresan  
stock.

Laguna is the name of another tribe of Pueblo Indians speaking the Keresan language. They have their principal village on the bank of the San José River in New Mexico, about forty-five miles west of Albuquerque. In 1851 the population of the village was estimated at nine hundred persons ;<sup>2</sup> in 1905 the whole tribe numbered 1384 souls, divided into twenty clans, which were named as follows :—

- |                     |                                                              |                 |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Bear.            | 2. Sun.                                                      | 3. Badger.      |
| 4. Eagle.           | 5. Watersnake.                                               | 6. Rattlesnake. |
| 7. Coyote.          | 8. Corn (divided into<br>8. Yellow corn and<br>9. Red corn). | 10. Water.      |
| 11. Turkey.         | 12. Wolf.                                                    | 13. Earth.      |
| 14. Mountain lion.  | 15. Parrot.                                                  | 16. Turquoise.  |
| 17. Chapparal-cock. | 18. Antelope.                                                | 19. Lizard.     |
| 20. Oak.            |                                                              |                 |

Two of these clans (namely, Earth and Mountain lion) were extinct in 1905. Most of the clans were grouped

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Hodge, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 10 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 75 sq.

together in phratries, of which the following have been recorded :—

Grouping of the Laguna clans in phratries.

Phratries.	Clans.	Phratries.	Clans.
I. <i>Phratry</i>	1. Bear. 2. Badger. 3. Coyote. 4. Wolf.	III. <i>Phratry</i>	1. Water-snake. 2. Rattlesnake. 3. Lizard. 4. Earth.
II. <i>Phratry</i>	1. Mountain-lion. 2. Oak.	IV. <i>Phratry</i>	1. Antelope. 2. Water.

The writer who gives us this information says nothing as to the rules of marriage and descent in the tribe.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately in the case of the Laguna people we are not left merely to conjecture. An older writer, the Rev. Samuel Gorman, has supplied the requisite information. Writing of the Pueblo Indians in 1860, he says: "Each town is classed into tribes or families, and each of these groups is named after some animal, bird, herb, timber, planet, or one of the four elements. In the pueblo of Laguna, which is one of above one thousand inhabitants, there are seventeen of these tribes; some are called bear, some deer, some rattlesnake, some corn, some wolf, some water, etc. etc. The children are of the same tribe as their mother. And, according to ancient custom, two persons of the same tribe are forbidden to marry; but, recently, this custom begins to be less rigorously observed than anciently."<sup>2</sup> Thus the totemic clans of the Laguna Indians are or were exogamous, with descent in the female line; which agrees with the few statements on that subject which have been vouchsafed with reference to the other Pueblo Indians.

Rules of marriage and descent among the Laguna.

The Sia are another Pueblo people of the Keresan stock.<sup>3</sup> Their village stands on high ground beside the Jemez River, a western tributary of the Rio Grande. The people are poor and shrunken in numbers, inhabiting only a small group of houses among the extensive ruins of what

The Sia, a Pueblo people of the Keresan stock.

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Hodge, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 752 sq.

of New Mexico, quoted by L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Samuel Gorman, in an address to the Historical Society

<sup>3</sup> F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) p. 346.

was formerly one of the largest towns of this region. According to the census of 1890 they numbered only one hundred and six persons. So scanty is the supply of water that the Sia cannot grow enough grain to supply their needs; but the women labour industriously at the manufacture of pottery, and the men barter their wares for corn and wheat with their neighbours.<sup>1</sup> The Sia were formerly divided into at least twenty-three totemic and exogamous clans, of which the names have been recorded as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

- |                  |                 |                       |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Corn.         | 2. Coyote.      | 3. Squash.            |
| 4. Tobacco.      | 5. Bear.        | 6. Eagle.             |
| 7. Star.         | 8. Moon.        | 9. Sun.               |
| 10. Deer.        | 11. Antelope.   | 12. Cougar.           |
| 13. Cloud.       | 14. Crane.      | 15. Oak.              |
| 16. Fire.        | 17. Parrot.     | 18. White shell bead. |
| 19. Ant.         | 20. Granite.    | 21. Cactus.           |
| 22. Turtle Dove. | 23. Sage Brush. |                       |

However, by 1890 all but the first six of these clans were extinct, and even of the first six the Eagle, Bear, and Squash clans were almost extinct, being represented only by one old man each, though the Squash clan had in addition a second man from Tusayan. The Tobacco clan was represented by a single family. The only two clans numerically well represented were the Corn and the Coyote.<sup>3</sup> The old custom of the tribe forbade a man to marry a woman either of his father's or of his mother's clan; but in 1890, when

Totemic  
clans of  
the Sia.

Marriage  
customs of  
the Sia.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 9-11.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. 19; J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) p. 117. Captain Bourke, who visited Zia (Sia) in 1881, gives a list of eight clans (Turtle Dove, Native Tobacco, Bear, Corn, Eagle, Coyote, Sage Brush, Pumpkin). Mrs. Stevenson, who visited Sia in 1890, gives a list of twenty-one, of which, however, all but six (Corn, Coyote, Squash, Tobacco, Bear, Eagle) were extinct.

At the time of Captain Bourke's visit there were only fifteen families living at Sia, so that the number of members of each clan must have been very small.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 19. Mrs. Coxe left Washington in March 1890 to study the Sia and continued her researches among them to the end of the fiscal year (*op. cit.* p. xxx.). Six years later, in 1895, Mr. F. W. Hodge reported a somewhat different state of things at Sia. According to him there were then sixteen clans in existence, while twenty-one had become extinct. As the

the remnant of the tribe was investigated, the numbers were so shrunken that the Sia had to break through the old exogamous rules or perish. Accordingly marriages with the forbidden clans were looked upon with disfavour but tolerated. The older men watched jealously over the younger men, lest they should seek brides among other tribes; and beautiful as the Sia maidens are esteemed, few suitors came awooing them from other villages; for according to tribal custom a husband takes up his abode in his wife's home, and there is little to attract well-to-do Indians to the ruinous, poverty-stricken village of Sia. "Though the Sia are monogamists, it is common for the married, as well as the unmarried, to live promiscuously with one another; the husband being as fond of his wife's children as if he were sure of the paternal parentage. That these people, however, have their share of latent jealousy is evident from the secrecy observed on the part of a married man or woman to prevent the anger of the spouse. Parents are quite as fond of their daughter's illegitimate offspring, and as proud of them, as if they had been born in wedlock; and the man who marries a woman having one or more illegitimate children apparently feels the same attachment for these children as for those his wife bears him. . . . These loose marriage customs doubtless arise from the fact that the Sia are now numerically few and their increase is desired, and that, as many of the clans are now extinct, it is impossible to intermarry in obedience to ancient rule."<sup>1</sup>

Loose relations of the sexes among the Sia.

Another Pueblo tribe of the Keresan stock are the Cochiti. Their village of the same name stands on the

average number of members in each of the existing clans was 6.62, the population of the village had practically remained stationary since Mrs. Stevenson's visit, though there had been apparently a curious revival of extinct clans, due perhaps to the importation of fresh blood from other villages. At the time of Mr. Hodge's visit the existing clans were the Antelope, Badger, Bear, Calabash, Chapparal Cock, Corn, Coyote, Deer, Eagle, Fire, Parrot, Rattlesnake, Sun, Tobacco, Turkey, and Water; and the extinct clans were Ant, Arrow, Buffalo,

Cloud, Crane, Crow, Dance-Kilt, Dove, Hawk, Ivy, Lizard, Moon, Mountain Lion, Oak, Pegwood (?), Piñon, Salt, Shell bead, Star, Stone, Turquoise. Mr. Hodge visited the Pueblo villages of New Mexico in the summer and autumn of 1895. See F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) pp. 345, 347, 348 *sqq.*, with the table.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 19-21.

The clans of the Cochiti, a Pueblo people of the Keresan stock.

west bank of the Rio Grande in New Mexico, twenty-seven miles south-west of Santa Fe. In 1907 they numbered three hundred persons and were divided into clans, of which the following nineteen names have been recorded :—

- |                   |                   |                  |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1. Sun.           | 2. Water.         | 3. Cottonwood.   |
| 4. Turquoise.     | 5. Mountain Lion. | 6. Bear.         |
| 7. Calabash.      | 8. Coyote.        | 9. Oak.          |
| 10. Corn.         | 11. Fire.         | 12. Eagle.       |
| 13. Turkey.       | 14. Antelope.     | 15. Rattlesnake. |
| 16. Dance-Kilt.   | 17. Reindeer (?). | 18. Ivy.         |
| 19. Mexican Sage. |                   |                  |

The last eight of these clans were extinct in 1907. Nothing is said as to the rules of marriage and descent in the tribe.<sup>1</sup> We may conjecture that the clans are or were exogamous, and that descent was in the female line.

Clans of Santa Domingo, a Pueblo village of the Keresan stock.

Another Pueblo village inhabited by Indians speaking the Keresan language is Santo Domingo<sup>2</sup> on the Rio Grande in New Mexico. It was visited in 1881 by Captain J. G. Bourke, who found the inhabitants divided into eighteen clans, bearing the following names :—

- |                         |                    |                  |
|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. Eagle.               | 2. Water.          | 3. Toad.         |
| 4. Macaw-Parrot.        | 5. Snake.          | 6. Sun.          |
| 7. Bear.                | 8. Mountain Lion.  | 9. Crane.        |
| 10. Yucca or Soap-weed. | 11. Sage Brush.    | 12. Badger.      |
| 13. Buffalo.            | 14. Coyote.        | 15. Antelope.    |
| 16. Tortoise.           | 17. Evergreen Oak. | 18. Maiz (Corn). |

Some of these clans were represented by only two or three survivors. Though he does not expressly record the rules of marriage and descent among these Indians, Captain Bourke makes a statement from which we may infer that the clans are, as appears to be usual with the Pueblo Indians, exogamous, with descent in the female line. He says that

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Hodge, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 317 sq. Captain J. G. Bourke visited Cochiti in 1881 or 1882 and has recorded the names of twelve clans as follows : 1. Macaw ; 2. Melon ; 3. Eagle ; 4. Sun ; 5. Water ; 6. Evergreen Oak ; 7. Antelope ; 8. Badger ; 9. Corn ; 10. Bear ; 11. Turkey ; 12.

Coyote. See J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) p. 346; *id.* in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 675.

an Indian of Santo Domingo "asserted that he was a member of the *Chamisa* or Sage Brush clan, his father was of the Maize or Corn clan, his wife and children of the Coyote, and his wife's father of the *Aguila* or Eagle."<sup>1</sup>

The remaining two Pueblo villages of Indians speaking the Keresan languages are Santa Ana and San Felipe, the latter situated on the Rio Grande and the former on its western tributary the Jemez River.<sup>2</sup> In 1881 or 1882 the Indians of Santa Ana were divided into ten clans, of which the names were these:—<sup>3</sup>

Clans of  
Santa Ana.

- |            |                          |                 |
|------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Turkey. | 2. <i>Chalchihuitl</i> . | 3. Turtle Dove. |
| 4. Coyote. | 5. Macaw.                | 6. Corn.        |
| 7. Eagle.  | 8. Snake.                | 9. Badger.      |
| 10. Bear.  |                          |                 |

In the year 1895 the Indians of San Felipe were divided into twenty-one clans, of which three were nearly extinct; and they remembered nine more clans which had become extinct. The names of these clans are as follows:—<sup>4</sup>

Clans of  
San Felipe

- |            |              |                     |
|------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. Ant.    | 2. Antelope. | 3. Arrow.*          |
| 4. Bear.   | 5. Calabash. | 6. Chapparal Cock.* |
| 7. Coral.  | 8. Corn.     | 9. Coyote.          |
| 10. Crow.* | 11. Deer.*   | 12. Dove.           |

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 49 sq.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) p. 346, with the map of the Pueblo country, in *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), Plate I., facing p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folklore*, iii. (1890) p. 116. In 1895 Mr. F. W. Hodge recorded only seven clans at Santa Ana, as follows: 1. Corn; 2. Coyote; 3. Dove; 4. Eagle; 5. Fire; 6. Parrot; 7. Turkey. See F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) pp. 348 sqq., with the table, Plate VII.

<sup>4</sup> F. W. Hodge, *op. cit.* pp. 348 sqq., with the table, Plate VII. The clans

whose names are distinguished by an asterisk were extinct at the time when Mr. Hodge wrote. Captain Bourke visited San Felipe in 1881 or 1882 and has recorded sixteen clans as follows: 1. Eagle; 2. Sun (almost extinct); 3. Water; 4. Antelope; 5. Corn; 6. Frog; 7. Turkey; 8. Coyote; 9. Turtle Dove; 10. *Bunchi* (native tobacco); 11. *Chalchihuitl*; 12. Snake (extinct); 13. Evergreen Oak (extinct); 14. Badger (extinct); 15. Macaw (extinct); 16. Bear (extinct). See J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folklore*, iii. (1890) p. 116. In regard to these and other discrepancies between lists of totem clans recorded at different times we must always bear in mind the more or less constant flux to which totem clans are subject. See above, pp. 214 sq.

- |                     |                             |                   |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 13. Duck.           | 14. Eagle.                  | 15. Earth.*       |
| 16. Fire.           | 17. Flower (red and white). | 18. Frog or Toad. |
| 19. Humming-bird.   | 20. Ivy.                    | 21. Moon.*        |
| 22. Mountain Lion.* | 23. Oak.                    | 24. Parrot.       |
| 25. Salt.*          | 26. Sun.                    | 27. Swallow.      |
| 28. Tobacco.        | 29. Turkey.                 | 30. Turquoise.*   |
| 31. Water.          |                             |                   |

The writer who has recorded the names of these clans says nothing as to the rules of marriage and descent. But on the analogy of the other Pueblo Indians, about whom these particulars have been given, we may conjecture that the clans of Santa Ana and San Felipe are or were at one time exogamous, and that children belong to their mother's clan.

Lastly, the Pueblo Indians who speak dialects of the Tanoan language, and occupy a considerable number of villages in the valley of the Rio Grande,<sup>1</sup> are or have been divided into many clans, of which not a few are now extinct. The following names of their clans, existing or extinct, have been recorded by Mr. F. W. Hodge:—<sup>2</sup>

- |                   |                     |                      |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Ant.           | 2. Antelope.        | 3. Axe.              |
| 4. Badger.        | 5. Bear.            | 6. Bluebird.         |
| 7. Buffalo.       | 8. Calabash.        | 9. Cloud.            |
| 10. Coral.        | 11. Corn.           | 12. Corn (black).    |
| 13. Corn (blue).  | 14. Corn (red).     | 15. Corn (sweet).    |
| 16. Corn (white). | 17. Corn (Yellow).  | 18. Cottonwood.      |
| 19. Coyote.       | 20. Crane or Heron. | 21. Crow.            |
| 22. Deer.         | 23. Eagle.          | 24. Eagle (painted). |
| 25. Earth.        | 26. Feather.        | 27. Fire.            |

<sup>1</sup> For the names of their villages, see above, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) pp. 348 *sqq.*, with the table, Plate VII. Two of these villages, namely, Jemez on the Jemez River in New Mexico and Isleta in Texas, were visited by Captain Bourke in 1881, and he has recorded the names of their clans. In Jemez, of which the population was 401 in 1881, Captain Bourke recorded the names of ten clans as follows: 1. *Chalchihuitl*; 2. Coyote; 3. Corn; 4. Pine; 5. Evergreen Oak; 6. Sun;

7. Eagle; 8. Badger; 9. Pumpkin; 10. Crow (only one man left). In Isleta, which in 1881 was almost completely Mexicanised and contained thirty-six families and four widows, Captain Bourke recorded the names of twelve clans, as follows: 1. Corn; 2. Eagle; 3. Sun; 4. Water; 5. *Chalchihuitl*; 6. Bear; 7. Turtle Dove; 8. Rabbit; 9. Watermelon, or Pumpkin; 10. Goose, or Turkey; 11. Coyote (extinct); 12. Snake (extinct). See J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folklore*, iii. (1890) p. 117.

Clans of the Pueblo Indians of the Tanoan stock.

- |                             |                               |                             |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 28. Firewood or Timber.     | 29. Flower (genus Dandelion). | 30. Goose.                  |
| 31. Gopher.                 | 32. Grass.                    | 33. Hawk.                   |
| 34. Herb (species unknown). | 35. Knife.                    | 36. Lizard.                 |
| 37. Marten.                 | 38. Mole.                     | 39. Moon.                   |
| 40. Mountain Lion.          | 41. Oak.                      | 42. Parrot.                 |
| 43. Pine.                   | 44. Sacred Dancer.            | 45. Shell (pink conch).     |
| 46. Shell Bead.             | 47. Stone.                    | 48. Sun.                    |
| 49. Tobacco.                | 50. Tree (probably birch).    | 51. Tree (probably spruce). |
| 52. Turkey.                 | 53. Turquoise.                | 54. Water.                  |
| 55. Water Pebble (boulder). | 56. Willow.                   | 57. Wolf.                   |

These clans are variously distributed among the villages of the Tanoan-speaking Indians. Some of them are represented only in a single village, others in two, three, four, and so on. The total population of the Tanoan-speaking villages, including the village of Hano, was reported in 1896 to number three thousand two hundred and sixty-six.<sup>1</sup> The writer who has recorded the names of the Tanoan clans says nothing as to their rules of marriage and descent. But on the analogy of other Pueblo Indians we may conjecture that the clans are or were at one time exogamous, and that children belong to their mother's clan.

Amongst the Hopis, and perhaps among the other Pueblo Indians, though as to them we have no information, personal names regularly refer to the clan totem of the giver, not the bearer, of the name. When a child is twenty days old, it receives its first names from the grandmother or, if she be not living, from some aunt or other near relative on the mother's side, and from other women. All these women must belong to the clan of the mother and child. Of the names thus bestowed one usually sticks and is called the "child-name." It is retained until the child is initiated into some order or society, when it receives a new name from the godfather or godmother who presents it for initiation. Sometimes a new name is also given at these initiations by

Among the Hopi Indians personal names refer to the totem of the giver, not the bearer, of the name.

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) p. 346, with the table, Plate VII. As to the village of Hano,

which is situated among the Hopis (Moquis) Indians in Tusayan, see above, p. 207 note <sup>2</sup>.

the leaders of the ceremony. Such initiations, however, are by no means confined to the age of childhood, but may take place at any time. A few specimens will illustrate the relation of Hopi personal names to the clan totems of the persons who bestow them. Thus a member of the Bow clan may bestow the personal name of "Arrow." A member of the Crane clan may give the name of "Crane." A member of the Squash clan may give the name of "The one that figures a Blossom"; a member of the Bluebird clan may give the names of "Bluebird," "Little Bluebird," "Follow the Bluebird," "Bluebird Walk," "Bluebird Hunt," and so forth. A member of the Bear clan may give the names of "Bear," "Little Bear," "Bear Maiden," "Bear Claw." A member of the Parrot or Macaw clan may give the names of "Parrot Maiden," "Parrot Tail," "Parrots Alighted," "Parrots Flown Away," and so on. A member of the Spider clan may give the name of "Spider Web." A member of the Eagle clan may give the names of "Eagle Man," "Eagle Sits," "Eagle Stand," and so on. And similarly with other clans.<sup>1</sup>

Members of each clan and phratry seem formerly to have dwelt together in the villages.

In old days apparently each clan and each group of clans, which we call a phratry, dwelt by itself in its own cluster or row of houses in the common Pueblo village; and to some extent this local grouping of kins may still be traced in the villages and towns of these Indians. "Related clans," we are told, "commonly built together, the newcomers seeking and usually obtaining permission to build with their kindred; thus clusters of rooms were formed, each inhabited by a clan or a phratry. As occupancy continued over long periods, these clusters became more or less joined together, and the lines of division on the ground became more or less obliterated in cases, but the actual division of the people remained the same and the quarters were just as much separated and divided to those who knew where the lines fell. But as a rule the separation of the clusters is apparent to every one; it can nearly always be traced in the ground plans of ruins, and even in the great valley pueblos, which were probably inhabited continuously for several centuries, the principal division

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Voth, *Hopi Proper Names* 80 sq., 81 sqq., 88, 91 sq. (Field Chicago, 1905), pp. 67 sq., 74, 76 sq., Columbian Museum, Publication 100

may still be made out. In the simpler plans the clusters are usually well separated.”<sup>1</sup> “At the present time the house of the priestess of the clan is considered the home of that clan, and she has much to say about proposed marriages and other social functions.”<sup>2</sup>

Each Pueblo clan has its totemic badge, which consists of a conventional representation or symbol of the clan totem. Such badges or crests serve members of the clan as signatures, and they are worn by persons who represent the clan at foot-races and other ceremonies. For example, if a dancer is of the Eagle clan, he will be decorated on his breast or back with an eagle or with some conventional mark which everybody knows to be the badge of the Eagles. Similarly with representatives of the Corn, Tobacco, Bear, Badger, and other clans.<sup>3</sup>

Totemic badges of the Pueblo Indians.

The Pueblo Indians are an eminently religious people, and devote much time, especially in winter, to the performance of complicated rites intended to ensure an adequate supply of rain, the growth of corn, and other blessings. Many of these ceremonies are dramas in which the parts of gods and goddesses or other supernatural beings are played by masked men and women, or by men disguised as women. Such mystery plays are acted in the piazza or square of the village and are watched with enthusiasm by the inhabitants of both sexes seated on the terraced roofs of the houses, as on the tiers of a great theatre or amphitheatre. If any doubt existed as to the essentially religious or rather perhaps magical origin of the drama, the elaborate ritual of the Pueblo Indians, with its personation of gods and goddesses by masked men, might help to dissipate the doubt. Such maskers and masquerades are known among the Hopis as

Religious or magical dramas of the Pueblo Indians, in which masked actors personate gods.

<sup>1</sup> Cosmos Mindeleff, “Localization of Tusayan Clans,” *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 648; compare the same writer’s whole discussion of the subject, pp. 646-653. Captain Bourke also observes that each clan lives in its own section or ward of the village (*The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 229).

<sup>2</sup> Cosmos Mindeleff, “Localization of Tusayan Clans,” *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 653.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), p. 229; J. W. Fewkes, “Tusayan Totemic Signatures,” *American Anthropologist*, v. (1897) pp. 1-11.

The masks are thought to transform the actors into the gods whom they personate.

The Hopi rites are based in the main on sympathetic magic.

*kachinas*, and the same name is applied by them to the supernatural beings themselves who are personated. "E the use of these masks or helmets," we are told, "the participant is supposed to be transformed into the deity represented." But when we speak of gods, deities, and worship in this connection it should be borne in mind that "w undoubtedly endow the subject with conceptions which do not exist in the Indian mind, but spring from philosophical ideas resulting from our higher culture. For the first two the more cumbersome term 'supernatural beings' is more expressive, and the word 'spirit' is perhaps more convenient except from the fact that it likewise has come to have a definite meaning unknown to the primitive mind. Worship, as we understand it, is not a proper term to use in the description of the Indian's methods of approaching his supernal beings. It involves much which is unknown to him, and implies the existence of that which is foreign to his conceptions. Still, until some better nomenclature, more exactly defining his methods, is suggested, these terms from their convenience will still continue in common use." "The Hopi ritual is extraordinarily complex and time-consuming, and the paraphernalia required is extensive. Although the Hopi cultus has become highly modified by a semi-arid environment, it consisted originally of ancestor worship, embracing worship of the great powers of nature—sky, sun, moon, fire, rain, and earth. A confusion of effect and cause and an elaboration of the doctrine of signature pervade all their rites, which in the main may be regarded as sympathetic magic."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jesse Walter Fewkes, "The Group of Tusayan Ceremonials called *Katchinas*," *Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 251-263, etc.; the quotations in the text are taken from pp. 263 and 253 respectively. Elsewhere Mr. Fewkes has argued that the maskers called *kachinas* (*Katchinas*) "represent the dead or the totemic ancients of clans; or, in other words, the spirits of deceased members of the clan with totemic symbolic paraphernalia characteristic of the ancients." See his article, "An Interpretation of *Katchina* Worship,"

*Journal of American Folk-lore*, xiv (1901) pp. 81-94. As to the Hopi religion in general and the *kachinas* (or *Katchinas*) in particular see also J. W. Fewkes, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 566 sq. The masked dances of the Pueblo Indians were first described by Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck in 1852. See H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 83-85.

<sup>2</sup> J. W. Fewkes, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 567.

At the present day the religious or rather perhaps magical rites of the Pueblo Indians appear to be performed for the most part by religious fraternities, the members of which are not restricted to any particular totemic clan. Accordingly a full consideration of the elaborate ritual of these people does not fall within the scope of a treatise on totemism, and I shall not attempt it. But it may be remarked that many of these rites, though now no longer totemic, may have been so originally; in other words, they may in former times have been performed only by members of a particular totemic clan and the intention of the ceremonies may have been to multiply or otherwise influence the totem for the common good. There is a certain amount of evidence that this was so. For example, in regard to the most famous of all the Pueblo ceremonies, the Snake Dance, we are told by the chief authority on the subject, Mr. Jesse Walter Fewkes, that "no one can now doubt that the Snake dance was primarily a part of the ritual of the Snake clan, and that ancestor worship is very prominent in it. We need only look to the clan relation of the majority of priests in the celebration to show its intimate connection with the Snake clan, for the Snake chief, the Antelope chief, and all the adult men of the Snake family participate in it. The reverence with which the ancestor, and particularly the ancestress, of the Snake clan, viz., Tcüamana, is regarded, and the personation of these beings in *kiva* rites, certainly gives strong support to a theory of totemistic ancestor worship."<sup>1</sup>

These religious or magical dramas are now performed by fraternities, the members of which are not confined to any one totemic clan. But perhaps originally the ceremonies may have been totemic; that is, they may have been celebrated by members of a totemic clan for the multiplication or control of their totem. Thus the Snake dance may once have been a ceremony of the Snake clan.

The Snake Dance was witnessed by Captain J. G. Bourke of the United States Army at the Hopi village of Hualpi (Walpi) on the twelfth of August 1881; and his description was the first to attract general attention to the rite. The ceremony, which is not confined to the Hopis or Moquis, though perhaps it originated with them, has since been often described. Its main feature is a dance performed by men, each of whom holds a live serpent between his teeth. It is

Captain Bourke's description of the Snake Dance at Walpi in August 1881.

<sup>1</sup> Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Notes on Tusayan Snake and Flute Ceremonies," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part

ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 965; compare *id.* "The Growth of the Hopi Ritual," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, xi. (1898) pp. 190 sq.

said that most of the serpents used in the rite are venomous and that nothing is done to render them innocuous, though men distract the attention of the reptiles from the dancer by tickling them with sacred wands, which have incised on them the figure of a long green snake and are tipped with eagle feathers. The weird procession of the dancers marches round and round a sacred rock which rises from the ground in the piazza at Walpi. Women, both maidens and matrons scatter sacred corn-meal on the serpents and on the dancers from beautifully decorated baskets which they carry in their hands, till the air is misty with the flour and the ground is white as driven snow. This scattering of the corn-meal has a sacred significance; and the lips of the women engaged in it may be seen moving in prayer. After the serpents have been spat out on the ground by the dancers and sprinkled with meal by the women, most of them are placed for a moment or two in the hands of little boys, who handle them apparently without fear. Finally, the serpents are carried by runners at full speed down the precipitous path which leads from the village to the plain, where the reptiles are set at liberty. All the time the men are racing down the steep slope with their wriggling burdens, an old man whirls a bull-roarer so as to produce a humming, whirring sound like that of rain driven by the wind. The same sound is made in the same way when the head of the sacred procession first emerges to view on the piazza.<sup>1</sup> A medicine-man informed Captain Bourke that by making this sound they compelled the wind and rain to come to the aid of the crops. At a later time the same officer found the bull-roarer

The scattering of the sacred meal.

The serpents placed in the hands of boys and then set free.

Bull-roarers whirled to make wind and rain.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 122, 151-169, with Plate II. at the end. For other accounts of the Snake Dance and other ceremonies with snakes among the Pueblo Indians, see Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 86 sqq.; J. Walter Fewkes, "A Comparison of Sia and Tusayan Snake Ceremonials," *American Anthropologist*, viii. (1895) pp. 137 sqq.; *id.* "The Oraibi Flute Altar,"

*Journal of American Folk-lore*, viii. (1895) pp. 273-282; *id.* "Tusayan Snake Ceremonies," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 273-312; *id.* "Notes on Tusayan Flute and Snake Ceremonies," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 963-986; F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Snake Ceremonials," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) pp. 133-136.

used by the Apaches for the same purpose.<sup>1</sup> The time occupied by the whole ceremony was not more than half or three-quarters of an hour. More than a hundred snakes were used in it.<sup>2</sup> The ceremony appears to take place regularly in August, but the days on which it is held are known to have varied at the village of Walpi in different years from the 12th to the 21st of the month.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the Snake Dance is very uncertain. Mr. J. W. Fewkes, who has studied it carefully, inclines to believe that the dance "has two main purposes, the making of rain and the growth of corn, and renewed research confirms my belief, elsewhere expressed, that ophiolatry has little or nothing to do with it."<sup>4</sup> In this connection it deserves to be noted that a part of the Snake Dance, as it was witnessed by Captain Bourke, who had no such theory of its meaning, consisted in an imitation of corn-planting performed by the dancers as they slowly pranced by twos, arm in arm, round the sacred rock.<sup>5</sup>

Theory that the Snake Dance is intended to make the rain fall and the corn grow.

The theory that the Snake Dance was originally a totemic ceremony performed by persons of the Snake clan and by them alone is confirmed by a statement of Nanahe, a Hopi (Moqui) Indian, an intelligent, quiet, and well-behaved man, whose evidence was interpreted to Captain Bourke by Mr. Frank Cushing. This man said that he was a member of the Maize or Corn clan of the Moquis, but also a member of the Snake Order, a secret society to which is entrusted the preparation and care of the dance. By a rule of the Moquis none but a member of the Snake clan may belong to the Snake Order; only when a member of the Snake clan dies,

Statement of a Hopi Indian that only

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Bourke, "The Medicine-men of the Apache," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1892), pp. 476 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Bourke witnessed it on the 12th of August 1881 (*The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 156); in 1891 the dance took place on August 21st, in 1893 on August 14th, and in 1895 on August 18th. See J. W. Fewkes, "The Oraibi Flute Altar," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, viii.

(1895) p. 277. At other Pueblo villages the snake ceremonies of 1896, spread over nine days, lasted variously from the 11th to the 24th of August. See J. W. Fewkes, "Tusayan Snake Ceremonies," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> J. W. Fewkes, "Tusayan Snake Ceremonies," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 307.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 161.

members of the Rattlesnake clan or their sons may belong to the Snake Order, the secret society which manages the Snake dance.

his son is allowed to participate in the sacred drama. On the subject of the Snake Order and its relation to the Snake clan the Indian's evidence ran thus: "You must not ask me to give you any information about that order. I am a member of it. It is a secret order, and under no circumstances can any of its secrets be made known. Very few people, even among the Moquis, know anything about it, and its members would be more careful to keep its affairs from the knowledge of the Moquis, not members, than they would from you. This order was first organised in the Grand Cañon of the Rattlesnakes, the Grand Cañon of the Cohoninos, the Cañon of the Ava-Supais, and our people in their migration from that point eastward brought the secret with them. At first all members of the order were members of the Rattlesnake gens [clan], but as time passed the descendants of that clan became too numerous and were mixed up with all the other gentes [clans] of our people. To keep the order from getting too big, no members were taken in unless they were members of the Rattlesnake gens, or sons of the members of that gens, as in my case. But if a man had no other claim than by inheritance, and did not possess the qualifications demanded of aspirants, he would surely be rejected; while I think that a man of brave heart and good character, willing to comply with all the rules imposed, would be likely to be admitted without consideration of his father's or his mother's want of connection with the Rattlesnake gens. From the Moqui villages the order spread to other villages; the headquarters, however, always remained among the Moquis."<sup>1</sup> This account of the manner in which the rites of the Snake clan gradually passed out of the exclusive possession of the clan and were transferred to a secret society known as the Snake Order may very well apply, with the necessary modifications, to the development of many secret societies out of totem clans.

Ceremony performed by the Frog clan

Again, the Frog clan of the Zuñi Indians performs an annual ceremony, which reminds us of the *intichiuma* or magical rites performed by totem clans in Central Australia

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 180 sq.

for the multiplication of their totems. In the arid land inhabited by the Pueblo Indians the great want is water; accordingly rain is the prime object of their prayers and ceremonies, the constant preoccupation of their minds.<sup>1</sup> Now the frog is an animal associated with water; hence the Frog clan is naturally charged with the performance of ceremonies for the procuring of rain. About five miles to the east of the present village of Zuñi there is a spring of water which flows into a rocky basin some twenty feet long. Terraced ledges, whether natural or artificial is uncertain, run round the basin under the surface of the water. This spring is cleaned out by members of the Frog clan after the installation of a new Sun Priest (*pekwin*) and at such other times as may be deemed necessary. On the day appointed the Sun Priest, accompanied by men and women of the Frog clan, repairs to the pool. There the Frog men, descending into the pool, scoop up the water in bowls and pass it to the women, who pour it out. When the basin has thus been nearly emptied, feathers are attached to the bowls, and the Sun Priest then deposits them on the ledges of rock. These ledges are literally covered with bowls which have been thus deposited from time immemorial. After that the Sun Priest takes a bunch of feathers or prayer-plumes (*telikinawe*), weights them with a stone, and throws the feathers and stone together into the water of the spring, now only a few inches deep. As he does so, he utters the following prayer: "We pray that the Rain-makers (*uwannami*) will work for us, that our crops and the crops of all the world may be watered and be plentiful, that our people and all people may be happy, that our people may not die but sleep to awake in Kothluwalawa."<sup>2</sup> The

of the Zuñi  
Indians for  
the making  
of rain.

Prayer to  
the Rain-  
makers.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 21, 175. Compare the observations of Mr. Walter Hough: "The aridity of the climate has had a profound effect on the religious beliefs and practices of the Hopi. To the traveler going for the first time among the white people experiencing the severe probation of this region, water

would seem to be the chief good. One might think that no conversation was ever carried on in Arizona in which the subject of the lack of water was not a primary topic" ("The Hopi in relation to their Plant Environment," *American Anthropologist*, x, (1897) pp. 33 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 58-60. Kothluwalawa is

prayer-plumes (*telikinawe*) are supposed to waft the prayer to the supernatural beings to whom they are addressed. Such plumes play a great part in Zuñi myth and ritual. Thousands of them are offered every year to the various gods and goddesses of the Zuñi pantheon.<sup>1</sup> The Rain-makers thus invoked by the Sun Priest are the spirits of the dead Zuñi men and women and children, who are supposed to pass to and fro in the upper air, hidden from the sight of the living by cloud masks, but carrying vases and gourds full of water, which they pour down on earth in the form of rain. The clouds are produced by the breath of the gods and by smoke; hence smoking as a means of producing clouds and rain is a conspicuous feature in Zuñi ritual. There is a time at the summer solstice when torch-bearers set fire to grass, trees, or whatever comes in their way in order to make a great cloud of smoke, while two men whirl bull-roarers with a booming sound like rain or thunder, imploring the Rain-makers to water the earth.<sup>2</sup> This attempt to produce rain-clouds by smoke is clearly a case of sympathetic or imitative magic: the desired effect is supposed to be produced by imitating it. Taken with the prayers, which are purely religious, this smoke-making ceremony shews that the Zuñis, like so many other peoples who have risen above the lowest level of savagery, seek to compass their ends by combining magic with religion.

But while the Frog clan of the Zuñis performs a ceremony of which the intention seems to be to ensure rain for the crops, the function of procuring the necessary showers is committed by the Zuñis mainly to a body of Rain Priests (*Ashiwanni*), whose business it is to fast and pray for rain, but who are not drawn from any one totem clan. It is possible that just as the Snake Order among the Hopis appears to have been developed out of the Snake clan, so the Rain Priests of the Zuñis have been developed out of

a salt lake at some distance from Zuñi, to which the souls of the dead are supposed to go immediately after their decease. A solemn pilgrimage is made to the lake by some of the Zuñis every year about the summer solstice. See Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians,"

*Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 20, 153 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, *op. cit.* pp. 171 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, *op. cit.* pp. 20 sq., 158.

The Rain-makers are thought to be dead Zuñi people who pour water from vessels on the earth. Raising a smoke is resorted to as a means of producing clouds and rain on the principle of sympathetic magic.

The Rain Priests of the Zuñis.

the Rain or the Cloud clan ; but this is merely a conjecture, I know of no evidence in support of it. The Rain priesthood is indeed confined to certain families, but these families belong to several clans, among which the Rain and Cloud clans appear not to be included. The methods adopted by the Rain Priests to procure rain for the people combine the principles of magic and religion. No secular work is done by these men ; they are set apart for the discharge of their solemn duties, and their daily life must be such as not to offend the Council of the Gods, who control and direct the Rain-makers. Each of these priests possesses certain fetishes or sacred instruments (*étoné*) which he uses in his professional business. They are hollow reeds, some filled with water and others with edible seeds of all the kinds known to the Zuñis. In one of the water-filled reeds there is kept a small toad (*Bufo punctatus*), which seems to thrive in its cramped quarters. These fetishes are said to symbolise the Earth Mother, rain, vegetation, and everything that nourishes mankind. At a rain-making ceremony in winter the priest draws a picture of a cloud with pollen and meal on the ground and places the water-filled and seed-filled reeds on the picture. This is the most solemn part of the ceremony ; the hearts and minds of all concerned are now filled with adoring wonder at these holiest of fetishes and with a trembling hope that the gods will thus be moved to water the earth. It is a supreme moment with the Zuñis and has been compared by an eyewitness to the administration of the Holy Eucharist in the Catholic Church. Afterwards the priest with the assistance of a female associate consecrates a mixture of water, meal, and a powdered root in a bowl, and standing up whirls a bull-roarer, while the associate whips the contents of the bowl into frothy suds symbolic of clouds, and another associate plays the flute. "All this," we are told, "is an invocation to the gods for rain—the one great and perpetual prayer of the people of this arid land." Next the priest, laying aside the bull-roarer, dips two eagle feathers in the holy water and with it sprinkles the offerings. All night long the appeal to the gods is crooned in low, weird, yet musical tones. It runs in a set form, of which the following is part :—

Fetishes employed by the Rain Priests.

Prayer to the gods for rain.

- “All come out and give us your showers and great rains ; all come  
 “That the seeds may be strong and come up, that all seed plants may  
 come up and be strong.  
 “Come you that all trees and seeds may come up and be strong.  
 “Come you hither ; all come.  
 “Cover my Earth Mother four times with many flowers.  
 “Let the heavens be covered with the banked-up clouds.  
 “Let the earth be covered with fog ; cover the earth with rains.  
 “Great waters, rains, cover the earth. Lightning cover the earth.  
 “Let thunder be heard over the earth ; let thunder be heard ;  
 “Let thunder be heard over the six regions of the earth.  
 “Rain-makers, come out from all roads that great rivers may cover the  
 earth ;  
 “That stones may be moved by the torrents ;  
 “That trees may be uprooted and moved by the torrents.  
 “Great rain-makers, come out from all roads, carry the sands of our  
 Earth Mother of the place.  
 “Cover the earth with her heart, that all seeds may develop,  
 “That my children may have all things to eat and be happy ;  
 “That the people of the outlying villages may all laugh and be happy ;  
 “That the growing children may all have things to eat and be happy.”

Mimic  
 thunder  
 made as a  
 means of  
 producing  
 rain.

In a summer ceremony for the making of rain the Rain  
 Priest and his associates roll thunder-stones along the ground  
 from a cloud-picture made of meal to a disk of corn pollen,  
 which is called the house of the thunder-stones. At the  
 same time the invocation to the Rain-makers is chanted.  
 The stones called thunder-stones are amongst the most  
 sacred possessions of the Zuñis, who believe that they were  
 dropped to earth by the Rain-makers at their sports in the  
 upper air.<sup>1</sup> The rolling of these stones is clearly an imita-  
 tion of thunder, and the ceremony thus partakes of the  
 nature of imitative or homeopathic magic, the performers  
 mimicking the result which they wish to produce. It is  
 not unreasonable to conjecture that such magical rites were  
 once the special function of a Rain or Water clan, like the  
 similar rites called *intichiuma* by the Arunta in Central  
 Australia.

The Zuñi  
 dance of  
 the Corn  
 Maidens,

Every four years in August, when the corn is a foot  
 high, two bands of Zuñi maidens, ten in each band, personate  
 the mythical Corn Maidens, carrying baskets of corn and

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, *American Ethnology* (Washington  
 “The Zuñi Indians,” *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of*  
 1904), pp. 21, 163-177, 416.

other seeds on their heads, and dancing to the music of two choirs in order that the rains may fall and the corn may grow. They are assisted in this solemn rite by various youths and maidens, including water-sprinklers, a man of the Frog clan, and another who personates the Great Father of Corn and dances in order that the ears of corn may be perfect. In his dance this man wears a perfect ear of corn (not a grain of it may be missing) in the back of his belt. While the dancers are dancing, the choirs sing songs to the Great Mother Corn imploring her to give many of her children in the coming year, and also entreating the Sun Father to embrace the Earth Mother that she may bestow the fruits of her being. The man of the Frog clan smokes a cigarette of native tobacco over vessels of water and stalks of green corn, while both choirs sing that the earth may be abundantly watered. After that the water-sprinklers sprinkle water over a symbolic cloud, baskets of corn, and all persons present. The corn from the baskets is finally put away, kept separate from all the other corn in the house and planted as seed the following year. The whole ritual is elaborate and aims at ensuring a supply of rain and the growth of corn by a combination of religion and magic.<sup>1</sup> We may surmise that originally such rites were the exclusive property of the Corn clan, though there is now no such restriction. Here, as in the case of the Snake Order and the Rain Priests, the magical rites of one totemic clan have perhaps broadened out into a religion of the whole tribe.

a ceremony intended to ensure rain and an abundant crop of corn.

The Indians of Zuñi celebrate elaborate rites at both the solstices, which the Sun Priest determines by observing the points of the mountains where the sun rises on the shortest and sets on the longest day. The ceremonies include at both seasons the kindling of new fire by the friction of wood. At the winter solstice the chosen fire-maker collects a faggot of cedar-wood from every house in the village, and each person, as he gives the fire-maker the wood, prays that the crops may be bountiful in the coming year. For several days before the fire is kindled, no ashes or sweepings may

The Zuñi ceremonies of making new fire by the friction of wood at the summer and winter solstices.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, *American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 31 sq., 48 sq., 51-57, *Annual Report of the Bureau of* 180-204.

be removed from the houses and no artificial light may appear outside of them, not even a burning cigarette or the flash of fire-arms. It is the belief of these Indians that no rain will fall on the fields of the man outside of whose house a light has been seen at this season. The exact moment for the kindling of the new fire is fixed by the rising of the Morning Star. The flame is produced by twirling an upright stick between the hands on a horizontal stick laid upon the floor of a sacred chamber, the sparks being caught by a tinder of cedar-dust. It is forbidden to blow up the smouldering tinder with the breath, for that would offend the gods. After the fire has been thus ceremonially kindled, the women and girls of all the families in the village clean out their houses. They carry the sweepings and ashes in baskets or bowls to the fields and there deposit them. To the sweepings the woman says: "I now deposit you as sweepings, but in one year you will return to me as corn." To the ashes she says: "I now deposit you as ashes, but in one year you will return to me as meal." At the summer solstice the sacred fire which has been obtained by the friction of wood is used to kindle the grass and trees, that there may be a great cloud of smoke, while bull-roarers are swung and prayers are uttered that the Rain-makers will water the earth.<sup>1</sup>

The makers  
of the new  
fire.

We might be disposed to conjecture that the duty of kindling the sacred new fire at the solstices had been originally discharged by members of the Sun clan; but the facts do not seem to support this conjecture. For we learn that "the office of fire-maker is filled alternately by a member of the Badger clan and a child of that clan,"<sup>2</sup> that is, by a man whose father is a member of the Badger clan,

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 108-141, 148-162, especially pp. 108, 109, 114 sq., 120 sq., 130 sq., 132, 148 sq., 157 sq. Among the Hopi Indians of Walpi new fire is ceremonially kindled by friction in November. See J. W. Fewkes, "The Tusayan New Fire Ceremony," *Proceedings of the Boston*

*Society of Natural History*, xxvi. 422-458.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 114. The writer is here speaking of the new fire at the winter solstice. It does not appear whether the same man kindles the fire also at the summer solstice.

but who is not himself a member of that clan, since children take their clans from their mothers, not from their fathers. Formerly each Pueblo village seems to have regularly maintained a sacred fire, which was tended by old men and never allowed to go out.<sup>1</sup> But no such perpetual fire has been kept up by these Indians since they procured matches and could gather fuel in the neighbourhood without the risk of being surprised and cut off by prowling enemies. In former times the scarcity of wood near home and the necessity of carrying it on their backs for long distances (for they had no beasts of burden till they got them from the Spaniards), compelled them to husband their fuel with the strictest economy, and led to the institution of a central fire in every village, from which the householders might obtain a light when they needed it. But with changed conditions the need, and with it the custom, of keeping up a perpetual fire has passed away.<sup>2</sup>

The custom of maintaining a perpetual fire has died out with the need of it.

In considering the elaborate religious ritual of the Pueblo Indians we must not forget that they have been subject for centuries to Christian and especially to Catholic influence; for the Spaniards established missions among them early in the seventeenth century. It is therefore by no means impossible that the native beliefs and customs of these Indians have been modified by missionary teaching.<sup>3</sup> For example, the Indians of Laguna, we are told, "believe that on a certain day (in August, I think) the dead rise from their graves, and flit about the neighboring hills, and on

The elaborate religious ritual of the Pueblo Indians may perhaps have been influenced by the teaching of the old Spanish missionaries.

<sup>1</sup> In 1851 and 1852 Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck reported this for the villages of the Laguna and the Moquis (Hopis). See H. R. Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 76, 86.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> H. L. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 256; A. F. Bandelier, "An Outline of the Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe," *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, iii. (Boston and New York, 1892) pp. 79, 80, 94, 95 sq.,

102; Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 21 sqq.; J. W. Fewkes, "The Group of Tusayan Ceremonials called Katcinas," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 306; *id.* "Tusayan Migration Traditions," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1904) pp. 581 sq. The missionaries made themselves very unpopular, not only by their attempts to uproot the native religion, but by imposing a system of forced labour on the Indians, who in their exasperation rose on the monks and massacred them.

that day, all who have lost friends, carry out quantities of corn, bread, meat, and such other good things of this life as they can obtain, and place them in the haunts frequented by the dead, in order that the departed spirits may once more enjoy the comforts of this nether world. They have been encouraged in this belief by the priests, who were in the habit of sending out and appropriating to themselves all these things, and then making the poor simple Indians believe that the dead had eaten them."<sup>1</sup> At first sight we might think that this Indian custom of entertaining the spirits of their dead once a year was nothing but an adaptation of the Catholic feast of All Souls on the second of November; but such festivals have been held by so many purely pagan peoples<sup>2</sup> that we need not suppose the Pueblo Indians to have learned the custom from the priests.

But on the whole it seems to be a genuine aboriginal product.

On the whole, the religious ritual of the Pueblo Indians, so far as it has been described by eye-witnesses, appears to be in the main a genuine product of the aboriginal American mind hardly affected by foreign influence.

Morgan's attempts to ascertain the system of relationship of the Pueblo Indians.

With regard to the system of relationship recognised by the Pueblo Indians we have unfortunately almost no information. Many years ago L. H. Morgan made strenuous efforts to ascertain it and exhausted every available resource in the prosecution of the enquiry, but with extremely little success; and he complained with justice that "although the New Mexican Village Indians are now under the supervision of the national government, through superintendents and agents, their country seems, notwithstanding, to be hermetically sealed, so far as ethnological investigations are concerned, unless they are made in person. India and China are both much more accessible."<sup>3</sup> Forty years and more have passed since the greatest of American ethnologists wrote thus. In the interval a national Bureau of Ethnology has been established in the United States, and its agents have spent years in investigating the customs of the Pueblo Indians, yet nothing

<sup>1</sup> Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 78.

<sup>2</sup> For examples of similar festivals of the dead in other parts of the world

see my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), pp. 301-318.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 260.

more appears to be now known as to the systems of relationship of this people than was known in Morgan's time. It is to be hoped that Morgan's successors in America, who have given us many minute and valuable descriptions of the elaborate Pueblo ceremonies, may yet turn their attention to the Pueblo systems of consanguinity and affinity and supply us with the necessary information before the opportunity of obtaining it shall have passed away for ever.

In regard to the Pueblo Indians of Laguna it was ascertained by L. H. Morgan that they have separate terms for elder and younger brother (*Sât-tum-si-yă* and *Tüm-mü-hă-mâsh*) and for elder and younger sister (*Sâ-gwets-si-yă* and *Sâ-gue-sâ-ha-mâsh*); that a man calls his father's brother "my father" (*Nish-te-ă*), but his mother's brother "my uncle" (*Să-nou-wa*); that he calls his father's (not his mother's) sister "my mother" (*Ni-ya*); and that he calls his cousin, the son of his father's brother, "my brother" (*Tüm-mü*).<sup>1</sup> So far as they go, these terms point to the existence of the classificatory system of relationship among the Pueblo Indians.

Traces of the classificatory system of relationship among the Pueblo Indians.

### § 13. Exogamy among the Navahoes and Apaches

Bordering on the peaceful agricultural Pueblo Indians are two Indian tribes of a different stock and a different character. These are the once fierce and warlike Apaches and Navahoes or Navajoes. The two tribes are closely akin in blood and language; both belong to what is called the Athapascan or Athabascan family, of whom by far the greater part inhabit the distant territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, British Columbia, and Alaska. This family is indeed the most widely distributed of all Indian families in North America. All the tribes of this stock call themselves by a name which means "men" or "people" and is more or less similar in all the dialects. It has been variously represented as Tinneh, Dené, Dindje, and so forth. The Navahoes call themselves Tinneh or Diné, and the Apaches call themselves Ndé. These two tribes are the most southerly representatives of the stock, forming as it were an isolated vanguard

The Apaches and Navahoes, two tribes of the widespread Athapascan family.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 262.

The Athapascans have been for the most part hunters and fishers.

which has straggled far away from the main army. With the exception of the Navahoes no tribe of this great family originally tilled the ground. In the bleak regions of north-west America bordering on Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Ocean agriculture was impossible on account of the cold ; and in the southern division, the home of the Apaches and Navahoes, it was at least very difficult, without artificial irrigation, on account of the aridity and heat of the climate. Accordingly the Athapascan tribes have been for the most part hunters and fishers. Even from fishing both the Apaches and the Navahoes were excluded by a strong prejudice against eating fish ; and though bears are numerous in their country and their forests abound with wild turkeys, the Navahoes would not touch the flesh of these creatures. The mainstay of the nomadic Apaches was the American aloe, the so-called mescal or agave, which was cut down by the women and baked in pits. The Navahoes seem always to have been acquainted with maize, but so long as they remained a hunting tribe they detested the labour of planting. It was only when their numbers increased and game grew scarce that necessity compelled them to cultivate corn somewhat more systematically. Having obtained sheep and goats from the whites they have become mainly a pastoral people ; their country is indeed better fitted for raising sheep than for anything else. Their reservation occupies an area of over 12,000 square miles in the extreme north-eastern corner of Arizona and the north-western corner of New Mexico. According to the latest census the Navahoes now number more than 27,000 ; but it is said that this estimate is too high, and that the actual number is about 20,000.<sup>1</sup>

Cultivation of maize by the Navahoes.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 230 sq., 241 ; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 63 sqq., 108 sqq. ; Jona. Letherman, "Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians," *Tenth Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, 1856), pp. 290 sq. ; A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) pp. 345, 347 sq., 349, 357 ; J. G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (New York, 1891), pp. 125, 129 sq. ;

Father A. G. Morice, "Notes on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) pp. 8 sqq. ; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Navaho Houses," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1898) pp. 481 sq. ; Washington Matthews, *Navaho Legends* (Boston and New York, 1897), pp. 1, 5, 9 sq., 12 sq. ; Father Leopold Ostermann, "The Navajo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona," *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) pp. 857 sqq. As to the

Both the Apaches and the Navahoes are divided into a large number of exogamous clans with descent in the female line, but the names of the clans appear to be local, not totemic; with the single exception of the Navaho name, "Many Goats," which must be a modern designation, no clan bears the name of an animal. Lists of the Apache clans were obtained by Captain J. G. Bourke,<sup>1</sup> and of the Navaho clans by Dr. Washington Matthews.<sup>2</sup> The list given by the latter includes fifty-one names of Navaho clans. They are such as "House of the Black Cliffs," "Bend in a Canyon," "Encircled Mountain," "Among the Waters," "Sage-brush Hill," "Willows," "Red Flat," "Lone Tree," "Overhanging Rocks," "Salt," "Beads," and so forth. The Navaho clans are further grouped together in phratries, but as to the number of the phratries our authorities differ, varying in their statements from eight to twelve. Captain Bourke obtained a list of eleven Navaho phratries with three independent clans. According to tradition the Navaho phratries have been produced both by segmentation and by aggregation of the clans, but oftener apparently by aggregation than by segmentation. In Navaho legend there are frequent allusions to ties of friendship formed between clans of such a nature that marriage between members of these clans was precluded. At the present day no Navaho may marry a woman of his own clan or phratry; neither may he marry a woman of his father's clan or phratry. They believe that if they married women of their own clan, "their bones would dry up and they would die." Every Navaho belongs to his or her mother's clan and bears its name.<sup>3</sup> It is very noticeable that according to Dr. Washington Matthews, our

The Apaches and Navahoes are divided into a large number of exogamous clans with descent in the female line.

The Navaho clans are grouped in phratries.

Navaho rules of marriage.

wide diffusion of the Athapaskan or Tinnex stock in North America compare H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, iii. (London, 1875) pp. 583 sq.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) pp. 111 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Washington Matthews, "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) pp. 103 sq.; *id.*, *Navaho*

*Legends* (Boston and New York, 1897), pp. 29 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Washington Matthews, "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) pp. 103-110; *id.*, *Navaho Legends*, pp. 29-33; J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), p. 279; Father Leopold Ostermann, "The Navajo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona," *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) p. 861.

There are no special names for the Navaho phratries.

best authority on the subject, the Navahoes give no formal names to their phratries. When a man is speaking of a phratry he will often refer to it by naming some one clan in it, usually the most ancient or the most numerous clan. It is easy to suppose, as Dr. Washington Matthews justly observes, that this tendency to name a phratry after one of its clans might end in the permanent and universal use of such a name for a phratry.<sup>1</sup> Thus when we find, as we have often found among the Indian tribes of America, a phratry named after the same animal as one or more of its component clans, it is not necessary to infer, as following Morgan I have commonly done, that the phratry represents an original totemic clan which has been subdivided into the existing clans. It may have been so, but the other possibility, indicated by the Navaho practice, must also be borne in mind. In any case the existence of phratries and exogamous classes without names for them is significant, and, supported as it is by the analogy of the Melanesians, it confirms the view which I have taken that the absence of names for some of the Australian exogamous classes is no proof that these classes once had names but have lost them. Polygamy is general among the Navahoes. The custom is to have two wives, but many men have three, and a few have four or five. Girls are betrothed very young.<sup>4</sup> By common consent the house and all of the domestic gear belong entirely to the wife; the husband owns a few blankets, his saddle and horse-trappings, his weapons, ornaments, and a few odds and ends, but all else that the house covers is his wife's property. If she does not already possess a cornfield by inheritance or purchase, the husband must plant one for her. She has her own sheep and horses, and her husband has no claim on them. The children belong to her wholly, and she has entire control of the domestic life. The father has nothing to say, very little to say with regard to his children, even by way of correction or discipline, and his property does not descend

Among the Navahoes the house and the domestic gear belong to the wife, and the father has little or nothing to do with his own children.

<sup>1</sup> Washington Matthews, "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. ii. p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. pp. 264 sq.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1894) p. 356; compare Father L. Ostmann, "The Navajo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona," *Anthropos*, i. (1908) p. 862.

to them at his death, it goes to his nephews or nieces, no doubt the children of his sisters. But if he chooses to distribute his property to his own children in his lifetime, the disposition will be recognised.<sup>1</sup> Among the Navahoes brother and sister may not touch one another nor receive anything directly from each other's hands. Thus, if a sister wishes to give anything to her brother, she places it on the ground and he picks it up.<sup>2</sup> Similarly among the Arapahos, an Algonkin tribe of the plains, a brother and sister may not speak to each other more than is necessary, and a sister is supposed to sit at some distance from her brother.<sup>3</sup> A like custom of avoidance between brothers and sisters has met us elsewhere and an explanation of it has been suggested.<sup>4</sup>

Navaho custom of avoidance between brother and sister.

Dr. Washington Matthews, who spoke with authority on the subject, was of opinion that the Navaho clans were originally and indeed till quite recently local exogamous groups and not true clans. At the same time he found evidence in legend that some of them had once been totemic; for it is said that when they set out on their journey each clan was provided with a different pet, such as a bear, a puma, a deer, a snake, and a porcupine, and that when the clans received their local names, these pets were set free.<sup>5</sup> The Navahoes observe certain taboos in regard to animals, but apparently these taboos are not totemic, since they are not limited to any one clan but are shared by the whole Navaho tribe or nation. On this subject Mr. A. M. Stephen, who knew the Navahoes well, writes as follows: "Several other taboos are also rigidly observed; they must never touch fish, and nothing will induce them to taste one; their forests abound with wild turkey, but they are strictly forbidden to eat them; bears are quite numerous, but as they are also

Evidence that the Navaho clans were once totemic.

Navaho taboos in respect of animals.

<sup>1</sup> Jona. Letherman, "Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, Territory of New Mexico," *Tenth Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, 1856), pp. 294 sq.; A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) p. 354; Father Leopold Ostermann, in *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) p. 862.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) p. 358.

<sup>3</sup> A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, p. 11 (*Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xviii. Part i. 1902).

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 542, vol. ii. pp. 77 sqq., 124, 131, 147, 188 sq., 343, 344.

<sup>5</sup> Washington Matthews, "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) pp. 104 sqq.; *id.*, *Navaho Legends*, p. 31.

taboo they will not even touch a bearskin robe ; nor may any one plant a tree ; and the flesh of swine they abominate as if they were the devoutest of Hebrews. The wood of the hunting corral in which they trap the antelope is also taboo. They observe many curious ceremonies before and during hunt, and all of the tree limbs forming the hunt corral are held as having been sacrificed to the hunting deities. Not only do they abhor food cooked on a fire of wood obtained from these enclosures, but they also keep at a distance from such a fire, dreading to feel its warmth or inhale its smoke.'

Names of  
Apache  
clans.

Among the names of Apache clans collected by Captain Bourke are "Red Rock," "Red Paint," "The Fallen Cottonwood," "Salt Springs," "White Mountain," "Acorn," "Sunflower," "Pine," "People of the Canyon," "Grassy Hill People," "Water Tanks," "Walnut," "Juniper," "Rush Willow," "Broad River," and so forth.<sup>2</sup> The names appear to be local or topographical ; yet the clans are true exogamous

Female  
descent ;  
power of  
the mother.

clans ; for no man may marry a woman of his own clan. The children belong to the clan of their mother, who has more authority than the father over them. Polygamy is the custom

Marriage  
with a wife's  
younger  
sisters.

A man will marry his wife's younger sisters as fast as they grow to maturity. If his wife has no sisters, he will try to obtain another wife from the same clan as his first wife. A man

The  
levirate.

marries his deceased brother's widow ; but he must exercise this right within a year of his brother's death, otherwise the widow is free to marry whom she pleases. On the war-path

Order of  
battle.

Apache clans camp together, and go into battle side by side as my gallant correspondent, the late Captain Bourke, of the United States cavalry, had good opportunity for observing o

Among both Navahoes and Apaches a man avoids his wife's mother. From the time that a Navaho is married, he and his mother-in-law may never look each other in the face again; otherwise they fear they will go blind. Hence they carefully shun each other; they will not sit in the same room and if they meet by accident, they abruptly turn away and get out of each other's sight as fast as they can. Their word for mother-in-law is therefore *Doyishini*, that is, "Whom I do (or may) not see." Yet it is the Navaho custom for the husband to live with his wife's people, and the commonest sounds in a Navaho camp are the friendly shouts warning men and their mothers-in-law to keep apart. To avoid these embarrassments a man will sometimes marry the mother first and then the daughter so as to make the mother-in-law also a wife, thus disarming her of her terrors.<sup>1</sup> A similar custom of marrying, or at least lying with, the mother-in-law before marriage is practised, as we saw,<sup>2</sup> by the Wahehe of East Africa, and probably for the same reason. Among the Apaches also no man will speak to his wife's mother, nor will she speak to him; and they avoid meeting each other. Rather than face his mother-in-law a desperate Apache, the bravest of the brave, has been seen clinging to rocks, from which had he fallen he must inevitably have been dashed to pieces or at least broken several of his limbs.<sup>3</sup>

After repeated and persevering efforts continued through several years L. H. Morgan failed to ascertain the Apache system of relationship,<sup>4</sup> nor has anything, so far as I know, been done since his time to supply this blank in our knowledge.

#### § 14. *Traces of Totemism among the Mohaves*

While the tribes of California, so far as is known, had neither totemism nor a system of exogamous clans, some traces of totemic clans have been detected among the

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Bourke, *Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), p. 247; A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) pp. 357, 358; Father Leopold Ostermann, "The Navajo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona,"

*Anthropos*, iii. (1908) p. 862.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (New York, 1891), p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 241.

Avoidance of wife's mother among the Navahoes.

Marriage with mother-in-law.

Avoidance of wife's mother among the Apaches.

The Mohaves of the Colorado River.

Their country. Their mode of life. Exogamous clans of the Mohaves.

Mohaves, a tribe whose narrow strip of country lies half in Arizona and half in California, so that the Mohaves are situated midway between the totemic and exogamous tribes of Arizona and New Mexico on the one hand and the non-totemic and non-exogamous tribes of California on the other hand. Their territory lies along both banks of the Colorado River, where that stream forms the boundary between Arizona and California, for about two days' journey southward from the southernmost part of Nevada. The scenery is sullen but impressive. The swift current of the turbid river sweeps along betwixt islets of bleak sand; and lofty, rugged, naked mountains shut in the valley on either side. The surrounding country is a desert; but stretches of land along the river are rendered arable by being annually flooded. Like the other agricultural tribes of this arid region, the Mohaves raised crops of maize, pumpkins, melons and beans. They hunted little, but fished more. Their dwellings were scattered. They had no large villages and no sacred chambers like the *kivas* of the Pueblo Indians. Their houses were low four-sided structures, slightly rounded, with the door to the south.<sup>1</sup>

Captain J. G. Bourke visited the Mohaves in February 1886, and reported that they were divided into fourteen exogamous families or clans bearing the following names:—<sup>2</sup>

- |                                         |                                                     |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Moon ( <i>Hual-ga</i> ).             | 2. Rain-cloud ( <i>O-cha</i> ).                     |
| 3. Caterpillar ( <i>Ma-ha</i> ).        | 4. Sun ( <i>Nol-cha</i> ).                          |
| 5. Coyote ( <i>Hi-pa</i> ).             | 6. Ocatilla or Iron Cactus<br>( <i>Ku-mad-ha</i> ). |
| 7. Tobacco ( <i>Va-had-ha</i> ).        | 8. Beaver ( <i>Shul-ya</i> ).                       |
| 9. Mescal or Tobacco ( <i>Kot-ta</i> ). | 10. Mescal ( <i>Ti-hil-ya</i> ).                    |

Men and women of the same clan may not marry under any circumstances. A man marries but one wife at a time; he marries his deceased brother's widow, if he happens to be single at the time of the death. Children belong to their father's clan.<sup>1</sup> According to Mohave tradition their clans were instituted by the water-god Mustam-ho, who created men and women. The legend of the institution of the clans, as related to Captain Bourke by a Mohave Indian of the Tobacco clan, runs thus: "Mustam-ho divided our people up. He said: 'You remain together and take this name for distinction, and you others take that name'; and so on. Now, he said, 'When you want to marry, you *Va-ha-dha* [Tobacco] men cannot marry *Va-ha-dha* [Tobacco] women, because they are your sisters; you must marry some one else, of another name. You must have but one wife at a time, but, if you don't like her, send her away and get another one.'" <sup>2</sup>

Marriage  
and  
descent.  
The  
levirate.

Tradition  
of the  
institution  
of the  
Mohave  
clans.

Captain Bourke's account of the clan system of the Mohaves was obtained from a single Mohave Indian, a man of the Tobacco clan; but there seems to be no reason to question its substantial accuracy. If it is correct, it would seem that the Mohaves have, or formerly had, exogamous and totemic clans of the ordinary pattern with descent in the male line. But the tribe has since been more carefully investigated by Mr. A. L. Kroeber in 1900 and 1902, and he reports a somewhat different state of things. It will be best to subjoin his report in his own words. He says: "The Californian tribes, so far as known, all lack any gentile or totemic system. Among the tribes of the Southwest it is a marked feature of the social organization. Among the Mohave there is no full gentile system, but something closely akin to it, which may be called either an incipient or a decadent clan system. Certain men, and all their ancestors and descendants in the male line, have only one name for all their female relatives. Thus, if the female name hereditary in my family be Maha, my father's sister,

Mr. A. L.  
Kroeber's  
account of  
the social  
system  
of the  
Mohaves.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Bourke, "Notes on the Cosmogony and Theogony of the Mohave Indians of the Rio Colorado, Arizona," *Journal of American Folk-*

*lore*, ii. (1889) pp. 181, 185, 188.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Bourke, *op. cit.* pp. 173, 174, 182.

Common  
names for  
female  
relatives in  
the male  
line.

my own sisters, my daughters (no matter how great their number), and my son's daughters, will all be called Maha. There are about twenty such women's names, or virtual gentes [clans], among the Mohave. None of these names seems to have any signification. But according to the myths of the tribe, certain numbers of men originally had, or were given, such names as Sun, Moon, Tobacco, Fire, Cloud, Coyote, Deer, Wind, Beaver, Owl, and others, which correspond exactly to totemic clan names; then these men were instructed by Mastamho, the chief mythological 'being, to call all their daughters and female descendants in the male line by certain names corresponding to these clan names. Thus the male ancestors of all the women who at present bear the name Hipa, are believed to have been originally named Coyote. It is also said that all those with one name formerly lived in one area, and were all considered related. This, however, is not the case now, nor does it seem to have been so within recent historic times. It should also be added that many members of the tribe are not aware of the connection between the present women's names and the totemic names of the myth."<sup>1</sup> It must be left for future enquiry to unravel this curious system, and to determine how far it tallies with the social state of the Mohaves as described some sixteen or eighteen years previously by Captain Bourke.

<sup>1</sup> A. L. Kroeber, "Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave Indians," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iv. (1902) p. 278.

## CHAPTER XVII

### TOTEMISM IN NORTH-WEST AMERICA

#### § 1. *The Races of North-West America*

THE north-western parts of North America, including British Columbia, Alaska, and the region of British America which adjoins Alaska on the east, are inhabited by two entirely distinct races of men, the Eskimo and the Indians, of whom the Eskimo occupy the extreme northern and north-western portions, while the Indians extend eastward and southward from them to the borders of the United States. The vast region occupied by these two races is drained by three great rivers, the Mackenzie River flowing into the Arctic Ocean and the Yukon and Fraser Rivers flowing into the Pacific. The Eskimo or Innuít, as they call themselves, are a peaceful race of fishers and hunters, without chiefs and happily ignorant of war. As a rule, they dwell on or near the sea-coast, seldom wandering inland more than thirty miles; though formerly they extended two hundred miles up the Mackenzie River, till they were driven out by the Indians. The people known as Aleuts, who inhabit the Aleutian Islands stretching westward from Alaska, are a branch of the Eskimo or Innuít stock and speak a language of the same type. Physically as well as in respect of language and customs the Eskimo differ from the Indians; their complexion is a light fresh yellow, their faces broad and round, their eyes straight and black, their cheek-bones high, their noses prominent, and their mouths somewhat thick-lipped.<sup>1</sup> They

The two races of North-West America, the Eskimo and the Indians.

The Eskimo or Innuít.

The Aleuts.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (London, 1870), pp. 373 *sqq.*; *id.* "On the Distribution and Nomenclature of the Native Tribes of Alaska

have no regular system of totemism, though some traces of it are reported to have been detected among them.<sup>1</sup>

The Indian tribes of North-West America fall into several distinct groups or stocks, of which the principal, to enumerate them from north to south, are as follows:—

1. The Tinnehs or Dénés, a branch of the widespread Athapaskan family, of which the Navahoes and Apaches in Arizona and New Mexico are the most southerly members. These Tinnehs or Dénés are the most northerly of all the Indians of America; on the north and west they are conterminous with the Eskimo. For the most part they inhabit the interior of Alaska and the adjacent British territory; but they extend westward nearly to the delta of the Yukon River and they actually reach the sea-coast at Cook's Inlet and the mouth of the Copper River. Eastward they stretch over a vast area to the watershed which divides the Mackenzie River and Lake Athabasca from the streams which flow into Hudson's Bay. The name Tinneh (*tinneh*, *tana*, or *tena*) is a native word meaning "men," "people."<sup>2</sup>

2. The Tlingits, Tlinkits, Thlinkets, or Thlinkeets, as the name is variously spelled, otherwise called the Koloshes, inhabiting southern Alaska.

3. The Haidas, occupying the Queen Charlotte Islands and the southern part of the Prince of Wales Archipelago. Their name, like that of the Tinneh, signifies "people."

4. The Tsimshians, inhabiting the valleys of the Nass and Skeena Rivers and the adjacent islands of British Columbia.

5. The Kwakiutl, inhabiting the coast of British

and the Adjacent Territory," *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, i. (Washington, 1877) pp. 7 *sqq.*; H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. (London, 1875) pp. 40 *sqq.*; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 519 *sqq.*; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 36 *sq.*, 433 *sqq.*

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 368 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> E. Petitot, *Monographie des Déné-Dindjé* (Paris, 1876), pp. 23 *sqq.*; W. H. Dall, in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, i. 24 *sq.*;

Father A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés, their Manners and Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, Toronto, Third Series, vii. Fasciculus No. 1 (October, 1889), pp. 109 *sqq.*; *id.* "Notes, Archaeological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) pp. 8 *sqq.*; *id.* "The Canadian Dénés," in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 187 *sqq.*; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 524 *sqq.*; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 108 *sq.*

Principal  
Indian  
stocks of  
North-  
West  
America.  
The  
Tinnehs  
or Dénés.

The  
Tlingits or  
Tlinkits.

The  
Haidas.

The  
Tsimshians.

The  
Kwakiutl.

Columbia from Gardiner Channel to Cape Mudge, except the country about Dean Inlet and the west coast of Vancouver Island.

6. The Nootkas, inhabiting the west coast of Vancouver Island. The Nootkas.

7. The Salish, inhabiting the coast and the eastern part of Vancouver Island south of Cape Mudge, and the southern part of the interior of British Columbia as far as the crest of the Selkirk Range and the northern parts of Washington, Idaho, and Montana. On the coast of British Columbia this important and widespread stock is represented by two groups of tribes, one being the Bella Coola or Bilqula of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, the other the Coast Salish. The Salish.

8. The Kootenay, Kutenai, or Kutonaqa, inhabiting the valley of the Upper Columbia River, Kootenay Lake and River, and the adjoining parts of the United States.<sup>1</sup> The Kootenay.

Of these eight Indian stocks the Tlingits, the Haidas, and the Tsimshians may be grouped together on the ground of their physical resemblance and similarity of culture; while language and social organization indicate a still closer affinity between the Tlingits and the Haidas. On the other hand the language of the Tsimshians is strikingly different and must be placed by itself among the Indian tongues of North-West America.<sup>2</sup> Again, the Kwakiutl and Nootka stocks are grouped together by ethnologists under the name of Wakashan or Wakashes on account of the affinity of their language.<sup>3</sup> Group of the Tlingits, Haidas, and Tsimshians.  
  
Group of the Kwakiutl and Nootkas.

<sup>1</sup> F. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 8 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 320 sq. Compare W. H. Dall, in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, i. 25 sqq.; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 531 sq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 141, 740.

<sup>2</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 270, 520 sq. Compare F. Boas, in *Twelfth Report on the*

*North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 667 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898). Among the peculiarities of the Tsimshian language is a very complex system of numerals, different sets of numbers being used for various classes of objects. Further, words are formed almost exclusively by means of prefixes, but the pronouns are suffixed to the verb.

<sup>3</sup> F. Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 320; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 532; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 745.

Natural features and climate of the interior of North-West America.

In respect of natural features and climate the interior of North-Western America differs widely from the coast. The difference is due mainly to the disposition of the mountains, which run in a series of high and rugged chains parallel to the sea and at short distances from it, often indeed plunging into its waters abruptly in lofty cliffs. By this mighty mountain barrier, the peaks of which rise above the level of perpetual snow, the moisture-laden winds from the sea are arrested and their watery burden discharged in the shape of snow and rain. East of the mountains the land slopes gently away in one continuous and almost level plain to the far-distant waters of Hudson's Bay. It is for the most part a dreary region of rocks and marshes, of shallow lakes and treacherous rivers, which form an intricate network so linked together that it is almost possible to boat from Hudson's Bay without a break to the mouth of the Mackenzie River on the Arctic Sea. This whole vast region is bleak and barren except along the valley of the Mackenzie, which in some places is well wooded. The climate is extremely severe, varying from intense cold in winter to great heat in summer. Winter sets in early and lasts till May or even June. The thermometer falls to 40° or 50° below zero: snow lies deep on the ground for months; and the waters of the Mackenzie River freeze to a depth of five and a half feet. However, the fur-bearing animals which roam over these immense solitudes attract the hunter and afford the wandering tribes of Indians a precarious subsistence. Myriads of water-fowl swarm about the lakes and rivers in spring and autumn, and the waters yield a fair supply of fish. But the rigorous climate forbids the growth of cereals. Such is the land of the Tinné Indians.<sup>1</sup>

Natural features and climate of the coast of North-West America.

Very different is the face of nature when we cross the mountains westward by one of the high passes where the snow lies till late in summer and the declivities on either hand are lined with glaciers. Descending the pass to the

<sup>1</sup> C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné* (London, 1907), pp. 2, 6, 13 sq.; A. G. Morice, *Au Pays de l'Ours Noir, chez les Sauvages de la Colombie Britannique*

(Paris and Lyons, 1897), pp. 61 sq.; *id.* "Notes, Archaeological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) p. 11.

sea we shall probably find ourselves on the shore of one of those long winding inlets which cut deep into the land, and might fancy ourselves standing at the head of a Norwegian fjord. There are the same high misty mountains, the same sombre pine-forests, the same dark water lapping softly on the cliffs, the same waterfalls dissolving into spray as they seem to drop from the same grey clouds. Here and there a white scar in the prevailing mantle of gloomy green shews where an avalanche has torn its way from the mountain top through the pine forest to the water's edge; and occasionally, at the head of some profound ravine, the eye is caught by the shining front of a glacier contrasting sharply with the dense foliage on either side. With the scenery, too, the climate has changed. From the clear dry cold or clear dry heat of the interior we have passed into a softer air, a mild moist atmosphere, like that of the West of Scotland or even of Devonshire. The chances are that the weather is rainy and the sea veiled in mist; for on this wild coast, rent by deep fjords and studded with innumerable islands, the rainfall is one of the heaviest and most constant in the world. These steady rains and pervading mists are an effect of the warm Japan current, as it is called, the Gulf Stream of the Pacific, which sweeps along the coast, tempering the summer heat and winter cold, but wrapping land and sea in clouds and fog. The warm waters of this current keep the straits and channels open for navigation throughout the year; even in the coldest winters a sheet of ice forms only at the heads of the fjords and at the mouths of the rivers. Few rivers, however, force their way at long intervals through narrow and profound canyons to the Pacific. For the most part the mountains fall so steeply into the sea that no room is left for the course of considerable streams. And for the same reason communication along this iron-bound coast is chiefly maintained by boat or canoe, the countless inlets, sounds, and narrows, sheltered from the open sea by capes and islands, offering to the natives a natural highway which the rugged nature of the country denies them by land. Yet the navigation has its perils even for large vessels; for in these tortuous channels the tides run fast and high, forming eddies and

The Japan current and its effect on the climate.

whirlpools, and sunken reefs abound, on which, before he is aware, the mariner may run in the fog, the ominous grating of the keel and the vibration of the ship first announcing to him that he is on the rocks.<sup>1</sup> But, in the long summer days, when the weather is fine, the atmosphere is sometimes clear as crystal and the scenery fairly sparkles in the brilliant light. It is then that the landscape wears its most pleasing aspect. The snowy peaks glitter in the sunshine against the blue; the glaciers gleam like fire in their clefts and ravines; the huge landslides stand out conspicuous on the sides of the mountains; and everywhere the soft green foliage meets and refreshes the eye of the traveller sailing along this grand and beautiful coast.

The chief natural wealth of the country consists of the forests of fir and cedar and the shoals of fish.

On the whole, the coasts of Southern Alaska and British Columbia are so mountainous and the climate so wet that the cultivation of cereals is generally impracticable.<sup>2</sup> The chief natural wealth of the country consists, first, of the dense forests, mostly of fir and cedar, which clothe its rugged fastnesses; and, second, of the shoals of fish which swarm in its seas or ascend its rivers in almost incredible numbers. Through the excessive rainfall the vegetation of the coast is astonishingly luxuriant. Up to a height of about two thousand feet the pine-woods reign almost unbroken, only yielding here and there in more than usually damp spots to alders, poplars, and willows, or on very steep slopes to birch.<sup>3</sup> No better district for lumbering,

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 270, 285, 444-446, 450 sq.; Commander R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London, 1862), pp. 370 sq.; Fr. Whympfer, *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska* (London, 1868), pp. 18 sqq.; G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (London, 1868), pp. 13 sqq.; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (Jena, 1885), pp. 75-84; A. P. Niblack, "The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1888* (Washington), pp. 231, 235; Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 6 sq. (*Report*

*of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 235 sq.; C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 2-6.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 452; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 88, 93; R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, pp. 390 sq.; G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 84.

as it is called, can be imagined, for the means of transport by water are everywhere to hand, and the mountain-sides are so steep that you have only to make a slide out of the less valuable timber and to shoot the logs down it to the sea.<sup>1</sup> Some of the firs which clothe the land to the water's edge are enormous, measuring twenty-five feet in girth and three hundred feet in height, the trunks hardly tapering at all for half that altitude. Especially notable in the dense woods is the American white cedar, the *Thuja gigantea* of the botanists. These giants of the forest not uncommonly attain a diameter of fifteen or twenty feet at the butt. The tree was invaluable to the Indians in their native state. It served them as the coco-nut palm served the South-Sea Islanders. With its wood the men built their houses and carved their domestic utensils, their treasure-chests, canoes, totem posts, and heraldic emblems. Its outer bark they made into ropes and slow matches for carrying fire on journeys; while the women wove its inner bark into garments and its split roots into beautiful water-tight baskets. Indeed there was hardly any part of the tree which they did not apply to some useful purpose. In time of famine its cones even provided them with a food sufficient to stay the pangs of hunger. Flowering shrubs abound in the more open glades of the forest, in the upper valleys, and on the slopes of the mountains; and many of them yield edible berries, which are gathered and preserved by the women and girls in autumn days. Ferns and mosses of many kinds flourish in rank luxuriance; among them are the magnificent stag and fern mosses, the exquisite tree and maiden-hair ferns, and the tall fronds of the common bracken, which grows so high in many places as to overtop a man's head riding on horse-back. It is not only over the fallen and mouldering tree-trunks that the mosses spread a mantle of beautiful but treacherous verdure; they clasp the great boles of the living trees with wreaths and cushions of emerald green. So dense is the underwood of these forests that it is often practically impenetrable. To shoot birds here is for the most part labour in vain, for if they drop in the thicket even a few

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 456.

The woods  
in early  
summer.

paces from the path they are lost. Only the axe can cleave the matted undergrowth ; fire is powerless to spread a conflagration among woods saturated with moisture. Perhaps the sylvan scene is viewed to most advantage from a boat gliding down between the wooded banks of a broad river in early summer. The eye then never tires of ranging over the varied tints of the fresh green foliage, the maple, the white and black thorn, the tall shivering rustling poplar, mingled with the clustering white flowers of the wild apple-tree in full bloom and perfuming the air with its delicious fragrance. Above all tower the pines and prodigious firs, dark, stately, and solemn. When the current sweeps the boat from sunshine into the dappled shade of a leafy canopy of overhanging boughs, the effect is enchanting.<sup>1</sup>

The game  
in the  
woods.

In these wild woods game abounds ; indeed the country is a paradise for the hunter. Among the larger animals are the American elk, the cariboo, the moose, several species of deer, the mountain goat, the big-horn sheep, the puma or mountain lion, the wolf, and the black, the brown, and the grizzly bear. Among the smaller animals are the beaver, martin, otter, raccoon, and squirrel.<sup>2</sup> But the main dependence of the coast Indians in the old days was on the sea : such is the abundance of animal life in it that the natives lived almost solely on the food which it supplied. They were therefore essentially fishermen, all other pursuits being of secondary importance. They hunted the sea-otter, the fur-seal, the hair-seal, and the sea-lion both for their flesh and their fur. But the characteristic product of the waters of British Columbia is the salmon. Nowhere in the world is this fish found in such numbers and varieties as on the North Pacific coast of America. The swarms that pass up the rivers and streams to spawn are prodigious. In the narrows of the Fraser River or at any point where the progress of the fish is impeded by natural or artificial

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<sup>1</sup> C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 6-9, 103 sqq. ; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 452 sqq. ; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 84 sqq. ; R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, pp. 390 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee of the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 7 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint) ; C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 9 sq. ; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 498 sqq.

obstacles such as a waterfall or a weir, the salmon are said to congregate below in such quantities that it is almost possible to cross the river on their backs. Hence, before the Indians came into contact with traders they subsisted chiefly on salmon, that fish taking the same place with them that bread does with us or rice with the Hindoos. The salmon and the cedar, it has been said, are the foundations of the Indian culture on the north-west coast of America. The sturgeon, which grows to an enormous size, the cod, the halibut, and the oolachen or candle-fish (*Thaleichthys pacificus*), also figure largely in the dietary of the coastal tribes. The oolachen is a small silvery fish of a delicious flavour, and so full of fat or oil that the dried fish are used as torches, burning with a bright flame; the oil is also extracted and kept in bottles. In such prodigious swarms do these little fish ascend the rivers that they literally choke the waters and can be scooped up in bucketfuls; even wild beasts draw them out of the stream with their paws. Another product of the sea of which the Indians made great use was the clam. This shell-fish is found in large quantities on all the tidal flats. The coastal Indians not only ate these shell-fish, but also dried, cured, and bartered them with the inland tribes. Vast heaps of their shells testify to the extent to which the clam was eaten by the Indians of old. Among some tribes of the interior who live far from salmon rivers the flesh of deer or cariboo takes the place of salmon as the staple food.<sup>1</sup>

Part of the year the coast Indians dwell in permanent villages. These villages consist of large wooden houses solidly built of heavy cedar planks, beams, and posts. The houses stand in a row facing the sea, and the canoes are drawn up on the beach before the village. In olden times the dwellings of the northern tribes were of moderate size, about thirty feet square, and partly excavated out of the

<sup>1</sup> C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 11-13, 89 sqq., 99 sq.; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 481 sqq.; Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 7, 19 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne,

1889, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1905* (Washington, 1907), p. 318; C. Hill-Tout and Fr. Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 234, 235 sq.

Great communal houses of the coast Salish.

Carved decorations of wood-work.

Pottery unknown.

Clothing.

Spinning and weaving.

ground, with the fire in the centre, and a hole in the roof above it to let the smoke escape. A house is generally inhabited by four families, each of them occupying one corner. The houses of the coast Salish are of a different type, consisting of great communal dwellings, stretching under a single roof in an unbroken line for two, four, six, eight, or even ten hundred feet in length. Each of these huge houses is subdivided by temporary hangings or permanent walls into compartments, which are occupied by separate families. The building of these houses was laborious, and required considerable skill in carpentry at a time when the Indians were ignorant of metal tools and could only work with implements of stone, horn, or wood. They felled trees with stone axes, split them into planks by means of wooden or horn wedges, and carved them with stone knives. Stone hammers are still in use among the tribes. The carved decorations of their household utensils, canoes, and of nearly all wooden objects employed by them are elaborate and characteristic. The patterns regularly consist of representations of those animals, or of parts of those animals, which play a part in their mythical tales and tribal legends. Geometrical designs are almost wholly absent, except in Southern Alaska, where they are employed to decorate baskets. The art of pottery was unknown to these Indians in their native state; but they supplied the want of earthenware with vessels of wood and baskets.<sup>1</sup> The principal part of the native clothing is the blanket, which is either made of tanned skins or more frequently woven of mountain sheep's wool, dog's hair, or of a mixture of both. The thread is spun on the bare leg by means of a stone spindle, and is then woven into blankets on a solid frame. Another kind of blanket is woven of soft cedar-bark. Weaving is the work of the women.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 21 sqq., 36 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); C. Hill-Tout and Fr. Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 232 sq., 236 sqq.; C.

Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 51 sqq., 109 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 20 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint);

Society among the Indians of the North Pacific coast was divided into four classes: chiefs, nobility, common people, and slaves. The children of nobles were born common people, and remained so until they either became members of a secret society or gave a great feast and took a new name. All along the coast the giving of presents is employed as a means of attaining social distinction. There are very few common people, for whoever can afford to do so lets his child enter a secret society immediately after birth by proxy. The child thus becomes a noble. The more feasts he gives, the higher grows his rank; but no noble can ever become a member of the chiefly class. When a chief dies, his office devolves upon his younger brother, then upon his nephew, and, if he had none, then upon his niece. The chief has many prerogatives, but exercises comparatively little influence over the members of his tribe. He has to carry out the decrees of the council of nobles, which decides all important questions concerning the tribe and acts as a criminal court. Nobody who has not taken a name, or who is not a member of a secret society, may share in the deliberations of the council. The mother's brother represents his nephews. A woman is only admitted if she is the head of a family.<sup>1</sup> However, the social organisation differs somewhat from tribe to tribe. For example, among the Salish tribes of the coast and the lower delta of the Fraser River the chieftainship, which is elective among the interior tribes, is strictly hereditary, passing automatically from fathers to sons. On the whole the rigidity of the system of ranks increases greatly as we pass from the roving tribes of the interior to the settled tribes of the coast and islands, among whom the barriers between the various classes are said to be almost as inflexible as between the castes of the Hindoos.<sup>2</sup> The existence of social ranks distinguishes the Indians of North-West America from the

The four classes of society: chiefs, nobles, commoners, and slaves.

The rigidity of the system of social ranks increases as we pass from the roving tribes of

C. Hill-Tout, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 234 sq.; *id.*, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 63 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 34-36 (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-*

upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> C. Hill-Tout, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 226-228; *id.*, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 158-160.

the interior  
to the  
settled  
tribes of  
the coast.

Highly  
developed  
system of  
barter and  
credit.  
Currencies  
of various  
kinds,  
shells,  
blankets,  
copper  
plates, etc.

The  
*potlatch*,  
a festival  
for the dis-  
tribution of  
property.

tribes in the United States to the east of the Rocky Mountains, and may be regarded as marking a relative advance in civilisation, though the material base of life remains at a lower level; for whereas many of the democratic tribes of eastern North America subsisted to a large extent by agriculture, the more aristocratic tribes of the North-West depended purely on fishing, hunting, and the search for berries and roots. Another sign of progress among the North-Western Indians was a highly developed system of barter and credit. For these tribes have always been great traders and had currencies of various sorts. In olden times dentalia-shells, elk-skin blankets, canoes, and slaves served as standards of value; while marmot-skins sewed together were used as a smaller currency. Certain large copper plates of a peculiar shape but of no practical use are highly valued by these Indians, sometimes indeed at fabulous prices; and among the Kwakiutl small copies of these plates, each about an inch long, are used as a form of money. The Tsimshians used to exchange oolachen oil and carvings of mountain-goat horn for canoes. At the present time the blanket is the unit of value, prices being calculated in blankets. A vast system of credit has grown up among all the tribes of the North Pacific coast. It seems to have been based originally on the custom of lending property before the assembled tribe as a means of ensuring a public record of the transaction. This apparently was the fundamental idea of the so-called *potlatch*, which at the present day is simply a great festival at which the host distributes the whole of his property among his friends either to obtain social distinction or in the expectation of being repaid with interest at a future time. The distribution of property at a *potlatch* may therefore be regarded as an investment by which the distributor or his family after him hopes to benefit; for all who receive anything at a *potlatch* must repay double the value at a future day. At every *potlatch* which he gives a man acquires a new and more honourable name.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 36, 38 sq. (*Report of the British Association*,

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 681 sq. (*Report*

Many but not all of the Indian tribes of North-West America are organised in totemic and exogamous clans. This social system is found among the Tinnehs or Dénés of the interior as well as among the tribes of various stocks on the coast. On the other hand totemism appears to be wholly wanting among the Kootenay and most, if not all, of the inland tribes of the Salish stock, such as the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> In the opinion of the experienced missionary, Father A. G. Morice, who has given us much valuable information on the Tinnehs or Dénés, these Indians have unquestionably derived their clan totems from the tribes on the coast;<sup>2</sup> and among the coastal tribes, according to Dr. Franz Boas, the Tlingits and the Haidas have exerted a very strong influence over the social system of their neighbours.<sup>3</sup> We shall therefore begin our survey of totemism in North-West America with the Tlingits and the Haidas; we shall then, moving southward, deal with the other tribes of the coast; and afterwards, retracing our steps northward, we shall examine the totemic system of the Tinnehs or Dénés of the interior.

Totemism and exogamy practised by some, but not all, of the Indians of North-West America.

of the British Association, Bristol, 1898); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 341 *sqq.*; *id.* in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 242 *sq.* As to the *pollatch* see further G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878* (Montreal, 1880), pp. 125 B-127 B (*Geological Survey of Canada*). As to the copper plates, see G. M. Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 135 B; Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 344 *sqq.* An early account of these coppers, as they are commonly called, is given by John Dunn, in his *History of the Oregon Territory* (London, 1844), p. 288. He says: "A little to the northward of this there is a tribe called the Chilkasts. In their country great quantities of virgin copper are found. Some of it is worked by the natives into a kind of shield, about two feet

and a half long, and one foot broad, with figures of men and animals engraved upon it. The labour and ingenuity expended in working one of these shields give them great value. One of them is estimated as worth nine slaves, and is transmitted as a precious heirloom from father to son."

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 23 (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889*, separate reprint); J. Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, p. 290 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, April 1900); *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 741. As to the Salish tribes, see below, pp. 338 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Rev. A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 203.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Boas, "The Tribes of the North Pacific Coast," in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 240.

## § 2. Totemism among the Tlingits

The  
Tlingits or  
Thlinkets,  
called  
Koloshes  
by the  
Russians.

The  
country  
of the  
Tlingits.

The Tlingit  
villages.

The Tlingits or Thlinkets inhabit the mountainous, densely wooded, and rainy coast of Southern Alaska from latitude 60° to latitude 55°, that is, nearly from Mount St. Elias, the highest mountain in North America, southward to the boundary of British Columbia.<sup>1</sup> The name of the tribe, which is spelled in many different ways by different writers, means "men" or "people." By the Russians these Indians were called Koloshes.<sup>2</sup> Their country is so mountainous that farming is possible only in a few limited areas; and the severe climate, with its long winters, wet summers, late springs, and early autumnal frosts, greatly restricts the number of plants which can be cultivated. There are no large pasture-lands where cattle could be kept, and the heavy rains make it difficult to procure sufficient fodder to feed the beasts through the long months of winter. Even the chase could only support a scanty population; for the game in the woods is not very plentiful, and persistent hunting on a great scale would rapidly reduce, if not exterminate, the supply of sea-mammals, as has happened with the sea-otters. Hence the catch of fish, which abound in these waters, remains the chief source of subsistence for the inhabitants; and accordingly in choosing the site of a settlement the first consideration with the Tlingits is to find a spot near good fishing-grounds and a beach where the canoes can land. Accordingly their villages are commonly built on the flat sandy shore of some sheltered bay or strait or at the mouth of a river; and with their rows of regularly and solidly built wooden houses, and their canoes and fishing-tackle drawn up on the beach, they present a pleasant picture in the wilderness, which calls up memories of home in the mind of a European, till the sight of the tall

<sup>1</sup> A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (Jena, 1885), p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856) pp. 289 sq.; T. de Pauly, *Description ethno-*

*graphique des peuples de la Russie* (St. Petersburg, 1862), *Peuples de l'Amérique russe*, p. 11; Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, p. 165; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 95 sq.

totem-poles and Indians muffled in blankets remind him that he is in a foreign land.<sup>1</sup>

The Tlingits are divided into two exogamous classes or phratries, which bear the name of the Raven and the Wolf respectively, though in the northern part of the Tlingit territory the Wolf class is also known as the Eagle. The rule of exogamy is, or was, strictly observed: no man may marry a woman of his own class; a Raven man must marry a Wolf woman, and a Wolf man must marry a Raven woman. Descent is in the female line: children belong to their mother's, not their father's class. If she is a Raven, the children are Ravens; if she is a Wolf, they are Wolves. The two classes trace their descent from two mythical heroes or gods who in the beginning of time by their deeds and supernatural power conferred on mankind various benefits which they still enjoy. These two heroes were Yehl or Yeshl, the ancestor of the Raven class, and Kanook, the ancestor of the Wolf class. Yet those ancestors are not thought of as having been a raven and a wolf respectively; Yehl is indeed said to have had the power of transforming himself into a raven; but there is no tradition of Kanook ever assuming the shape of a wolf.

Further, both the Raven class and the Wolf class are subdivided into a number of clans which are named after various animals, and which are no doubt exogamous since the classes which include them are so. Thus, the Raven class is subdivided into the Raven, Frog, Goose, Sea-lion, Owl, Salmon, Beaver, Codfish, and Skate clans; the Wolf class is subdivided into the Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Whale, Shark, Auk, Gull, Sparrow-hawk, and Thunder-bird clans. The Tlingit classes and clans may be exhibited in the following table, which, however, does not claim to be complete:—

<sup>1</sup> A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 93, 123 sq.

## SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE TLINGITS

Class.	Clans.	Class.	Clans.
Raven	Raven Frog Goose Sea-lion Owl Salmon Beaver Codfish Skate	Wolf (Eagle)	Wolf Bear Eagle Killer-Whale ( <i>Delphinus orca</i> ) Shark Auk Gull Sparrow-hawk Thunder-bird

The classes and clans live mixed up together.

The clans are subdivided into families.

The classes and clans do not live separately, each by itself; on the contrary they are mixed up together. The members of each class and clan are distributed among many villages, and each village contains members of both classes and of several clans. Finally, the clans are in turn subdivided into families or households, which may occupy one or more houses. The families generally take their names from places. Members of the same class speak of each other as *Achchani*, that is, "compatriots," or *Achgakau*, that is, "friends." They speak of the members of the other class as *Kunyetkanagi*, that is, "not here" or "strangers." But in their presence they address members of the other class as *Achssani*, that is, "uncles," or *Achkani*, that is, "sons-in-law" or "brothers-in-law," because they are always related to them by marriage. Though the Raven class perhaps ranks higher in virtue of their descent from Yehl, the great benefactor of mankind, yet the Wolf class also enjoys distinction by reason of its numbers, superior courage, and deeds of valour.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856) pp. 292 sq., 338, 342; T. de Pauly, *Description ethnographique des peuples de la Russie* (St. Petersburg, 1862), *Peuples de l'Amérique russe*, pp. 11, 12; Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population,*

*Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, pp. 165, 166; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 112 sq., 122, 220; Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 25 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); John R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs,

Besides the two great classes or phratries of the Raven and the Eagle, there is or used to be among the Tlingits a small group, the Nexadi of Sanya, which stood outside of both the principal classes and could marry into either of them. This group is characterised principally by the possession of the Eagle crest and Eagle personal names.<sup>1</sup>

The Nexadi group, outside of both the classes.

Each Tlingit clan has its badge or crest, which commonly consists of some easily-recognised part of its totemic animal or bird. Such crests are or were carved or painted on houses, canoes, paddles, household utensils, blankets, shields, and wooden hats or helmets; and on solemn occasions such as dances, memorial feasts, and funeral ceremonies men often appeared completely disguised in the shape of their totemic animals.<sup>2</sup> Theoretically, the crests used by members of the Raven class differ from those used by members of the Wolf or Eagle class; all Raven clans are supposed to have a right to the Raven crest, and most Wolf clans use the Wolf crest. But a man of high rank might temporarily borrow a crest from his brother-in-law, who in virtue of the law of exogamy necessarily belonged to a different clan with a

Crests or badges of the Tlingit clans.

and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), pp. 398, 423 sq. The list of clans in the text is given on the authority of Mr. F. Boas. The list given by Holmberg ("Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856) p. 293) agrees, so far as it goes, with that of Mr. Boas, but it omits the last three of the clans in each class. Most of these writers refer to the exogamy of the two classes or phratries (the Raven and the Wolf) without saying whether the clans into which these two classes are subdivided are also exogamous or not. However, Petroff observes: "The curious totemic system is more fully developed here than it has been found with any other tribe. The ties of the totem or clanship are considered far stronger than those of blood relationship. The principal clans are those of the Raven, the Bear, the Wolf, and

the Whale. Men may not marry in their own clan, children belong to the clan of their mother" (*Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, p. 165). This seems clearly to imply that the rule of exogamy is not limited to the two classes or phratries, but extends also to the clans; and indeed if the rule of exogamy applies strictly to the two classes, it necessarily applies to all the clans included under them.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), pp. 398, 409.

<sup>2</sup> H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856) pp. 293 sq.; I. Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, p. 166 (where "horses" is a misprint for "houses"); W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 414.

Myths told to explain the origin of the Grizzly bear crest and story of a woman who married a grizzly bear.

different crest. Some families are too poor to have a crest ; but on the other hand it is said of some great ones that they are rich enough to use any crest whatever. The possession of a particular crest by a clan is often explained by a myth about the ancestor of the clan. Thus a wooden hat or helmet shaped like a grizzly bear is used as a crest by a clan who say that a man of their clan once married a female grizzly bear. Members of the Kagwantan clan, who tell the same story, go about with the ears of bears fastened to the sides of their heads as their crest, and some members of this clan wear shirts made out of grizzly bear hides. Yet the Kagwantans are members of the Wolf class and highly value the Wolf crest. Members of another clan tell how at the time of the Great Flood a grizzly bear and a mountain goat climbed a mountain in company to escape from the rising tide of water ; and in memory of that event the clan still uses as its crest the skin of a grizzly bear combined with the head of a mountain goat, but it is prouder of the bearskin than of the goat's head. The Nexadi of Sanya base their claim to the possession of the eagle crest on the belief that one of their people was once helped by an eagle and finally turned into the bird. The Eagle crest is now generally employed by the northern Tlingits of the Wolf class ; hence they have come to be called Eagles instead of Wolves. It is to be observed that the same crest may be and is used by different clans, and further that any one clan may have several crests, though it generally holds only one or two of them in particular esteem. For example, the Petrel crest is explained by a myth that the hero Raven obtained fresh water from the petrel ; yet the crest is said to be used by the Wolves as well as by the Ravens. Again, some members of the Wolf class claim the right to use the Raven crest on the ground that the hero Raven dragged a house full of fishes ashore at their village. The Luqaxadi of Chilkat make so much of the Raven crest that they are often called Real Ravens. Members of another clan have a hair ornament shaped like the beak of a raven, which hangs down the back of a dancer at the *potlatch*. The Frog crest was a special possession of the Kiksadi, who claimed it because persons of their clan had had special dealings with

Eagle crest and story of transformation into an eagle.

The same crest may be used by several clans, and any one clan may have several crests.

Frog crest and story of a woman who

frogs. The Ganaxadi of Tongas tell a story of a woman of their clan who married a frog; probably they also claim the Frog crest by right of marriage. At Sitka another clan recently attempted to adopt the Frog crest, but the claim was deemed groundless by other people and led to a riot. The Ganaxadi, who say that one of their women married a frog, also allege that another of their women suckled a monster woodworm, and for that reason the Woodworm crest is a special possession of the clan. The common whale hat is worn by several Raven clans. Two clans wear hats representing king-salmon, and one of them wears a swan hat also. The Kikasadi, who pique themselves on their Frog crest, also wear hats shaped like geese: further, they use the cry of the sea-lion because they once heard that cry at Cape Ommaney when the sea-lions were fighting with the killer-whales. And in former days, when members of this clan charged down on their enemies they used to hoot like owls, because one of their women was once turned into an owl. Thus it appears that one clan may claim affinity with several animals. Such claims are perhaps to be explained by marriages of members of the clan with members of other clans who had these animals for their crests. But while the Tlingit crests are generally in the shape of animals, they are not all so. Thus, the Nastedi use as a crest a big rock called Fort-Far-Out, where Petrel, from whom Raven stole the fresh water, had his spring. All kinds of birds build their nests on the rock, and when members of the Nastedi clan dance they imitate the birds. Two clans lay claim to the hero Blackskin and carve his figure on posts with the guts of sea-lions wrapped about his head. Two clans set up as their heraldic device posts carved to resemble the Spirit of Sleep. Another clan took as their crest a mountain at Cape Fairweather and also a rock; the mountain was represented on their hats.<sup>1</sup>

married a frog.

Wood-worm crest and story of a woman who suckled a wood-worm.

Hats representing the crest-animals.

Transformation of a woman into an owl.

Dance in imitation of birds.

~~Besides being carved or painted on posts, houses, hats, and so forth the crests are also painted on the faces of the clanspeople, though these facial paintings are often so purely~~

The crests are also painted on the faces of the clans-people.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-*

*Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), pp. 415-418.

conventional that their meaning could hardly be understood without verbal explanations. They consist of bands, spots, or daubs of various colours, red, blue, yellow, and green, which stand for a raven's wings, raven's tracks, a goose's head, a whale's jaw, a whale's tail, a wolf's mouth, a mouse's feet, bear's feet, bear's tracks, bear's blood, sea-lions, slugs, the sun, stars, mountains, rocks, clouds, waves, glacial ice, canoes with people in them, and so forth. Sometimes, however, animals, fish, or birds are painted on the face in full and with a fair attempt at realism; such, for example, are figures of the killer-whale, porpoise, salmon, black sea-bass, goose, swan, and puffin. These facial paintings are often used along with hats which also exhibit the crest of the clan.<sup>1</sup>

Totem-poles or totem-posts.

The most conspicuous and best-known representations of Indian totems in North-West America are the figures carved and painted on great wooden poles. These totem-poles, or totem-posts, however, are not so common among the Tlingits as among their southern neighbours the Haidas and Tsimshians. There seem to be two sorts of them, namely, house-poles and grave-poles. House-poles are set up by rich chiefs beside the doors of their houses and sometimes measure as much as fifty feet in height. Each is made of a single tree-trunk and displays various figures of men and animals, the successive ancestral totems, carved and painted in bright colours and grouped together in the most diverse fashions. The pole is usually capped by the totem of the man who set it up. Sometimes the pole is placed directly in front of the house with the doorway of the house cut through the block, which is often of enormous size.<sup>2</sup> The grave-poles either support boxes containing the ashes of the dead, or they contain cavities in which the ashes are deposited. Sometimes the ashes are placed in a mortuary house in one part of the village, while a memorial pole is set up elsewhere. These grave-poles are also decorated with the carved and painted crests of the clan. The crests are commonly carved one above the other. For example, a large pole erected at Wrangell

Totemic house-poles.

Totemic grave-poles.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington,

1908), pp. 418 *sq.*, with Plates XLVIII.-LVI.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 414; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 130 *sq.*

shews at the top the Raven-at-the-head-of-Nass-river (*Nascaki-yel*), the highest being in Tlingit mythology, with Raven (*Yel*) on his breast; below him appears another being "wearing a hat and the red snapper coat with which he used to murder his children"; underneath this unnatural parent again is the frog, and at the bottom the thunder-bird.<sup>1</sup>

The totem-poles of the Tlingits, together with their totemic system, were described at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the Russian explorer, Lisiansky, who circumnavigated the world in the years 1803-1806 by command of the Czar Alexander the First. His account refers especially to the Tlingits or Koloshes of the island of Sitka. As it possesses an historical interest, it may be quoted. "The manners and customs of the Sitca people, in general," he says, "so nearly resemble those of the island of Cadiack, that a description would be a repetition. The Sitcans appear, however, to be fonder of amusements; for they sing and dance continually. There is also a great difference in their treatment of the dead. The bodies here are burned, and the ashes, together with the bones that remain unconsumed, deposited in wooden boxes, which are placed on pillars, that have different figures painted and carved on them, according to the wealth of the deceased. On taking possession of our new settlement, we destroyed a hundred at least of these, and I examined many of the boxes."<sup>2</sup> "What I have said of the Sitcans applies alike to all the inhabitants residing between Jacootat, or Behring's Bay, to the fifty-seventh degree of north latitude, who call themselves Colloshes or Collushes. These people live in different settlements, independent of one another; though they speak the same language, and are almost all related. They amount to about ten thousand, and are divided into tribes; the principal of which assume to themselves titles of distinction, from the names of the animal which they prefer; as, the

Lisiansky's account of the totemic poles and totemic system of the Tlingits.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), pp. 431-434. What a "red snapper coat" may be, I have not the

advantage of knowing, nor am I aware how the garment in question was used as a lethal weapon.

<sup>2</sup> U. Lisiansky, *A Voyage round the World in the Years 1803, 4, 5, and 6* (London, 1814), pp. 240 sq.

tribe of the bear, of the eagle, the crow, the porpoise, and the wolf. The tribe of the wolf are called Coquontans, and have many privileges over the other tribes. They are considered as the best warriors, and are said to be scarcely sensible to pain, and to have no fear of death. If in war a person of this tribe is taken prisoner, he is always treated well, and in general is set at liberty. These tribes so greatly intermix, that families of each are found in the same settlement. These families, however, always live apart; and, to distinguish the cast (*sic*) to which they belong, they place on the top of their houses, carved in wood or painted, the bird or beast that represents it."<sup>1</sup>

Personal  
names  
derived  
from the  
totems.

Each clan has not only its crest or crests, but also its personal names, which, like the crests, are derived from the totem of the clan. The connexion between the name and the totem is sometimes not very clear, but it always exists. Here, for example, are some personal names used by members of Tlingit clans in the Stikin tribe:—

In the *Nanaari*, a Bear clan of the Wolf class or phratry, we find as names of men *Tlucke* "Ugly" (Danger Face), in reference to the bear; *Gaque*, "Crying Man," with reference to the howling wolf; *Sektutlqetl*, "Scared of his Voice" (to wit, the wolf's); *Ankaquts*, "Bear in Snow."

In the *Detlkoede*, a Raven clan of the Raven class or phratry, we find the personal names *Yetl rede*, "Little Raven"; *Tleneqk*, "One Alone" (the raven on the beach); *Hiqtc tlen*, "Great Frog"; *Yetl ku djat*, "Raven's Wife."<sup>2</sup> Other Tlingit personal names are Silver Eyes, with reference to the eyes of the raven; Shaggy, with reference to the thick hair of the grizzly bear; Frog-sitting-in-the-road; and Lively-frog-in-lake. In the Wolf class or phratry the personal names are mostly derived from the wolf, grizzly bear, killer-whale, petrel, and, among the northern Tlingit, from the eagle. In the Raven class or phratry the personal

<sup>1</sup> U. Lisiansky, *A Voyage round the World in the Years 1803 4, 5, and 6* (London, 1814), pp. 243 sq. For some illustrated descriptions of totem-poles among the Tlingits and Haidas, see E. P. Pond, in *The Alaskan Monthly*, May, June, and July 1906,

pp. 31-34, 67 sq., 95.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 25 sq. (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889*, separate reprint).

names have mostly reference to the raven, frog, hawk, black whale, and eagle among the Southern Tlingits.<sup>1</sup>

~~With regard to the relationship which is supposed to exist between a man and his totem, we are told that the Tlingits do not believe themselves to be descended from their totems, nor do they imagine that at death their souls will transmigrate into their totem animals, birds, or fish. They certainly believe in the transmigration of souls, but they think that in their transigrations the souls of men and animals are restricted to their proper species. Thus they affirm clearly and plainly that a man will be born again as a man, a wolf as a wolf, and a raven as a raven. Nevertheless they consider the members of a clan to be related in some way to their totemic animal. For example, members of the Wolf clan will pray to the wolves, "We are your relations; pray don't hurt us." But though they ask the wolves not to hurt them, they do not themselves scruple to hurt the wolves, for they will hunt them without hesitation. They appear always to explain their relation to their totem by a legend that a mythical ancestor of their clan had an encounter with an animal of the totemic species.<sup>2</sup>~~

According to Dr. Boas, the Tlingits do not believe in their descent from the totemic animals.

Such is the account which Dr. Franz Boas, a high authority, gives of the relationship which is supposed to exist between people and their totems. He may be right in saying that the Tlingits do not now believe in their descent from the totemic animals; yet the myths told to explain some of the totems or crests seem to indicate the prevalence of that belief in former times. Such myths are the stories of the two women who married a grizzly bear and a frog respectively, of the woman who suckled a woodworm, and of the member of the Eagle clan who was turned into an eagle.<sup>3</sup> These tales have the true totemic ring about them; they point clearly to the former identification of the clanspeople with their totems, which is only another way of

But the stories told to explain some of the totems point to a belief in descent from the totemic animals.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), pp. 421 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Boas in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 23-25 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 268, 269.

saying that the present people are supposed to be descended from the totemic animals.

Belief of the Tlingits in the re-incarnation of the dead.

When a pregnant woman dreams of a dead relation, the Tlingits think that the soul of the deceased has entered into her and will be born again. And when a new-born child resembles a dead kinsman or kinswoman, they conclude that it is the dead person come to life again, and accordingly they give it his or her name. And a Tlingit may often be heard to say, "When I die, I should like to be born again in such and such a family"; or, "If only I were killed, I might return to the world in happier circumstances."<sup>1</sup> Not only do the Tlingits believe that the dead are reborn as men and women, but they used to take steps to facilitate their rebirth. Thus, when a beloved person died, the relations often took the nail from the little finger of his right hand and a lock of hair from the right side of his head and put them into the belt of a young girl of his clan, who was just reaching maturity. Afterwards she had to lead a very quiet life for eight months and fast for as many days, unless she were delicate, when half as many days sufficed. In the former case she fasted steadily for four days, rested two days, and then fasted for the remaining four. After her fast was over, and just before she ate, she prayed that the dead person might be born again from her.<sup>2</sup> In this custom the placing of the finger-nail and hair in the belt of a girl who has just attained the power of becoming a mother appears to be a mode of impregnating her by inserting the soul of the dead in her womb. Substantially, therefore, this custom and the belief which it implies agree with the Central Australian theory of conception.<sup>3</sup> Again, at a Tlingit funeral measures were taken to secure the rebirth of the soul of the dead. The corpse was generally burned, and before it was placed on the pyre, they used to turn it round four times in the direction which they conceive the sun to follow; then they laid the body down with the head to the sunrise. This was

Measures taken by the Tlingits to ensure the rebirth of the dead.

<sup>1</sup> H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (1856) p. 345; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition,

Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), p. 429.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. pp. 93 sq., 188 sqq.

done, we are told, to enable the soul of the deceased to be born again, for if he were laid with his head to the setting sun he would never come back.<sup>1</sup> Clearly the rising sun was thought to bring in his train the souls of the dead to be born again, while the setting sun carried them away with him for ever. This belief perhaps throws light on the burial customs of other totemic peoples, who inter their dead according to certain fixed rules with their heads turned to particular points of the compass.<sup>2</sup>

At funerals all the duties of an undertaker were performed by persons of the other class or phratry, and they alone were invited to the funeral feast. For example, if the deceased was of the Raven class, the invited guests would all be Wolves, not Ravens; and these Wolves would perform the last offices of respect to the dead Raven.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, we are told that a Tlingit employed persons of the other class or phratry to do everything for him—to build his house, to set up his totem pole, to pierce the lips and ears of his children, to initiate them into the secret societies, and so on. For these services he paid them and thereby shewed his respect for them. "The idea of giving property to a member of one's own phratry or of employing him in putting up the house was altogether abhorrent to Tlingit notions of propriety."<sup>4</sup> Yet "according to the unwritten Tlingit law it was incumbent upon every one belonging to a phratry to house and feed any other member of that phratry who should visit him, no matter from how great a distance he might come."<sup>5</sup>

In their dances the Tlingits made much use of their totemic badges or crests, the dancers appearing clad in dresses, masks, and so forth which represented the totemic animal or thing, while they also mimicked the totem by

At funerals the last offices to the dead are performed by persons of the other class or phratry.

Tlingit dances in which the dancers were masked

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), p. 430.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 454 *sqq.*, vol. ii. p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta*

*Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856) p. 324; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 223; J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), p. 430.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 435.

<sup>5</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 427.

and disguised to imitate their totems.

their gestures. Even such totems as mountains and rocks were imitated. For example, a dancer who represented a mountain would imitate the clouds which rested on its side in fine weather or completely covered it in bad.<sup>1</sup> When a monument was to be set up to the memory of a dead man, the Tlingits used to celebrate a great festival, to which guests were invited from far and near. However, such festivals were rare on account of their costliness. Sometimes the host would give away the whole of his property and that of his wife too, and would spend the rest of his days in abject poverty, living on the glorious memory of these few days of prodigal munificence. On the evening before the end of this great celebration, the host, who was generally a chief, retired with a slave to another apartment and there attired himself in a singular costume, which was often an heirloom, handed down with the greatest respect from many generations and never used but on such solemn occasions. It differed in different families, but always represented the totem either in part or complete, and was further adorned with scalps, human teeth, ribands, ermine skins, and so forth. The slave who helped to attire his master in this dress always received his freedom for the service. Thus disguised in the likeness of his totem the host came forth from his place of concealment and presented himself to his guests. At the same moment a cry was raised in imitation of the cry of the totemic animal. On the precise manner of the cry depended the life of several slaves; for if it was uttered in a peculiar way they were immediately put to death. Then the host and his family sang their ancestral songs, setting forth the origin of the family and the deeds of their fathers. After that the host sat down and distributed the presents among his guests. Having performed this rite he was entitled to assume the name of a deceased ancestor on the paternal side. The whole festival was called "elevating the dead."<sup>2</sup> We may conjecture that the meaning of the ceremony is

Sacrifice of slaves at funerals.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), pp. 435 sq.

<sup>2</sup> H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (1856) pp. 327-329; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 418-420.

explained by the Tlingit theory of reincarnation; it was probably supposed that the dead ancestor came to life again in the person of the descendant who assumed his name. Similarly the Hurons, the Iroquois, and other Indian tribes of the United States used to raise up the dead, as they imagined, by bestowing the name of the deceased upon a living person.<sup>1</sup>

Polygamy is or used to be common among the rich Tlingits; but the first wife enjoyed precedence and authority. A chief on the Nass River is reported to have had forty wives. According to the devoted Russian missionary, Father Innocentius Veniaminoff, who laboured among the natives of Alaska in the first half of the nineteenth century, Tlingit women had secondary husbands or legalised lovers, who were always either the brothers or near relations of the primary husband.<sup>2</sup> The custom perhaps points to a former practice of fraternal polyandry among the Tlingits.

Polygamy among the Tlingits.

Secondary husbands, who are generally brothers of the primary husband.

On the death of the husband, his brother or the son of his sister was bound to marry the widow. The failure to fulfil this obligation sometimes led to bloody feuds. But if there was neither a brother nor a sister's son alive, the widow might choose a husband from the other class or phratry to which her late husband belonged.<sup>3</sup> A man's heir is his sister's son, or, if there is none such, his younger brother.<sup>4</sup> A man and his wife's mother shewed respect by not addressing each other directly.<sup>5</sup> Apparently the Tlingits thought

The levirate.

A man's heir his sister's son.

Avoidance of wife's mother.

<sup>1</sup> *Relations des Jésuites*, 1642, pp. 53, 85 sq.; *id.* 1644, pp. 66 sq. (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), ii. 434.

<sup>2</sup> H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*, iv. (1856) pp. 313, 315 sq.; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 415, 416; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 220, 221. Father Veniaminoff, afterwards bishop of Kamchatka, "alone of the Greek missionaries to Alaska has left behind him an undying record of devotion and self-sacrifice, and love, both to God and man, combined with the true missionary fire. To him also we owe

the first detailed account of the modern Aleutian character and mode of life" (W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 385).

<sup>3</sup> H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*, iv. (1856) pp. 316, 325; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 416; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*, iv. (1856) p. 325; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 417; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship

that this common rule of avoidance observed by a man and his wife's mother was a great law of nature which was recognised also by the lower animals ; for when they were digging for clams, which withdraw rapidly into the sand, they used to say, " Do not go down so fast or you will hit your mother-in-law in the face." <sup>1</sup>

### § 3. Totemism among the Haidas

The  
Haidas of  
the Queen  
Charlotte  
Islands.

Scenery  
and climate  
of the  
Queen  
Charlotte  
Islands.

The neighbours of the Tlingits on the south are the Haidas, who inhabit the Queen Charlotte Islands of British Columbia. These islands, so far as tradition allows us to judge, appear to be their original home ; but to the north of them a branch of the Haidas, known as the Kaiganis, now occupies a portion of the coast of the Prince of Wales Archipelago in Alaska, from Clarence Strait westward, together with Forrester's Island.<sup>2</sup> The Queen Charlotte Islands form a chain nearly two hundred miles in length from north to south and are divided by wide channels both from the mainland on the east and from the islands of Alaska on the north. A great part of the islands is rugged and mountainous, with peaks where the snow lies all through the year. Dense forests chiefly of spruce cover the land even to the water's edge. The timber is often of magnificent growth, the straightness and height of the tree trunks being remarkable. Next to the spruce (*Abies Menziesii*), the western cedar (*Thuja gigantea*) and the western hemlock (*Abies Mertensiana*) are the commonest trees. The luxuriance of the vegetation is favoured by the mildness and humidity of the climate ; in winter the rains are very heavy, the sky persistently overcast with clouds, and gales frequent and violent. Snow sometimes falls, but seldom lies long except on the mountains. Hence in the moisture-laden atmosphere ferns and mosses grow abundantly, clothing the boles and

of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), p. 424.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth*

*Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), p. 459.

<sup>2</sup> George M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878* (Montreal, 1880), p. 104 B (*Geological Survey of Canada*).

branches of the trees in the forest with a mantle of vivid green. Great trunks, fallen and dead, become at once a garden of moss, saplings, and shrubs. As the trees in sheltered spots almost dip their pendent boughs in the water, locomotion in any other way than by boat or canoe along the shore is nearly impossible. The eastern coast of the islands is indented with many winding inlets and land-locked coves. On some of these deep and narrow fjords, where the mountains rise steeply from the shore to the height of thousands of feet, their upper gorges and shady hollows filled with snowdrifts, their lower slopes veiled in the sombre gloom of the pines, the scenery is of desolate and almost oppressive grandeur.<sup>1</sup>

As the Haidas live almost exclusively on fish, the halibut and the salmon forming their staple diet, they pay little attention to the interior of the country and turn their eyes chiefly to the sea, choosing the sites of their villages with reference to the halibut banks and coast fisheries which engross most of their time. Hence the villages often stand on bleak wind-swept rocks or islands, though generally with a sandy or gravelly beach near them where the canoes can land even in stormy weather. The substantially built wooden houses are placed side by side facing seaward, a few feet above the high tide mark, and being unpainted soon assume a uniform grey colour or grow green and mossy in the damp climate. A cloud of blue smoke hovering over the village in calm weather reveals its presence from a distance; and a nearer view discloses a forest of carved posts in front of the houses, the stages for drying fish, and the canoes drawn up on the beach and covered, when not in use, with mats and boughs to prevent them from warping and cracking in the sun.<sup>2</sup> The Haidas are bold sailors, navigating the wide and stormy seas which surround their islands in their great canoes, which are hewn out of logs of cedar. Some of these canoes can hold a hundred men with all their equipments for a long voyage. They are excellent sea boats, and in them the Indians undertake

The Haidas live chiefly on fish and build their villages beside the sea.

The Haidas are bold and skillful sailors.

<sup>1</sup> G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878* (Montreal, 1880), pp. 14 B-43 B.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Dawson, *op. cit.* pp. 44 B, 109 B, 115 B sq.

trading voyages of hundreds of miles to Victoria in Vancouver's Island and thence to various towns in Puget Sound.<sup>1</sup>

Character  
of the  
Haidas.  
Their  
corruption  
by the  
whites.

Physically and mentally the Haidas are reputed the finest Indians of the North-West coast. Their complexion is fairer and their features handsomer than those of the other tribes, and the intelligent expression of their faces is not belied by a closer acquaintance with them. Unfortunately intercourse with the whites has deeply demoralized this gifted race, and they are now wasted by vice and disease. Even thirty years ago their villages were falling into decay, some of them being completely abandoned, while in others many houses shut up and mouldering away in the damp weather, rotting totem-poles, and paths choked with a rank growth of weeds told the melancholy tale of a people blighted by contact with an alien race.<sup>2</sup>

The  
Haidas  
are divided  
into two  
exogamous  
clans or  
classes, the  
Raven and  
the Eagle,  
with de-  
scendant in  
the maternal  
line.

The whole Haida stock is divided into two clans or classes, which are named respectively the Raven (*Qoala* or *Hoya*) and the Eagle (*Gitina* or *Got*). These clans are strictly exogamous. A Raven man must marry an Eagle woman, and an Eagle man must marry a Raven woman. Descent is in the female line; that is to say, the child belongs to its mother's clan and inherits the rank and property of its maternal uncle. Thus if the mother is a Raven, the children are Ravens; if she is an Eagle, they are Eagles. So close is the relationship between persons of the same clan that marriage within it, or used to be, viewed by the Haidas almost as incest. On the other hand, the members of the other clan were often considered downright enemies. Even husbands and wives did not hesitate to betray each other to death in the interests of their own families. "At times," says Mr. Swanton, "it almost appears as if each marriage were an alliance between opposite tribes; a man begetting offspring rather for his wife than for himself, and, being inclined to see his real descendants rather in his sister's children than in his own. They it was who succeeded to his position and

<sup>1</sup> James G. Swan, *The Haidah Indians of Queen Charlotte's Islands* (Washington, 1874), pp. 2 sq. (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, No. 267).

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878*, pp. 104 B sq., 117 B; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 305 sq.

carried down his family line." The two clans or classes are each subdivided into an indefinite number of groups or families, which usually take their names from towns or camping-grounds and appear to be simply local groups. Each family or local group enjoys several prerogatives which it guards jealously: such are the right to bear certain personal names and the right to use certain badges or crests, which are generally representations of animals, though trees, shells, and objects of daily life also occur amongst them. These crests are tattooed on the bodies of their owners, painted on their faces, woven on their clothing, and carved on their houses and utensils. Each family as a rule has several crests, which are explained by traditions setting forth the adventures of an ancestor of the family. Most of these traditions tell of his encounter with an animal or a supernatural being, which from that time on became the crest of his family. Not all the members of the family use all its crests. At first the youth seems to possess the most general crest of the clan only; thus if he is of the Eagle clan, he will have the eagle crest; if he is of the Raven clan, he will have the bear and the killer-whale crests. As he attains higher rank by repeated distributions of property among members of the other clan, he becomes entitled to the privilege of using other crests; but the use of the total number of crests belonging to the family seems to be restricted to its chief. With regard to these Haida crests Mr. J. R. Swanton, one of our chief authorities on the tribe, observes that "they were originally obtained from some supernatural being or by purchase from another family. Although referred to by most writers as totems, they have, however, no proper totemic significance, their use being similar to that of the quarterings in heraldry, to mark the social position of the wearers." Accordingly it would seem that these families or local groups cannot properly be described as totem clans; that term among the Haidas should be restricted to the two great exogamous divisions of the Raven and the Eagle.<sup>1</sup>

Each clan or class is subdivided into an indefinite number of families or local groups, and each of these families has its crests, which are generally representations of animals.

The crests are said not to be totemic.

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Boas, *Facial Paintings of the Indians of Northern British Columbia*, p. 14 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedi-*

*tion, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, 1898*); J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Eth-*

Dawson's  
account of  
the Haida  
social  
system.

Somewhat different from the above is the account of the Haida social system given by the late Dr. George M. Dawson, to whom we owe the first fairly full description of the Queen Charlotte Islands and their inhabitants. According to him "a single system of totems (Haida, *kwalla*) extends throughout the different tribes of the Haidas, Kaiganes, Tshimsians, and neighbouring peoples. The whole community is divided under the different totems, and the obligations attaching to totem are not confined by tribal or national limits. The totems found among these people are designated by the *eagle*, *wolf*, *crow*, *black bear* and *fin-whale* (or *killer*). The two last-named are united, so that but four clans are counted in all. The Haida names for these are, in order, *kool*, *koo-ji*, *kit-sinaka* and *σχα-νου-χᾱ*. The members of the different totems are generally pretty equally distributed in each tribe. Those of the same totem are all counted as it were of one family, and the chief bearing of the system appears to be on marriage. No one may marry in his or her own totem, whether within or without their own tribe or nation. A person of any particular totem may, however, marry one of any other indifferently. The children follow the totem of the mother, save in some very exceptional cases, when a child newly born may be given to the father's sister to suckle. This is done to strengthen the totem of the father when its number has become reduced. The child is then spoken of as belonging to the aunt, but after it attains a certain age may be returned to the real mother to bring up."<sup>1</sup>

*nology of the Haida* (Leyden and New York, 1905), pp. 11, 62; *id.* in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 522. Compare Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 26 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the Tribes of North-Western Canada*, pp. 648 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898). In these *Reports* Dr. Boas applies the term phratries to the two Haida divisions of the Raven and Eagle; but that term should be restricted to

such exogamous tribal divisions as are themselves subdivided into minor exogamous groups, which seems not to be the case with the Raven and the Eagle divisions among the Haidas. Accordingly in his memoir, *Facial Paintings of the Indians of Northern British Columbia* (*l.c.*), Dr. Boas has rightly designated the two exogamous divisions of the Haidas as clans, not phratries.

<sup>1</sup> G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878* (Montreal, 1880), p. 134 B. Dr. Dawson's account is reproduced by Mr. A. Krause (*Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 312).

If the later accounts of the Haida system given by Messrs. Boas and Swanton are correct, as we may assume them to be, it would seem that Dr. Dawson confused some of the families or local groups with the two exogamous clans. The animal crests claimed by the families might easily give rise to such a confusion. With regard to these crests we are told that while theoretically the crests used by families of the Raven clan should be different from those used by families of the Eagle clan, this distinction is not maintained throughout in practice, since some crests, for example the dogfish and the skate, are claimed by families both of the Raven and of the Eagle clan. But as a general rule the two sets of crests do actually differ from each other.<sup>1</sup> A family is not restricted to one crest. It may have, and often has, several crests or emblems which are supposed to commemorate events in the early history of the family. For example, one family has for its crests the frog, beaver, raven, and eagle; another has the bear, moon, dogfish, killer-whale, wolf, and devilfish; another has the killer-whale, owl, bear, and woodpecker; another has the bear, killer-whale, and moon; another has the halibut, eagle, beaver, and land-otter; another has the frog, beaver, starfish, and evening sky; another has the land-otter, killer-whale, woodpecker, and cirrus cloud; another has the eagle, sculpin, and beaver; another has the eagle, humming-bird, beaver, sculpin, and skate; another has the bear, killer-whale, hawk, rainbow, and stratus-cloud; another has the killer-whale, grizzly bear, and black bear; another has the eagle, raven, sculpin, and frog; another has the bear, moon, mountain-goat, killer-whale, storm-cloud, cirrus-cloud, and rock-slide; another has the dogfish, eagle, frog, monster frog, and beaver. And so on.<sup>2</sup>

According to Dr. Boas's enquiries the commonest crests or totems, as he also calls them, in the Raven clan are the killer-whale and the black bear; and the commonest crests or totems in the Eagle clan are the eagle and beaver. Next

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 107. *the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 648 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol,

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Boas, in *Twelfth Report of* 1898).

As a rule, the crests of the Raven and the Eagle clans differ from each other; but some crests are common to both clans.

Each family may have several crests.

Some crests are much commoner than others.

to them in frequency, though at a long interval, come in the Raven clan the *tsamaos* (a fabulous sea-monster) and the moon; in the Eagle clan the sculpin, the frog, and the raven. In the Raven clan Dr. Boas found the woodpecker, *tsilialas* (killer-whale with raven wings), thunder-bird, hawk, wolf, and cirrus cloud, each respectively claimed as a crest by two families; and the dogfish, devilfish, owl, land-otter, grizzly bear, sea-lion, mountain-goat, *gyitgalya*, rainbow, stratus cloud, storm-cloud, and rock-slide each respectively claimed by one family only. In the Eagle clan Dr. Boas found the dogfish claimed as a crest by two families, and the halibut, land-otter, starfish, humming-bird, skate (?), monster-frog *watsat* (a fabulous personage), *wasq* (a fabulous whale with five dorsal fins), *sgango* (a monster), and evening sky, each respectively claimed by one family only. To put the result of Dr. Boas's enquiries in tabular form:—

Table of the crests of the two Haida clans.

RAVEN CLAN (22 *distinct families*)

Killer-whale crest in 21 families.	Devilfish crest in 1 family.
Black bear       "   14   "	Owl               "   1   "
<i>Tsamaos</i> "   7   "	Land-otter       "   1   "
Moon           "   4   "	Grizzly bear crest in 1 family.
Woodpecker     "   2   "	Sea-lion               "   1   "
<i>Tsilialas</i> "   2   "	Mountain-goat crest in 1 family.
Thunder-bird   "   2   "	<i>Gyitgalya</i> "   1   "
Hawk           "   2   "	Rainbow           "   1   "
Wolf           "   2   "	Stratus cloud     "   1   "
Cirrus cloud   "   2   "	Storm-cloud      "   1   "
Dogfish       "   1 family.	Rock slide       "   1   "

EAGLE CLAN (18 *distinct families*)

Eagle crest in 17 families.	Humming-bird crest in 1 family.
Beaver       "   13   "	Skate (?)       "   1   "
Sculpin      "   9   "	Monster-frog   "   1   "
Frog         "   5   "	<i>Watsat</i> (a fabulous personage) crest in 1 family.
Raven       "   3   "	<i>Wasq</i> crest in 1 family.
Dogfish      "   2   "	<i>Sgango</i> "   1   "
Halibut     "   1 family.	Evening sky crest in 1 family.
Land-otter crest in 1 family.	
Starfish     "   1   "	

By a curious anomaly the raven is not a crest of the Raven clan.

Thus, while the two sets of crests mostly differ, the dogfish and the land-otter occur as crests both among the Ravens and the Eagles. It is remarkable that the raven should appear as a crest in the Eagle clan and not, where

we should expect to find it, in the Raven clan.<sup>1</sup> This anomaly is a puzzle to the Indians themselves<sup>2</sup>

The results of more recent researches conducted among the Haidas by Mr. J. R. Swanton agree to a considerable extent with those of Dr. Boas. He finds that in the Raven clan the killer-whale and grizzly bear crests are the most frequent, and that next to them come the rainbow and the *tsamaos* (a fabulous sea-monster); while in the Eagle clan the eagle and beaver crests are the most frequent, and next to them come the sculpin and frog. The other crests are considerably less common, and many of them occur only in a single family. From this Mr. Swanton infers with some probability that the crests most frequently used are the oldest, and that those which occur only once or twice must have been acquired in comparatively recent times.<sup>3</sup>

He tells us that the killer-whale is considered the oldest crest of the Raven clan, and the eagle the oldest crest of the Eagle clan. "The killer-whale," he says further, "was owned by every Raven family without exception; and the eagle, by almost every Eagle family. Young men are said to have worn these first before assuming the more valued ones; but young men of high family, not yet entitled to wear the higher crests, might nevertheless have them carved upon their grave-posts, if they died in early years. The town and family chiefs were always endeavouring to reserve certain crests for their own exclusive use, but the house chiefs were generally too powerful for this to go very far. The moon, however, seems to have been used exclusively by four or five of the highest Haida chiefs.

. . . Possession of a crest was jealously guarded; and if any chief learned that one of his crests had been adopted by a chief of a family that was considered of lower rank, he would put the latter to shame, and by giving away or destroying more property than the other chief could muster,

The common crests are probably the old crests; the rare crests are probably the new ones.

Possession of the crests was jealously guarded.

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Boas, in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 648-654 (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898). Compare *id.* in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 26 *sq.* (*Report*

*of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* pp. 107-117.

force him to abandon it. Thus a chief of the family of Those-born-at-Skidegate once adopted the mountain-goat; but when the chief of Skedans heard of it, he gave away a great many blankets, and compelled him to relinquish it."<sup>1</sup>

Descent of the family as well as of the clan seems to be in the female line.

Descent in the family, as well as in the clan, appears to be in the female line, so that children take both their family name and their crest from their mother, not from their father. This is not indeed directly affirmed, so far as I have observed, by our authorities, but it seems to follow from some of their statements. Thus Mr. Swanton says that "if a man were very fond of his children, he might give them the right to use some of his own crests; but these must be surrendered as soon as the children married. Occasionally a crest of this kind was kept through life; and, according to tradition, one or two crests were given by the man who first obtained them to his children, and thus to the other clan."<sup>2</sup> This statement implies that the acquisition of a crest by a child from his father is unusual and abnormal; from which we may infer that normally the crest is inherited by children from their mother.

Legends told by the Haidas to account for the origin of their crests. The killer-whale crest.

As specimens of the legends told by the Haidas to account for the origin of their crests we may cite the following. The killer-whale crest has been used by people of the Raven clan from the time when they came from the mythical marine being called Foam-Woman. One of her daughters wore a blanket with the figure of a killer-whale's dorsal fin on it, and ever since then the women of the Raven family called People-of-Pebble-Town have worn similar blankets at *potlatches*.<sup>3</sup> Again, the same Raven family is said to use the blue hawk crest because they saw the bird on a certain mountain where blue hawks live; the blue hawk and the thunder-bird are represented in carvings in almost exactly the same form, and both are employed as crests by the Raven family called People-of-Pebble-Town.<sup>4</sup> Again, the same Raven family used wooden war-helmets carved in the shape of

The blue hawk crest.

The sea-lion crest.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 107 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. Swanton, *l.c.*

sea-lions, because a member of the clan is said to have found the first sea-lion and to have made a hat for himself out of the skin of its head.<sup>1</sup> Again, the Ravens adopted the rainbow as a crest, because the chief of all supernatural beings in the woods, called Supernatural-One-upon-whom-it-thunders, was a Raven power and used to appear as the rainbow when he was in full dress.<sup>2</sup> Again, the cumulus and cirrus clouds were the full dress costume of the supernatural being called The-One-in-the-Sea, and as he was a Raven, the Ravens adopted these clouds as their crests.<sup>3</sup> Again, the Raven people use the flicker or golden-winged woodpecker as a crest, because a man of the People-of-Pebble-Town, a Raven family, killed the first flicker, stuffed its skin, and put it on his hat.<sup>4</sup> The moon, mountain-goat, and *tsamaos* are crests imported by the Raven people from the Tsimshians. The *tsamaos* was a personification of driftwood or the "tide-walker"; it could assume several different shapes, such as that of a sea-lion and a black whale.<sup>5</sup> The eagle crest was used by the Eagle people when their families "first came out" from their great mythical ancestress, who rejoices in the title of Property-making-a-Noise. The beaver crest of the Eagle people was brought back from the Tsimshian country by the children of Property-making-a-Noise. The dogfish, another crest of the Eagle people, was first used by a man of the Food-giving-Town-People or, as they were sometimes called, Those-born-at-Skidegate-Creek, who are a Raven family. He found a dogfish on the beach and adopted it as a crest, but gave it to one of his children, who was necessarily an Eagle. That is how the dogfish came to be a crest of the Eagle people. At the same time we are told that Property-making-a-Noise, the ancestress of the Eagles, had a dogfish tattooed on her back when she went to the Tsimshian country.<sup>6</sup> Again, a man of the Gitins-of-Skidegate, an Eagle family, was unfortunately poisoned by eating clams while he lived in

The rainbow crest.

The cumulus and cirrus cloud crests.

The woodpecker crest.

The moon, mountain-goat, and *tsamaos* crests.

The eagle crest.

The beaver crest.

The dogfish crest.

The raven crest.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Swanton, *l.c.*

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. Swanton, *l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> J. R. Swanton, *l.c.*

<sup>6</sup> J. R. Swanton, *l.c.*

the Tsimshian country; and to console his friends for this domestic bereavement they were given a raven hat. That is how the Eagle people come to have the raven for a crest. The sculpin crest was also received by the Eagle people at the same time; it was first carved on the front of a grave-post.<sup>1</sup> Again, a child playing on the beach found the first starfish. He picked it up and dried it and played with it a long time. Indeed he liked it so much that he begged his friends to carve it on his grave-box. Since then his friends, who were Eagle people, have used the starfish as a crest. Again, two Eagle families, called respectively Those-born-at-Skedans and Sea-Lion-Town-People, tie humming-birds to their hair as a crest, because the great mythical ancestress of the Eagle people, Djilaqons, likewise wore a humming-bird fastened to her hair in a peculiar manner. Again, the Eagle people are said to have adopted the heron as a crest because once, when an Eagle man was returning empty-handed from the chase, a heron came out just at the stern of his canoe.<sup>2</sup>

The Haidas had a comparatively well-developed system of art, which they applied to the decoration of houses, canoes, paddles, horn-spoons, boxes, trays, dance-hats, masks, rattles, batons, and so forth; and among the patterns employed for this purpose the figures of their totemic or crest animals were by far the commonest.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, so far did the artistic bent of the people carry them in this direction that in the opinion of Dr. Boas it even reacted on their social system and proved a most important factor in developing it.<sup>4</sup>

Formerly, every Haida had his crest tattooed on some part of his person, generally on the legs, arms, or breast, most commonly on the back of the hand and forearm.

Apparently the Haidas never tattooed their faces. The patterns were carefully and symmetrically drawn by pricking the skin and rubbing in charcoal, so that they stood out in a bluish tint on the copper-coloured skin. While every member of a household had one of the family crests

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 109 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* pp. 122 sqq., 136 sqq., 143 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. Boas, in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 676 (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898).

The sculpin crest.

The starfish crest.

The humming-bird crest.

The heron crest.

The art of the Haidas.

The Haidas used to have their totems tattooed on their bodies.

tattooed on his body, the head or chief of the house used to have every one of them tattooed on his person in order to shew his relation to them all. Among the crests so tattooed which have been observed and recorded are the halibut, cod-fish, *wasko* (a mythical monster), frog, humming-bird, crow, bear, moon, rainbow, dragon-fly, starfish, skate, thunder-bird, killer-whale, sculpin, and dogfish. Some of these creatures were represented with a fair attempt at realism.<sup>1</sup>

While the Haidas appear not to have tattooed their faces, on the other hand they painted their crests on them, sometimes with a close resemblance to nature, laying on the patterns in black, red, blue, and green colours mixed with grease. Thus a man might paint a very natural halibut in red and black on his face, the head of the fish appearing on his brow and the tail on his cheek, and the rest of the fish occupying the intermediate portion of his countenance. Another would paint a killer-whale in black over his right eyebrow and a whale in red over his left eyebrow. A third would adorn the right side of his face with the likeness of a dog-salmon in red and black; while a fourth would decorate the front of his face with the figure of a devil-fish in red and black, the body with its goggle-eyes being plastered on his forehead, while the tentacles of the creature sprawled over his cheeks. Another would depict the sun as a disc with rays between his eyes, while another would display the crescent moon on his forehead or chin and lower jaws. Another would daub the upper part of his forehead with red to represent the red sky of evening; while another would encircle the whole of his face with red patches or cover it with red spots to imitate cirrus clouds either seen on the horizon across the sea or lit up by the warm rays of the rising or setting sun. In these last and in other cases the patterns are, however, so purely conventional that their meaning could not be understood without explanation.<sup>2</sup>

The Haidas also painted their crests on their faces.

<sup>1</sup> G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1873*, pp. 108 ff, 134 B sq.; J. G. Swan, *The Haidah Indians* (Washington, 1874), pp. 3 sqq., with Plates 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, No. 267); J. R. Swanton,

*Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 141 sq., with Plates XX., XXI.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, *Facial Paintings of the Indians of Northern British Columbia*, pp. 13 sqq., with Plates I. - VI. (*The Jesup North Pacific*

The totem-poles or totem-posts of the Haidas.

But the most elaborate and imposing representations of Haida crests are those which they carved and painted on the wooden pillars commonly known as totem-poles or totem-posts. Such monuments were set up by other Indian tribes of North-West America, but among none of them were the totem-poles so numerous, so large, and so elaborately carved as among the Haidas. These poles were from thirty to sixty feet high; and as there were on an average at least two of them for each house, a Haida village seen from a distance used to present the appearance of a patch of burnt forest with bare, bristling tree-trunks. The cost of erecting such monuments was very considerable, sometimes, it is said, even amounting to several thousand dollars, so that only very wealthy people could afford to set them up. The totem-poles were of several kinds, amongst which we may distinguish two principal classes, the house-poles (*keχen*) and the mortuary-poles (*χat*). The house-poles are pillars from thirty to fifty or sixty feet high, and three feet wide at the base, tapering slightly upwards. They are hewn each out of a single cedar tree, and are hollowed out behind like a trough to make them light enough to be set up without much difficulty. One such pole is, or used to be, planted firmly in the earth at the front of every house and abutting against it, and an oval hole cut through the pole serves as the doorway. These poles are generally covered with grotesque figures, carved and painted, and closely grouped together from base to summit.<sup>1</sup> "Speaking generally," says Mr. Swanton, "there were two varieties of house-poles: (1) those which merely bore crests, and (2) those which illustrated some story. In the former class, crests belonging to the family of the house-owner and to that of his wife were usually placed together upon the pole, although occasionally all the crests were taken from one family; but, as will be seen in what follows, there was no fixed rule for the order in which these should be arranged."<sup>2</sup> Thus, for

Two kinds of totem-poles, viz. the house-poles and the mortuary-poles.

Of the house-poles some bore family crests and others illustrated myths.

House-poles bearing crests.

*Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, 1898).

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Swan, *The Haidah Indians of Queen Charlotte's Islands* (Washington, 1874), p. 3; G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*,

1878, pp. 115 B, 116 B, 148 B; A. Woldt, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas* (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 40 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 122.

example, a pole which formerly stood in front of a house of an Eagle family called Those-born-at-Saki, in the town of Ninstints, exhibits an eagle at the top and a bear at the bottom, both of which were crests of the husband's family ; while between them is carved the wolf, the crest of his wife, who was a Raven woman of the family called Xagi-Town-People. Again, a pole which stood at Skidegate shews a dogfish at the top and a raven immediately beneath it, while at the bottom is the killer-whale. Of these the dogfish and raven were the crests of the wife, who was of the Eagle clan ; while the killer-whale was the crest of her husband, who was of the Raven clan. Another pole which stood at Skidegate displays at the bottom the wife's crest, a grizzly bear, and above it two crests of the husband, a raven and a *wasgo*, a fabulous monster, part wolf and part killer-whale, who hunts for black whales at night and brings them away on his back. In this case the wife was a Raven woman of the family of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit, and her husband was an Eagle man of the family of the Big-House-People. Another pole exhibits at the top a grizzly bear, the crest of the wife, who was a Raven woman of the family of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit ; and below the bear are carved successively a dogfish, a raven, and an eagle, all crests of the husband, who was an Eagle man of the family of the Rotten-House-People. At the top the pole ends in a tall cylinder with circles cut round it, one above the other. This stands for a chief's cylindrical hat which was made in segments ; and the more segments it had, the more honourable was the hat. Another pole has a beaver and an eagle, the wife's crests, at the top, and below them the moon and a grizzly bear, both crests of the husband, who was a Raven, while his wife was an Eagle. Another pole displays, from bottom to top, the grizzly bear, the moon, and two figures intended to represent mountain-goats, all of them crests of the husband, who was a Raven, chief of the Sand-Town-People. Surmounting all are two watchmen, as they are called, figures of human beings wearing the usual tall flat-topped hats. Some families had two, others had three of these watchmen. In Haida myths similar figures are mentioned on the house-poles of the supernatural beings ;

The tall cylindrical hat of a chief.

Figures of watchmen.

and it is said that they always gave warning when an enemy approached or anything happened which the owner of the pole ought to know. They are not used as crests. Yet another pole exhibits at the bottom a killer-whale, and above it the moon, both crests of the husband, who was a Raven, and chief of the Pebble-Town-People; above the moon appears the raven, the crest of his wife, who was an Eagle woman; and surmounting all is a figure of the chief himself holding one of the much-prized copper plates under each arm. To put a portrait of the house-owner on his pole was not uncommon.<sup>1</sup>

Story-  
poles, that  
is, poles  
illustrating  
tribal  
myths and  
legends.

These and similar house-poles are purely heraldic. Others are carved to illustrate the myths and legends of the tribe. These Mr. Swanton calls story-poles. They are clearly parallel to the monuments of ancient art, whether Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Greek, or Roman, which set forth the sacred traditions and religious beliefs of the people who erected them. For example, a pole, which stood at Kloo and belonged to an Eagle chief of the family of Those-born-at-Skedans, exhibits at the bottom a man squatting and wearing an immensely tall cylindrical hat which reaches from his head to the top of the pole. On either side of the hat is a series of three human beings, one above the other, clinging with their hands to the cylindrical hat, as if to support themselves by it. The pole illustrates a story that Raven caused a flood, whereupon a chief named Kenk, with great presence of mind, clapped his hat on his head, and as it grew longer and longer his people swarmed up it to escape from the rising tide of water.<sup>2</sup> Again, a pole which belonged to a Raven chief of the Eagle-House-People is illustrated and thus described by Mr. Swanton: "It

Pole  
illustrating  
the legend  
of the  
great flood  
caused by  
Raven.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 122-124, with Plates I. and II. As to the cylindrical hats worn by chiefs Prof. E. B. Tylor observes that "the original form of this head-dress may be the native basketry hat, which passes into a wooden helmet surmounted by a cylindrical turret, the number of divisions (*skil*) indicating the wearer's rank or dignity, and being said to represent the number of potlatches or

feasts given by the wearer. It is now only worn in ceremonial dances, but its representation is frequent in paintings and carvings" (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) p. 134).

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 124 sq., with Plate V. 2; Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der nord-pazifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), p. 308.

contains episodes from the Raven story. At the bottom is a figure of the beaver who owned the first house, salmon-lake, and salmon-trap, and who adopted Raven. The small human figure on the head of which this beaver has its front-legs is Raven himself. Above is another figure of Raven playing with the crescent moon which surrounds the head of Butterfly, Raven's companion. This refers to the theft of the moon by Raven. Butterfly is introduced only because he used to go about with Raven. The figure above this, with a frog in its mouth, is said to represent the grandfather of Raven at this time, the frog simply filling up space. Still higher Raven is seen in the act of stealing the beaver's salmon-lake. The lake is the cross-hatched surface curled round the two salmon. The frog on Raven's hat is said to be merely for ornament; and the segmented part rising above it is, as usual, a chief's dance-hat. On top of this dance-hat, finally, Raven appears again in the form of a bird holding the moon in his bill, as he flew with it through the smoke-hole."<sup>1</sup> Again, a pole which stood before the house of a Raven chief near Masset illustrates the story of the man who married a bear, a story which, like the theft of the moon by Raven, has its parallel among the Tlingits; for they tell how a woman, roaming the wood in search of berries, strayed into a bear's den, and how she was obliged not only to marry the bear, but to be herself changed into a she-bear.<sup>2</sup> On the Haida house-pole, which

Pole illustrating the story how Raven stole the moon.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Mythology of the Haida*, p. 125, with Plate III. 4. The Tlingits also tell how Raven (Yehl) contrived to steal the moon from a chief who kept it shut up in a box, and how on opening the box Raven allowed the moon to fly up into the sky, where it has since remained. In the same way he liberated the sun and stars, which the same chief had kept in two other boxes; for till then the world had been dark. Thus it was Raven who set the great lights in the sky to lighten the day and the night. See H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (1856) pp. 336-339; and for a fuller and

somewhat different version of the legend, see Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der nord-pazifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 311-313. The myth contains a good example of the widespread story of the Virgin Birth. In order to obtain access to the chief's house Raven turns himself into a blade of grass or a pine-cone, which is swallowed by the chief's daughter in a draught of water. Thereupon she becomes pregnant and gives birth to a child, who is no other than Raven himself.

<sup>2</sup> H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (1856) pp. 310 *sq.* A similar story, except as to the transformation of the

Pole illustrating the story how a man married a Bear wife.

tells the tale of the man and his bear-wife, the principal figure is the Grizzly-Bear-Woman. She clasps in her hands what appears to be a long tongue lolling out of her mouth; however, we are told that this object is not her tongue but a labret, such as all Haida women used to wear in their lower lips. On her head the Bear-Woman wears the usual conical dance-hat, divided into segments by circles and surmounted in this case by a bear's cub, which thus sits on the top of the pole. In her arms the Bear-Woman clasps two more of her cubs, and a little lower down is a full-length figure of a bear representing her husband. At the bottom of the pole, above the oval opening which formed the doorway of the house, are carved a frog and a raven, which have apparently no reference to the story of the Bear-Woman.<sup>1</sup> Another Haida house-pole, which formerly

Pole illustrating the story how a man made love to a bear's wife and was eaten by the bear.

stood in the village of Masset, also illustrates the legend of the man and the bear. The story ran that Toivats the hunter went to the house of Hoorsts the bear, when the bear was not at home. In his absence the hunter made love to the bear's wife. Coming home the bear found his wife in confusion and accused her. She denied the charge, but the bear was still suspicious, and when she went out to draw water and fetch wood, he tied a magic thread to her dress, and following this clue he found her with her gallant, whom he killed. On the Haida post the injured bear is represented in the act of devouring the man who had injured him.<sup>2</sup> Another

Pole illustrating the story of the man in the fish's belly.

house-pole, whether Haida or Tsimshian is uncertain, exhibits a scene which has sometimes been taken for Jonah in the fish's belly. It certainly represents a man in the belly of a killer-whale, but the legend which it illustrates

woman into a bear, is told by the Tsimshians. See Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der nord-pazifischen Küste Amerikas*, pp. 294 sq.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 127, with Plate V. 1. As to the labrets which the Haida women used to wear in their lower lips, see G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878*, pp. 108 B sq. They were made

of wood or bone and projected at right angles to the plane of the face. One of them has been found to measure  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length by  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches in width.

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Tylor, "On the Totem-post from the Haida Village of Masset," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) pp. 133-135, with Plate XII. This fine totem-pole, which is more than forty feet high, now stands in the grounds of Fox Warren, near Weybridge.

appears to be of purely native origin.<sup>1</sup> In the British Museum there is a totem-pole from the Haida village of Kayang, near Masset, in Queen Charlotte Island. The carvings on the pole refer to a story which sets forth how Raven (*Yetl*), swimming in bird shape under water, was caught on the line of some fishermen; how they tried to haul him into the boat, how he clung for dear life to the bottom with his claws, how they tugged and better tugged, till at last the line suddenly slacking they all collapsed in the bottom of the boat. When they pulled themselves together and examined the hook, they found sticking on it a piece of Raven's beak, which had snapped clean off in the desperate tussle. They did not know what to make of it, but took it ashore with them, and while they were confabbing over it in the hut, who should walk in but Raven himself, looking just like a man, but hiding his broken nose. He cajoled the assembled sages into letting him have the piece of his beak in his hand to look at, but no sooner had he got it than he clapped it on his broken nose; the pieces joined together, and away he flew through the smoke-hole in the roof.<sup>2</sup> The story is of special interest for its references to the bird shape of Raven, who in the native mythology, despite his name, commonly appears as a man.

Pole illustrating the story how Raven's beak was broken and mended again.

Besides the tall house-pole which stood in front of the house the greatest Haida chiefs had an inside pole, which stood in the middle of the rear part of the house, and the seat just in front of it was always reserved for persons of the highest rank. These inside poles were also carved with figures of the family crests, one above the other; for example, on one we see, from bottom to top, a frog, a hawk, a raven with two frogs in its mouth, and a grizzly bear; another represents an eagle above and a cormorant below; and so on.<sup>3</sup>

Inner house-poles.

<sup>1</sup> E. B. Tylor, "On two British Columbian House-posts with Totemic Carvings, in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) pp. 136 sq., with Plate XIII. The Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford possesses another fine Haida house-pole from the village of Masset. It is over forty feet high and exhibits two "watchers" at the top, with figures of the raven, frog,

crayfish, and killer-whale beneath them. See E. B. Tylor, "Note on the Haida Totem-post," *Man*, ii. (1902) pp. 1 sq. with Plate A.

<sup>2</sup> T. A. Joyce, "A Totem Pole in the British Museum," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) pp. 90 sq., with Plate XIX.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Mythology of the Haida*, p. 128, with Plate V. 2.

Mortuary-poles are of two sorts, viz. those which support the remains of the dead and those which merely commemorate them.

Like the house-poles, the mortuary - poles (*χat*) may be divided into two classes, namely, grave-poles which contain or support the remains of the dead, and memorial-poles which are simply erected in honour of the departed, whether man or woman. To the Haidas, however, there is no essential distinction between the two. Both are called by them "grave-father," and both sorts were set up by the successor of a dead chief when he entered on office. The mortuary - poles, though sometimes as ponderous as the house-poles, were generally not so tall and not so elaborately decorated. They stood, as a rule, on the narrow strip of land between the houses and the beach, but in no determinate relation to the dwellings. The most elaborate form of these mortuary-poles was called "two grave-fathers," and consisted of a long box with a carved front, capable of holding several bodies, and raised upon two posts instead of one. The carving on the box might represent the crest of the deceased.<sup>1</sup> In other cases the grave-box was placed on the top of a single pole or let into the top of the pole itself. But whether any bodies were placed on the pole or not, it was sometimes carved in imitation of a true grave-pole, stout planks being nailed across it at the top to resemble the front of a grave-box. Both on the shaft and on the cross-piece might be carved the crests of the deceased. Other mortuary - poles are purely commemorative ; they neither support nor pretend to support the remains of the dead. As a rule they consisted of a shaft either plain or slightly decorated with a figure carved at the bottom and another at the top ; these figures often represented the crests of the person in whose memory the monument was erected. For example, a memorial pole set up in honour of a Raven man exhibits a long flattened quadrangular shaft with a grizzly bear at the bottom and a raven perched on the top. The shaft and the raven together stand for the mythical killer-whale called Raven-fin (*Tsilialas*). On the front of the fin were originally hung two of those copper plates, on which the Indians of this coast used to set an extravagant

<sup>1</sup> G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878*, pp. 133 B, 148 B ; J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 129.

value. It was not uncommon thus to lay up a dead man's coppers, as they were called, on his monument.<sup>1</sup> Again, a memorial pole for a chief's wife, a Raven woman of the Sand-Town-People, consists of a plain cylindrical column with a figure of the mythical Cloud-Woman at the bottom and the long-billed figure of a flicker or golden-winged woodpecker perched on the top. Both the Cloud-Woman and the woodpecker were crests used by the woman's family.<sup>2</sup>

The possession of certain crests was not the only prerogative of a Haida family. Each family had in addition the use of certain names,—personal names, house-names, canoe-names, even names of salmon-traps and spoons. A first-born son might be called by the name of the mother's eldest brother, and the second-born by the name of the mother's second brother, or by one of the additional names of the first. But a large proportion of Haida personal names were based on the belief in the transmigration of souls. This belief was general among the Haidas: they thought that the soul of a dead ancestor was often reborn in the person of one of his descendants, and whenever this was supposed to have happened, the newborn child naturally received the name of the ancestor or ancestress who had come to life again in him or her. The medicine-men or shamans professed to learn in a dream or a vision the name of the person who had just been reincarnated, and the infant was named accordingly. To this imaginary power of detecting the dead among the living the Haida medicine-men owed a large part of the influence which they exercised over the people. It was believed that a man was always reborn into his own clan and generally into his own family. Thus a Raven man always came to life again as a Raven, never as an Eagle; and similarly, however often an Eagle man might die and be reborn, at each reincarnation he would still be an Eagle to the end of time. From this it follows that no man could be reborn in his own son, since

Family names of the Haidas.

Many personal names among the Haidas are based on the theory of transmigration: a person bears the name of the dead ancestor, often the paternal grandfather, of whom he is supposed to be a reincarnation.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 130, with Plate V. 3; G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*, 1878, p. 148 B.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 131, with Plate VIII. 1.

in virtue of the laws of exogamy and female descent the son of a Raven man was never a Raven, but always an Eagle, and similarly the son of an Eagle man was never an Eagle, but always a Raven. But while a man could not be reborn in his son he might be reborn in his grandson, since the grandson always belonged to his paternal grandfather's clan, though not to his father's. For example, a Raven man had an Eagle son, and the Eagle son had a Raven son, so that on the Haida principles of descent and transmigration the Raven grandfather might be reborn in the person of his Raven grandson. This may explain why among the Haidas, whenever the name of the reborn ancestor was not revealed by the medicine-man, a newborn male child received the name of his paternal grandfather, provided that the grandfather belonged, as he often did, to the same family as his grandson. But if the grandfather was of a different family, his name could not ordinarily be employed; and in that case the grandson would have to receive a name from one of his great-uncles or from some other male member of the family. A girl also received her name from her paternal grandfather's kin.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Haida custom and belief in this matter may throw light on the practice of naming sons after their paternal grandfathers which has prevailed elsewhere. For example, among the ancient Greeks the custom was to name the first-born son after his paternal grandfather; it was rare to name him after his own father.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that this Greek practice points back to a theory of reincarnation combined with a system of exogamy and mother-kin, which ensured that a man should always belong to his grandfather's clan but never to that of his father. To say nothing of Pythagoras's doctrine of transmigration, there are some independent grounds for thinking that

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 117 sq.; G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1873*, pp. 122 B, 131 B.

<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes xxxix. 27, xliii. 74; Plato, *Laches*, p. 179 A; Isaeus, ii. 36. The passages of Demosthenes and Plato are quoted by my friend Mr. W.

Wyse in his learned commentary on Isaeus, ii. 36 and iii. 30. See further Hermann - Blümner, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Privatalterthümer*, p. 284; W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Third Edition, ii. 233; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités, grecques et romaines*, 5.7. 'Nomen,' vii. 88 sq.

not father's name  
The belief may explain a similar nomenclature of the ancient Greeks.

the ancient Greeks believed in the reincarnation of the dead.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the social obligations which members of the same totemic clan lay under to each other Dr. Dawson tells us that "an Indian on arriving at a strange village, where he may apprehend hostility, would look for a house indicated by its carved post as belonging to his totem, and make for it. The master of the house coming out, may if he likes make a dance in honour of his visitor, but in any case protects him from all injury. In the same way, should an Indian be captured as a slave by some warlike expedition, and brought into the village of his captors, it behoves any one of his totem, either man or woman, to present themselves to the captors, and singing a certain sacred song, offer to redeem the captive. Blankets and other property are given for this purpose. Should the slave be given up, the redeemer sends him back to his tribe, and the relatives pay the redeemer for what he has expended. Should the captors refuse to give up the slave for the property offered, it is considered rather disgraceful to them. This at least is the custom pursued in regard to captives included in the same totem system as themselves by the Tsimshians, and it is doubtless identical or very similar among the Haidas, though no special information on this subject was obtained from them."<sup>2</sup>

Social obligations incumbent on members of the same totemic clan in respect of each other.

As the Haidas intermarry with neighbouring Indian tribes who have similar, though not identical, systems of totemism and exogamy, it is necessary for the purpose of such intertribal marriages to determine the equivalence of the various totemic clans in the different tribes. On this subject we are told that "theoretically a man of the Raven clan was reckoned in that clan, wherever he might go ; and the Ravens among whom he settled were his uncles, elder and younger brothers, sisters and nephews. This would be as true at Sitka or in the Chilkat country, or, for that matter, in Florida, as on the Queen Charlotte Islands ; but

In marrying members of other tribes the Haidas have regard to the totems.

<sup>1</sup> See F. B. Jevons, "Greek Law and Folk Lore," *Classical Review*, ix. (1895) pp. 248 sq.; J. E. King, "Infant Burial," *ibid.* xvii. (1903) pp. 83 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878*, p. 134 D.

it so happens that the crests of the Raven clan agree with those of the Bear and Wolf clans among the Tsimshian, while the crests of the Eagle clan agree with those of the Raven and Eagle clans among the latter people; and, since crests are considered much more important than the mere name of the clan, each Haida clan considers the two Tsimshian clans bearing its crests its 'friends.' . . . The important point is, however, that a Haida marrying into another tribe always avoids a certain clan among them, the members of which, for one reason or another, he considers his 'friends.'"<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Dr. Boas tells us that "any Haida who has the raven among his emblems, when marrying a Tlingit, is considered a member of the Raven phratry, and *vice versa*, the emblems always deciding to which phratry an individual is to be reckoned."<sup>2</sup> The following table exhibits the equivalence of the exogamous divisions (clans or phratries) and crests among the Haidas, Tlingits, Tsimshians, and Bella Bellas, so far as that equivalence has been determined by Mr. J. R. Swanton:—<sup>3</sup>

Haida.	Tlingit.	Tsimshian.	Bella Bella.
Raven = Wolf	(Eagle) = Wolf and Bear	= Eagle and Killer-Whale	
Eagle = Raven		= Raven and Eagle = Raven	

It is curious that the Ravens of the Haidas should be equated to the Eagles of the Tlingits and Bella Bellas, while conversely the Eagles of the Haidas are equated to the Ravens of the Tlingits, Tsimshians, and Bella Bellas. The reason of the anomaly is apparently unknown.

Though each of the two Haida clans, the Raven and the Eagle, was subdivided into many families, yet all these subdivisions were considered to have had a common origin, and the distinction between the two clans is said to be absolute in every respect. The clans have no governmental functions: their significance is restricted to matters pertaining to marriage and descent. When a man died, the members of his wife's clan, not of his own, conducted the funeral; and when his successor made a *potlatch*, that is, a

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 65 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 27 (*Report of the British*

*Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 112 sq.

Equival-  
ence of  
the totemic  
clans in the  
various  
tribes.

Relations  
of the  
Haida  
clans and  
families to  
each other.

feast accompanied by a distribution of property, to set up the grave-post, he invited them to it. At other potlatches he only gave property to members of his own clan.

Families of the same clan were also more apt to go to war together than those of opposite clans. The fundamental

unit of Haida society was the family, and the family chief was the highest functionary. Generally the chief of the

Haida  
chiefs of  
families,  
towns, and  
households.

family was also chief of the town, but the larger places were usually inhabited by several families belonging to both the

clans. In such places the town chief ranked first socially among the family chiefs; he sat in the highest place, directly in front of the inside house-pole at feasts, and properly had his house in the middle of the town. His

reputation was increased by the presence of other families, and his power in war generally rose correspondingly, especially if the families were related to his. Further, every

family was subdivided into households, each of which was governed by its own chief. The house chief's power was

almost absolute, being only limited by the other chiefs and the barriers raised by custom. He could call his nephews together to make war, and as he fitted out the expedition, nearly all the slaves and other booty acquired in the war

went to him. His influence with the other house chiefs varied with the amount of his property; and the power of family chiefs living in a town belonging to another family

depended largely on the number and wealth of their people. Success in amassing property generally governed the selection

of a new chief of the town, of the family, and of the house.

Their  
mode of  
succession  
and  
election.

The successor might be the own brother, own nephew, or a more distant relation of his predecessor. So far as any choice was exercised, it appears to have rested, in the case

of a family or town chief, with the house chiefs, while the sentiments of a household probably had weight in deciding between claimants to the position of house chief. A chief's

household was made up of the persons of his own immediate family who had no places for themselves, his nephews, his retainers or servants, and his slaves. A man's sister's sons

were his right-hand men. They, or at least one of them, came to live with him in their youth, were trained by him, and spoke or acted for him in all social matters. The one

who was expected to succeed him often married his daughter. And on succeeding to the chieftainship a man often wedded one of the wives of his predecessor, the other wives, if there were others, returning to their families with liberty to marry again.<sup>1</sup>

Dawson on the rules of succession to a Haida chieftaincy.

Dr. Dawson's account of the rules of succession to a Haida chieftainship agrees substantially with the foregoing, though he does not distinguish between the three grades of chiefs—the town chief, the family chief, and the house chief. He says: "The chieftaincy is hereditary, and on the death of a chief devolves upon his next eldest brother, or should he have no brother, on his nephew, or lacking both of these his sister or niece may in rare cases inherit the chieftaincy, though when this occurs it is probably only nominal. It is possible—as occasionally happens in the matter of succession to property—that a distant male relative may, in want of near kinsmen, be adopted by the mother of the deceased as a new son, and may inherit the chieftaincy. I have not, however, heard of cases of this kind. Should all these means of filling the succession fail, a new chief is then either elevated by the consensus of public opinion, or the most opulent and ambitious native attains the position by making a *potlatch*, or giving away of property, greater than any of the rest can afford. Should one man distribute ten blankets, the next may dispose of twenty, the first tries to cap this by a second distribution, and so on till the means of all but one have been exhausted. This form may in reality become a species of election, for should there be a strong feeling in favour of any particular man, his friends may secretly reinforce his means till he carries his point. In no case, however, does the chieftaincy pass from the royal clan to any of the lesser men of the tribe."<sup>2</sup>

In these accounts of election to a chieftaincy it is

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 66, 68-70. "When he came to grow up, the boy ceased to stay with his mother. There he was thought to have too easy a time, and became an object of contempt. He was generally sent to live with the uncle to whose place he was to succeed. There he was put

through a rather severe discipline, being kept at work out in the cold, etc." (J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 50). This account applies to nephews (the sons of sisters) in general, not to the nephews of chiefs only.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878*, p. 119 B.

interesting to observe the importance of private property in determining political power. Within certain limits the richest man is elevated to the highest position in the social group, whether that group is the household, the family, or the town; the rank of chief is put up to something like auction. Democracy among the Haidas is, or rather was, developing into a plutocracy. Here as in other political institutions of the Indians we seem to detect the germs of the corresponding institutions which their successors in North America have either already set up or to which, for good or evil, they appear to be gravitating.<sup>1</sup> With the Red Man of the North-West the blanket, his unit of currency, appears to be as omnipotent as the dollar with his white brother: by blankets a man acquires the respect and admiration of his fellows; by blankets he rises in the social scale; by blankets he attains to the highest position of power and influence in the community. And if in the old days in addition to blankets he possessed scalps which he had personally abstracted from the heads of a number of his fellow creatures, his claims to nobility were placed beyond a shadow of dispute; he stood on a pedestal of glory from which nothing but the loss of his blankets and scalps could possibly deject him. Things are changed nowadays, scalps and homicide have ceased to furnish a clear title of nobility, which is now based on blankets alone; it is no longer necessary that a nobleman should be stronger and more bloodthirsty than his fellows, but it is absolutely essential that he should have more blankets. To the acquisition of blankets, accordingly, the minds of the rising generation are trained from the dawn of intelligence; and to the acquisition of blankets the mature energies of the adult are directed with a single-minded devotion worthy of a better cause. Nor is the rivalry in this great race for blankets confined to individuals only; it is shared by whole clans, which are perpetually pitted against each other in their endeavour to surpass their rivals in the degree of their nobility, to crush or, to use their own expression, to flatten them under the weight of blankets. "Formerly," we are told, "feats of bravery counted as well as distributions of property, but

Importance of private property in determining political power among these Indians.

Power of the blanket, the Haida unit of currency.

The race for blankets.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 156.

nowadays, as the Indians say, 'rivals fight with property only.'"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lest I should be thought to exaggerate the plutocratic tendency of society among these Indians, I will quote some of my authorities. Speaking of the Indians of British Columbia and Vancouver Island more than forty years ago a writer tells us that "the natives judge of rank by two tests in particular—the number of scalps and slaves taken in battle, and the amount of property accumulated. The latter symbol of power is eagerly coveted by them; and as blankets have come generally to be the chief representation of wealth, these are accumulated against the recurrence of the feasts of the tribe, when an opportunity is afforded of displaying the extent of individual resources" (Matthew Macfie, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, London, 1865, p. 429). Speaking of the same Indians in later times Dr. Franz Boas, one of the best living authorities on the subject, says: "Before proceeding any further it will be necessary to describe the method of acquiring rank. This is done by means of the *potlatch*, or the distribution of property. This custom has been described often, but it has been thoroughly misunderstood by most observers. The underlying principle is that of the interest-bearing investment of property. . . . The unit of value is the single blanket, now-a-days a cheap white woolen blanket, which is valued at 50 cents. The double blanket is valued at three single blankets. These blankets form the means of exchange of the Indians, and everything is paid for in blankets or in objects the value of which is measured by blankets. . . . Possession of wealth is considered honorable, and it is the endeavour of each Indian to acquire a fortune. But it is not as much the possession of wealth as the ability to give great festivals which makes wealth a desirable object to the Indian. As the boy acquires his second name and man's estate by means of a distribution of property, which in course of time will revert to him with interest, the man's name acquires greater weight in

the councils of the tribe and greater renown among the whole people, as he is able to distribute more and more property at each subsequent festival. Therefore boys and men are vying with each other in the arrangement of great distributions of property. Boys of different clans are pitted against each other by their elders, and each is exhorted to do his utmost to outdo his rival. And as the boys strive against each other, so do the chiefs and the whole clans, and the one object of the Indian is to outdo his rival. Formerly feats of bravery counted as well as distributions of property, but nowadays, as the Indians say, 'rivals fight with property only.' The clans are thus perpetually pitted against each other according to their rank. . . . I referred several times to the distribution of blankets. The recipient in such a distribution is not at liberty to refuse the gift, although according to what I have said it is nothing but an interest-bearing loan that must be refunded at some future time with 100 per cent interest. This festival is called *pasa*, literally, flattening something (for instance, a basket). This means that by the amount of property given the name of the rival is flattened." Thus the appearance of generosity displayed by the lavish distribution of property on these occasions is deceptive: the transaction, if Dr. Boas is right, springs from the most sordid motives, it is nothing but the lending of money, or the equivalent of money, on the most usurious and exorbitant interest. See Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 341-343. Although Dr. Boas is here dealing with the Kwakiutl in particular, his remarks appear to be applicable generally to the coast tribes of British Columbia. In one respect these savages are, from the purely economic point of view, even more advanced than ourselves; for with us

The succession to property, like the succession to chieftainship, runs among the Haidas in the female line. Succession to property among the Haidas is in the female line.

"The brother of the deceased inherits his property, or should there be no brother, a nephew, or the sister, or, failing all these, the mother. Occasionally some distant male relative may be adopted as a new son by the mother, and be made heir to the property. The wife may in some cases get a small share. As soon as the body has been enclosed in the coffin-box, and not before, the brother or other heir takes possession. When it can be amicably arranged, he also inherits the wife of the dead man, but should he be already married, the nephew or other relative on whom the succession would next devolve is supposed to marry the relict. Should there be no relative to marry her, she may be married again to any other man."<sup>1</sup>

The levirate.

A chief might marry as many women as he chose ; three or four were not uncommon, and there is a tradition of a chief who had ten ; but polygamy does not seem to have been very frequent.<sup>2</sup> The common rule of avoidance between a man and his wife's parents was observed also by the Haidas. A man was bashful before his father-in-law and mother-in-law, and they were bashful before him ; that is, they never addressed each other directly, if they could avoid it.<sup>3</sup>

Polygamy.

Mutual bashfulness of a man and his wife's parents.

The Haidas, like so many other Indian tribes of North America, possess the classificatory system of relationship. In the generation above his own a man calls all the men of his father's clan "fathers," but all the men of his mother's clan he calls "uncles" ; and he calls all the women of his mother's clan "mothers." In his own generation he calls all the men of his own clan who are older than himself "elder brothers" ; and all the men of his own clan who are younger than himself he calls "younger brothers" ; all the women of his own generation and clan he calls his "sisters," but all

The classificatory system of relationship among the Haidas.

no man is as yet obliged by law to swell the bloated fortune of a usurer by accepting his loan at ruinous interest whenever he chooses to offer it. On blankets as the means of paving, or rather carpeting, the way to political power among the Haidas, see also G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen*

*Charlotte Islands, 1878*, p. 126 B.

<sup>1</sup> G. M. Dawson, *op. cit.* pp. 133 B sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 130 B ; J. R. Swanton *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 51.

the women of his own generation of the other clan before marriage he calls "cousins." In the generation below his own a man calls all the men and women of the other clan "children," and the women he calls also "daughters." A woman uses corresponding terms in speaking of members of her own and of the other clan. All the men of her father's generation and clan are her "fathers"; all the women of her mother's generation and clan are her "mothers"; all the women of her own generation and clan who are older than herself are her "elder sisters," and all the women of her own generation and clan who are younger than herself are her "younger sisters"; all the men of her own generation and clan are her "brothers"; and all the men and women of the generation below her own and of her own clan are her "children."<sup>1</sup>

#### § 4. *Totemism among the Tsimshians*

The Tsimshians.

The Tsimshians or Chimmesyans are a small stock of Indians speaking a language of their own, who inhabit the coast of the mainland of British Columbia from the Nass River on the north to Millbank Sound on the south. The valley of the Skeena River is included in their territory. In their social system, habits, and art they are closely allied to their neighbours on the north and west, the Tlingits and the Haidas, with whom they live on terms of friendly intercourse. Like the other coast tribes they subsist mainly on the produce of the sea and the rivers. The annual runs of salmon on the Skeena River and of oolachen or candle-fish on the Nass River furnish them with an abundance of provisions at certain seasons. Oolachen are a great source of revenue to the Niska, the subdivision of the Tsimshians who inhabit the valley of the Nass River; for the oil of this fish is in great demand all along the coast and is indispensable for the great winter *potlatches*. Bears, mountain goats, and other wild animals are hunted, especially by the tribes of the interior. The horns of mountain goats are carved into handles for spoons used at feasts and *potlatches*, and are sold to other tribes for the same purpose. Although they are

Tsimshian fisheries.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 62 sqq.

good carvers and builders of canoes, the Tsimshians are surpassed in these arts by the Haidas, from whom they still purchase canoes. Their houses are large square structures, solidly built of heavy cedar beams and planks and capable of accommodating from twenty to thirty people. Each house is, or was, presided over by a house chief, while every family and every town had a superior chief; under him were the members of his household, his more distant clan relations, and the servants and slaves. The Tsimshians or Chimmesyans fall into three main divisions, namely, the Tsimshians of the lower Skeena River, the Gitksans or Kitksans of the upper Skeena River, and the Niskas of the Nass River. The dialects of these three divisions differ somewhat, but their customs and institutions are practically identical; at least this is true of the Tsimshians of the lower Skeena and the Niskas of the Nass. Accordingly the following account may be taken to apply to both these divisions and probably to the whole of the Tsimshian stock.<sup>1</sup>

Houses of the Tsimshians.

Three main divisions of the Tsimshians.

The Tsimshians are divided into four exogamous clans, the Raven (*Kanhada*), the Eagle (*Laqskiyek*), the Wolf (*Laqkyebo*), and the Bear (*Gyispawaduweda*). Descent is reckoned in the female line; that is, children belong to the clan of their mother, not to the clan of their father. If he is a Raven and she is an Eagle, the children are Eagles; if he is a Wolf and she is a Bear, the children are Bears. And so on. Of these clans, the Bear is the most numerous, and it is also considered the noblest, because it derives its origin from Heaven, which, as we shall see, plays a great part in Tsimshian religion. The clans reside together in the villages, though members of all four clans are not necessarily found in every village. But in each village the houses of members of the same clan are grouped together.

Exogamous clans of the Tsimshians.

<sup>1</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 270 sq.; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 317-320; Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 27-29 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the*

*North Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 48 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint); *id.* in *Eleventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 11-13 (*Report of the British Association*, Liverpool, 1896, separate reprint).

Each clan has its own crests or emblems, of which the following is a partial list :—

TSIMSHIAN CLANS AND CRESTS

Clan.	Crests.
Raven . . . .	Raven, codfish, starfish.
Eagle . . . .	Eagle, halibut, beaver, whale.
Wolf . . . .	Wolf, crane, grizzly bear.
Bear . . . .	Killer-whale ( <i>Delphinus orca</i> ), sun, moon, stars, rainbow, grouse, <i>tsemaks</i> (a sea-monster).

Thus every clan, except the Bear, has among its crests the animal after which it is named.

The personal names of each Tsimshian clan have reference not to the person's own totem (which he takes from his mother), but to his father's totem.

Each clan has also its own proper names, which are different for chiefs and for middle-class people. For the Tsimshians, like the other Indian tribes of North-West America, are divided into sharply-marked social ranks or classes, namely, common people, middle-class people, and chiefs. Common people are those who have not yet been initiated into a secret society; by being so initiated they become middle-class people or nobles, as the class is sometimes called; but they can never become chiefs, who form a distinct class. Curiously enough, though children take their clan from their mother, their clan names refer to their father's crest or totem, not to their mother's. Thus the son of a Raven man and an Eagle woman may be called (Raven)-having-no-nest; the daughter of a Raven man and a Bear woman may be called (Raven)-flying-in-front-of-the-house-early-in-the-morning; indeed the eldest daughter of such a marriage always bears this sonorous name, though in common life it is abridged from *Seopgyibayuk* into *Bayuk*. Again, the daughter of an Eagle man and a Raven woman may be called (Eagle)-sitting-on-the-ice or On-a-whale, the reference in either case being to the father's crest, since the whale as well as the eagle is a crest of the Eagle clan. The daughter of an Eagle man and a Wolf woman may be called Eagle-having-one-colour-of-wings. The daughter of a Bear man and an Eagle woman may be called Great-noise (of killer-

whale) or Great-fin (of killer-whale), the reference in both cases being to the killer-whale, which is a crest of the father's Bear clan.<sup>1</sup> Why with maternal descent of the clan the personal names should refer to the paternal crests is not plain; perhaps the custom of naming children after their father's crest marks an attempt to shift descent from the maternal to the paternal line, or at least to strengthen the ties between a father and his children.

Perhaps the custom marks a transition from maternal to paternal descent.

The following account of the system of crests or totems, given by Commander R. C. Mayne, in his book on British Columbia and Vancouver Island, while it is couched in general terms, perhaps applies specially to the Tsimshians; for it incorporates the evidence of Mr. William Duncan, of the Church Missionary Society, who laboured successfully as a missionary among the Tsimshians at Fort Simpson from the year 1857 onwards. The information conveyed in this account is particularly valuable, because it refers to a time when the Indians of British Columbia were still comparatively little affected by white influence, and when, moreover, the importance of totemism in the early history of society was not yet recognised by civilised men, so that their observations on the subject were unbiassed by theories and prepossessions. Commander Mayne's account runs thus:—<sup>2</sup>

Mayne's account of the crests or totems of the Indians of British Columbia.

"I have previously had occasion to refer to the fashion among the Indians of carving the faces of animals upon the ends of the large beams which support the roofs of their permanent lodges. In addition, it is very usual to find representations of the same animals painted over the front of the lodge. These crests, which are commonly adopted by all the tribes, consist of the whale, porpoise, eagle, raven, wolf, and frog, etc. In connexion with them are some curious and interesting traits of the domestic and social life

The crests carved and painted.

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 27 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 48-50 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint); *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 271.

<sup>2</sup> Commander R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London, 1862), pp. 257 sq. As to Mr. William Duncan's work among the Tsimshians at Port Simpson, see *ibid.* pp. 305 sqq. Commander Mayne incorporates in his book much valuable information furnished to him by Mr. Duncan. See particularly *ibid.* pp. 249 sq., 254 sq., 263 sqq., 284 sqq.

Persons of the same crest may not marry each other. of the Indians. The relationship between persons of the same crest is considered to be nearer than that of the same tribe ; members of the same tribe may, and do, marry—but those of the same crest are not, I believe, under any circumstances allowed to do so. A Whale, therefore, may not marry a Whale, nor a Frog a Frog. The child again always takes the crest of the mother ; so that if the mother be a Wolf, all her children will be Wolves. As a rule also, descent is traced from the mother, not from the father.

The Indians will not kill their crest animals.

“ At their feasts they never invite any of the same crest as themselves : feasts are given generally for the cementing of friendship or allaying of strife, and it is supposed that people of the same crest cannot quarrel ; but I fear this supposition is not always supported by fact. Mr. Duncan, who has considerable knowledge of their social habits, says that the Indian will never kill the animal which he has adopted for his crest, or which belongs to him as his birth-right. If he sees another do it he will hide his face in shame, and afterwards demand compensation for the act.

Presents must be made to a person whenever he exhibits his crest.

The offence is not killing the animal, but doing so before one whose crest it is. They display these crests in other ways besides those I have mentioned, viz. by carving or painting them on their paddles or canoes, by the arrangement of the buttons on their blankets, or by large figures in front of their houses or their tombs. They have another whimsical custom in connexion with these insignia : whenever or wherever an Indian chooses to exhibit his crest, all individuals bearing the same family-figure are bound to do honour to it by casting property before it, in quantities proportionate to the rank and wealth of the giver. A mischievous or poor Indian, therefore, desiring to profit by this social custom, paints his crest upon his forehead, and looks out for an opportunity of meeting a wealthy person of the same family-crest as himself. Upon his approach he advances to meet him, and when near enough displays his crest to the unsuspecting victim ; and, however disgusted the latter may be, he has no choice but to make the customary offering of property of some sort or other.”

In this account of the Indian crests we find almost all the characteristic features of typical totemism, namely, clans

taking their names from animals, using the likenesses of the animals as their badges, refusing to kill the animals after which they are named, or to marry women who have the same animal name and badge as themselves, and, finally, transmitting the name, the badge, and the attendant prohibitions in the female line from the mother, not from the father, to the children. Yet the writer does not use the words totem and totemism, probably because writing in 1862 he had not heard of them. This example should serve as a warning against hastily inferring the absence of the thing from the absence of the word.<sup>1</sup> Certainly the Indians with whom we are dealing do not use the word totem, but they have the institution in a form identical with that in which it occurs among the most typically totemic tribes of North America.

This is typical totemism ; yet the writer who describes it does not employ the words totem and totemism.

The statement made on Mr. Duncan's authority that the Indians will never kill the animals which serve as their crests is particularly important in its bearing on the question of the relation in which a man stands to his totem animal. So far as I remember, no other writer on these North-Western Indians has mentioned their reluctance to kill their totemic animals. In the course of this work I have repeatedly called attention to the paucity of evidence on this important side of totemism in the writings of American ethnologists. Unfortunately it is not quite clear whether in the passage quoted Mr. Duncan refers to the clan totem or to the individual totem, that is, to the *manitoo* ; but apparently Commander Mayne understood him to refer to what we should now call the clan totem, for throughout the rest of the passage he speaks of the crest as if it were the badge of a family, and of an exogamous family, in other words, as if it were a clan totem. If this interpretation of Mr. Duncan's statement is correct, it would seem to follow that the respect for the clan totem which he describes has either disappeared since his time or, what is perhaps more probable, has been overlooked or deemed unworthy of mention by later writers.

The reluctance to kill the totemic animals seems not to be mentioned by later writers.

~~"In all festivals,"~~ says Dr. Boas, speaking of the Niskas, ~~"the totems of the clan play an important part.~~ Carvings representing the totem are worn as masks or head-dresses ;

Artificial representations of the totems on houses, poles, etc.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 151, note <sup>1</sup>.

Dances  
dramatic-  
ally repre-  
senting the  
myths.

Dance  
of the  
thunder-  
bird.

Dance of  
the owl.

they are painted or carved on houses and utensils, and on memorial columns and totem poles. In all initiations an artificial totem animal brings back the novice.”<sup>1</sup> Some of the dances are dramatic representations of myths. In one ceremony, for example, the mythical thunder-bird is personated by a man dressed in eagle feathers and wearing the mask of the thunder-bird, while mock lightning flashes, mock thunder rolls, and the spectators are drenched with real water thrown on them from the roof. This drama is accompanied by a chorus of women who sing the myth which is being acted by the performers.<sup>2</sup> Again, the Bear clan possesses a mask representing an owl surrounded by many small human heads. This mask is worn at *potlatches* to commemorate the sad story of a woman who was carried off by an owl. He took her away to the top of a tree and there she was heard by her people to weep. They tried to save her, but could not climb the tree. After a time she dried her tears and married the owl. They had a son. When he grew up, the mother told the father owl that she wished to send her son home to her own people. Then his father composed a song for him. His mother told him to carve a head-dress in the shape of an owl, which he was to wear when he danced and to sing the song composed for him by his father the owl. She bade her son good-bye and said that her husband was about to carry her away to a land far off. But the owl first brought her and her son to the house of the old chief her father. When the chief's wife saw the unknown boy, she was afraid; but her daughter spoke to her and said that the boy was her grandson. So the old woman took the boy into her house, while the boy's mother and the owl disappeared. When the boy was grown up, his mother's brother gave a *potlatch* in his honour; and before the blankets were distributed, the boy danced, wearing the head-dress of the owl and singing the song which his father the owl had composed for him.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 50 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint). As to the ceremonies of initiation into the secret societies

see below, pp. 538 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, *op. cit.* p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Franz Boas, *op. cit.* p. 51 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint); *id.* “The Social Organization and the Secret

The Bear clan of the Tsimshians also tell the following tale to explain why they use the crest of the bear. Once upon a time an Indian went out to hunt the mountain-goat. Far away in the mountains he met a black bear, who took him to his home, and taught him how to catch salmon and build canoes. For two whole years the man staid with the bear; then he returned to his own village. But when he came there, all the people were afraid of him because he looked just like a bear. However, one man bolder than the rest caught him and brought him into the house. At first the bear-like man could not speak nor eat anything but raw food. But they rubbed him with magic herbs, and gradually he was retransformed into the shape of a man. After that, whenever he was in want, he called his friend the bear, who came to his help. In winter, when the rivers were frozen and nobody else could fish, he alone caught fresh salmon. He built a house and painted the likeness of a bear on the front of it. His sister, too, wove the image of a bear on a blanket to be used in the dance. Therefore the descendants of the bear-man's sister use the bear for their crest to this day.<sup>1</sup>

Legend of the Bear clan to explain their bear crest.

Again, the Whale clan among the Tsimshians tell the following story to explain why they use the whale crest. Once upon a time a man went out fishing. For three days he fished and caught nothing. Then he cast anchor at a place where a steep hill descended into the water. It so happened that his anchor fell on the house of the whale, who drew the man and his boat to the bottom of the sea. For two whole years the man staid with the whale at the bottom of the sea, and the two years seemed to him like two days. The whale taught him the whale dance and how to ornament his house with the pattern of a whale. When the two years were up, the man rose to the top of the water and returned home, all covered with seaweed. There he

Legend of the Whale clan to explain their whale crest.

Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 324 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 24 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne,

1889, separate reprint); *id.*, *Indianische Sagen von der nord-pacifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), p. 293; *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 323.

built a house and painted a whale on the front of it. Also he used the mask and the blanket of the whale when he danced. So the descendants of his sisters have used the whale crest ever since.<sup>1</sup>

Legend of the Raven clan to explain their sea-monster crest.

Again, members of the Raven clan among the Tsimshians tell the following story to explain why they carve sea-monsters as their crests on their heraldic columns or totem-poles. There was a great chief who, like the man of the Whale clan, had been taken to the bottom of the sea. Once upon a time he invited the chiefs of the whole earth to a great feast which was to be held at Nass River. All the monsters of the coast came, using killer-whales (*Delphinus orca*) for their boats. So numerous were they that the river swarmed with them. They landed and entered the chief's house, each clad in his peculiar dress, and whenever one of them opened the door, water flowed in after him. Some of these monsters were very dangerous and used to kill everybody who passed by their houses. They all sat down in order in the chief's house, the most dangerous taking their seats at the rear and the less dangerous round the platform nearer the door; and they all kindly promised not to kill people any more, and when they returned home they were as good as their word, for they removed their houses from the track of canoes plying between the villages. So the chief imitated the dresses of the sea-monsters who had been his guests; and he wore these dresses himself, and his descendants carve the sea-monsters on their columns down to this day.<sup>2</sup>

The Tsimshians and other northern Indians explain the origin of their totems by stories of the encounter of their

These Tsimshian legends of the acquisition of crests are typical of the stories told by all the northern Indians—the Tlingits, the Haidas, and the Tsimshians—to explain the origin of their crests. Such stories normally relate how an ancestor of the clan fell in with a beast or fish or bird, who became his helper and whose likeness accordingly the man's descendants in the female line have ever since used as their crest. But it is to be observed that they never, or hardly ever, claim to be descended from the animal, fish,

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 24 (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint*).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, *l.c.*

or bird in question: according to tradition the creature which they use as their crest was the friend and protector, not the progenitor, of their ancestor. Thus these legends of the acquisition of clan crests or totems remind us strongly of the mode in which the eastern Indians of North America acquired their *manitoos* or individual totems, as I have called them.<sup>1</sup> The resemblance between the myths of the North-Western Indians and the practice of the eastern Indians of North America has been justly pointed out and emphasised by Dr. Boas. "There are a great many cases," he observes, "among the northern tribes in which the crest was acquired by an ancestor of the family in the same way as Indians of the plains acquire a *manitou*. It is told how a man went out into the wilderness, and in the course of events met a supernatural being or animal, which henceforth became his protector. The difference between the north-west coast traditions and those of the plains consists in the fact that the animal once acquired was transmitted by the ancestor to his sister's children. There is hardly a case of traditions in which the family claims direct descent from the crest animal."<sup>2</sup> On the ground of this resemblance Dr. Boas inclines to believe that the clan totems of the North-Western tribes originated in the same way as the individual or personal totems (*manitoos*) of the eastern tribes; in other words, that they were all originally the guardians or patrons of individuals, who transmitted them to their descendants in the female line.<sup>3</sup> We shall return to this question later on.

ancestor with an animal of the totemic species; they do not trace their descent from the animal. Thus the mode in which the totems were acquired resembles the mode of acquisition of a *manitou* or guardian-spirit among the eastern Indians.

Among the Tsimshian and other Indian tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia great importance is attached to the possession of the clan legends, of which

Great importance is attached to the possession of the clan legends.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 49 *sqq.*, and below, pp. 372 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 241. Compare *id.* in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 23, 24 *sq.* (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint*); *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on*

*the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 674 *sq.* (*Report of the British Association, Bristol, 1898*); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 323 *sq.*, 336-338, 393.

<sup>3</sup> See the references in the preceding note.

a few specimens have just been given. Indeed the legend is deemed one of the most valuable properties and highest prerogatives of each clan or family; it is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and if any person attempts to tell a tradition which does not belong to his clan, he commits one of the gravest offences against the rights of property which are recognised in the Indian code of morality.<sup>1</sup>

Tsimshian  
burial  
customs.

Among the Tsimshians a burial is attended by members of the clan of the father of the deceased, who are paid for their services. They double the body up, place it in a box, and burn it on a pyre; with the body they also burn food and clothing for the use of the deceased. Men and women sit round the blazing pyre and sing all the cradle songs of the clan which are contained in their legends. The remains are then deposited in a small box and placed on a tree.<sup>2</sup>

Reported  
worship of  
Heaven  
among the  
Tsimshians.

Apart from their totemism the Tsimshians are reported to practise a pure worship of heaven. In their opinion Heaven is the great deity, but he has a number of subordinates or mediators called *neqnoq*. While any natural object can be a *neqnoq*, the most important are the sun and moon, spirits appearing in the form of lightning-flashes, and animals. *Neqnoq* means anything mysterious. It is the supernatural will of the deity and also the whistle which is used in the dances and is kept a profound secret. Heaven rules the destinies of mankind; Heaven taught men to distinguish between good and bad, and gave them their religious laws and institutions. Heaven is worshipped by offerings and prayers; the smoke rising from fires is especially agreeable to him. Murderers, adulterers, and those who behave foolishly, talking to no purpose and making a noise at night, are particularly hateful to him. He loves those who take pity upon the poor, who do not try to become rich by selling at high prices what others want. Men make themselves agreeable to the deity by

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, p. 123 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, 1898).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 52 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

cleanliness. Therefore they must bathe and wash their whole bodies before praying. For the same reason they take an emetic when they wish to please the deity well. They fast and abstain from their wives if they desire their prayers to be successful, and they offer by fire whatever they deem valuable, such as eagle-down, red paint, red cedar-bark, lines made of elk-skin, and so forth. However, they think that they can compel the deity to grant their wishes by observing a rigid fast. For seven days they must abstain from food and from seeing their wives. During these days they have to lie in bed motionless. At the expiry of the time they may rise, wash themselves, comb the right side of their head, and paint the right side of their face.<sup>1</sup>

This curious worship of Heaven deserves to be further investigated. It may have been coloured by the influence of the missionaries who laboured for years among these Indians. Mr. William Duncan, of the Church Missionary Society, took up residence among the Tsimshians at Fort Simpson in 1857 and established a school which was attended by many pupils both old and young. In November 1859 he reported that "there is amongst the Indians a great stir of opinion against their heathenish winter-customs, and four of the tribes out of nine have, indeed, cut them off. Those tribes which still adhere to them are carrying them on exceedingly feebly"; and about a year later in an examination held at Victoria pupils drawn from the Tsimshians, Haidas, and Songhies displayed some knowledge of Bible history.<sup>2</sup> From them the knowledge might easily spread to their heathen brethren and so modify their ancient customs and beliefs.

This worship of Heaven may be coloured by missionary influence.

### § 5. Totemism among the Kwakiutl

To the south of the Tsimshians, from Gardner Channel to Cape Mudge, the coast of British Columbia, with the Kwakiutl.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 49 sq. (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889*, separate reprint).

<sup>2</sup> Commander R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver's Island*, pp. 305 sqq., especially pp. 319, 345 sq.

exception of the region about Dean Inlet, is occupied by the Kwakiutl, an Indian stock who speak a language differing from that both of their northern and of their southern neighbours. The Kwakiutl language itself falls into three dialects: the Haisla (Xaisla), the Heiltsuk, and the Kwakiutl proper, to mention them in their order from north to south. The Haisla (Xaisla) dialect is spoken on Gardner and Douglas Channels; the Heiltsuk, from Gardner Channel to Rivers Inlet; and the Kwakiutl proper, from Rivers Inlet to Cape Mudge, including the north-eastern portion of Vancouver Island.<sup>1</sup> In these three linguistic and geographical divisions of the Kwakiutl stock the types of social organisation all differ more or less from each other. We will take them in order from north to south.

Three dialects: the Haisla, Heiltsuk, and Kwakiutl proper.

Totemic clans of the Haisla-Kwakiutl.

The most northerly members of the stock, who speak the Haisla (Xaisla) dialect, are divided into six totemic and exogamous clans, which take their names and their crests from their totemic animals and are called respectively the Beaver, Eagle, Wolf, Salmon, Raven, and Killer-whale (*Delphinus orca*) clans. To the south of them the members of the stock, who speak the Heiltsuk dialect, are divided into three totemic and exogamous clans, which also take their names and their crests from their totemic animals and are called respectively the Raven, the Eagle, and the Killer-whale clans.<sup>2</sup> Together, the tribes speaking the Haisla and the Heiltsuk dialects form the northern group of the Kwakiutl. Among them descent on the whole is in the female line,

Totemic clans of the Heiltsuk-Kwakiutl.

Among the Northern Kwakiutl (Haisla and

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 320; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 744 sq. Compare F. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 31 (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889*, separate reprint); *id.* in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 674-676 (*Report of the British Association, Bristol, 1898*); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 322 sq., 328.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the*

*Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 29, 31 sq. (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889*, separate reprint); *id.* in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 52 (*Report of the British Association, Leeds, 1890*, separate reprint); *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 674-676 (*Report of the British Association, Bristol, 1898*); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 322 sq., 328.

that is, children belong to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. But this rule, though it is general, is not absolute; for in certain cases the parents are free to assign their children to the father's clan instead of to the mother's.<sup>1</sup> Thus the type of social organisation which prevails among the Northern Kwakiutl, who speak the Haisla and Heiltsuk dialects, closely resembles that of their neighbours to the north—the Tsimshians, the Haidas, and the Tlingits. All these peoples are subdivided into totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line. And the rule of exogamy is not limited to a single people, it extends to them all; a Heiltsuk man of the Eagle clan, for example, cannot marry a Tlingit woman of the Eagle phratry; for those exogamous divisions which possess the same crest or totem are regarded as equivalent to each other, whether they are found among the Heiltsuks, the Tsimshians, the Haidas, or the Tlingits.<sup>2</sup>

Heiltsuk) descent is generally in the female line.

But while the social organisation of the Northern Kwakiutl, who speak the Haisla and Heiltsuk dialects, agrees closely with that of their northern neighbours of alien stocks, it differs decidedly from that of their southern brethren of the same stock, the Kwakiutl proper, who have paternal instead of maternal descent and among whom totemic clans of the ordinary type appear to be absent. To account for this remarkable difference between two branches of the same linguistic stock, Dr. Boas supposes that the Northern Kwakiutl have borrowed both the rule of maternal descent and the division into totemic clans from their still more northerly neighbours of alien stocks; in other words,

Among the Southern Kwakiutl (the Kwakiutl proper) there are no totems, and descent is in the male line. Dr. Boas's view that the Northern Kwakiutl have

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition)*, p. 121; *id.* "The Tribes of the North Pacific Coast," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 239. So predominant is the custom of female descent among the Northern Kwakiutls that Dr. Boas formerly believed it to be invariable. The researches of Dr. Livingston Farrand, he tells us, revealed the exceptions to the rule.

*Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 32 (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889*, separate reprint): "One of the main facts is that the phratries, viz. gentes of the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Heiltsuk, are exogamous, not only among each tribe, but throughout the whole region. A member of the eagle gens of the Heiltsuk, for instance, cannot marry a member of the eagle phratry of the Tlingit. Those gentes are considered identical which have the same crest."

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the*

borrowed  
totemism  
and female  
descent  
from their  
northern  
neigh-  
bours.

that totemism and mother-kin have spread southward among a people who previously had father-kin and no totemic system.<sup>1</sup> Whatever may be thought of the hypothesis that totemism has been borrowed by one people from another, the theory that a people who once possessed paternal descent afterwards exchanged it for maternal descent would require very strong evidence in its support to make it probable, since both intrinsic probability and analogy are strongly against it. For it seems very unlikely that men who had once been accustomed to transmit their rights and privileges to their own children, should afterwards disinherit them and transmit these rights and privileges to their sisters' children instead; and in point of fact, while there are a good many symptoms of a transition from maternal to paternal

<sup>1</sup> Lest I should have misinterpreted Dr. Boas's opinion on this subject I will transcribe his own words. See Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 29 (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889*, separate reprint): "The most southern tribe which belongs to this group [the Heiltsuk] are the Awikyenog of Rivers Inlet. Further south, and among the Bilqula [Bella Coola], patriarchy prevails. The social organisation of these tribes differs fundamentally from that of the northern group. We do not find a single clan that has, properly speaking, an animal for its totem; neither do the clans take their names from their crest, nor are there phratries"; *id.* in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 52 (*Report of the British Association, Leeds, 1890*, separate reprint): "The Kwakiutl language is spoken in two main dialects, the Heiltsuk, from Gardner Channel to Rivers Inlet, and the Kwakiutl proper. . . . The tribes speaking the Heiltsuk and Gyimano-itq dialects are in the maternal stage, and are divided into gentes having animal totems; while the southern group are in the paternal stage, and are divided into gentes which have no animal-crest"; *id.*, *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 676 (*Report of the British*

*Association, Bristol, 1898*): "The northern tribes have clearly defined totems, which are inherited in the maternal line, and which have animal names and crests. . . . The northern tribes of Kwakiutl lineage show clearly that their ideas have been influenced by the animal totem of the northern tribes. They have adopted to a great extent the maternal descent and the division into animal totems of the northern tribes. The social organisation of the Heiltsuk, one of the most northern tribes of Kwakiutl lineage, is similar to that of the Tsimshian, while their southern neighbours, the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, who speak the same dialect, retain the more complex organisation of the Kwakiutl [proper]; but they have mainly maternal descent"; *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 323: "Animal totems in the proper sense of this term are confined to these five groups or tribes [the Tlingits, Haidas, Tsimshians, Haislas, and Heiltsuks]. They are not found among the Kwakiutl, although they belong to the same linguistic stock to which the Xaisla and Heiltsuk belong. The clans of the northern tribes bear the names of their respective totems and are exogamous."

descent in other parts of the world,<sup>1</sup> there is, so far as I know, none whatever of a transition in the reverse direction from paternal descent to maternal.

The social organisation of the Southern Kwakiutl differs widely from that of their northern congeners, and is both complex and peculiar. Our principal, almost our only authority on the subject is Dr. Franz Boas, and even he confesses that the subject is very difficult to understand.<sup>2</sup> Others may therefore be excused if they find it even less intelligible. Apparently the Kwakiutl proper are divided into a large number of kindred groups which Dr. Boas variously denominates as groups, clans, gentes, and families, but which for the sake of uniformity I shall call clans. These clans are not at the present day local groups, for a considerable number of them are represented in each village.<sup>3</sup> But in Dr. Boas's opinion each of these clans was originally a local group or village community. He says: "The traditions of the clans show clearly what we must consider the original unit of society among the Kwakiutl. Each clan derives its origin from a mythical ancestor, who built his house at a certain place and whose descendants lived at that place. In a great many cases these places prove to be old village sites. In some, large accumulations of shells are found, which show that they have been inhabited through long periods. We conclude, therefore, that the clan was originally a village community, which, owing to changes in number or for purposes of defense, left their old home and joined some other community, retaining, however, to a certain extent its independence."<sup>4</sup> The clans are in general exogamous, but the custom is not definitely settled, and some clans prefer to marry within their own limits. On the whole, however, marriages outside of the clan are more frequent, because men are

The social organisation of the Southern Kwakiutl is complex and obscure.

Their clans seem to have been originally local groups or village communities.

In general the clans are exogamous.

<sup>1</sup> See, for examples, above, vol. ii. pp. 15, 17, 195-197, 365, 409; vol. iii. pp. 72 sq., 80, 132, 136, 174 sq., 308 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 56 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

<sup>3</sup> F. Boas, in *Annual Archaeological*

*Report*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 240. Here Dr. Boas speaks of the kindred groups as families.

<sup>4</sup> F. Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 333 sq.

Each Kwakiutl clan has one or more crests and a legend explanatory of the crest. These legends are of two kinds.

anxious in this way to acquire the privilege of using new and important crests.<sup>1</sup> For every Kwakiutl clan possesses a crest or crests consisting of representations of beasts, birds, fabulous monsters, the sun, moon, and so forth. These crests are carved or painted on their houses, heraldic columns or totem-poles, masks, and dancing paraphernalia. Among the beasts and birds which the Kwakiutl use as crests are the bear, wolf, beaver, sea-lion, killer-whale, raven, eagle, and crane; among the fabulous monsters are the thunder-bird, a double-headed snake called *sisiul*, a wild woman with long breasts named Tsonoqoa, who lives in the woods and steals children to devour them, and the spirit of the sea called Iomoqoa, who protects seals and kills hunters. A clan may have several crests; for example, there is one that has for its crests the thunder-bird, crane, grizzly bear, raven, and sun. Each clan has its legend to explain how it came to possess a particular crest. Roughly speaking, these legends are of two kinds. In many of them an ancestor of the clan is said to have met with an animal or a supernatural being, who became his protector and whom accordingly he and his descendants adopted as their crest; in others the ancestor is said to have appeared on earth from above or below or from under the sea wearing the dress, skin, or mask of an animal or a supernatural being, which he afterwards put off.<sup>2</sup> I

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 240: "According to the group system of the northern tribes, each family of the village community must be necessarily exogamic. The custom among the Kwakiutl is not definitely settled, some of the families preferring marriages outside the group, while others prefer marriages in the group. On the whole, marriages outside of the group are more frequent on account of the eagerness of individuals to secure the privilege of using new and important crests." Here Dr. Boas seems to use the terms group and family as equivalent. This is, so far as I know, Dr. Boas's latest statement on the subject. At first he expressed himself with some hesitation, but believed that marriage

within the clan (gens) was absolutely prohibited. See *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 32 (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889*, separate reprint). Afterwards he affirmed without qualification that the Kwakiutl clans are exogamous. See Franz Boas, in "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 334; *id.*, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, p. 122 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, November 1898).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes*

will illustrate both these classes of legends, beginning with the former.

For example, it is said that the ancestor of the Omanitsenox clan fell in with a number of killer-whales, which had assumed the shape of men and were mending their nets. The chief of these Killer-whale men gave the ancestor the quartz-pointed whaling harpoon, his names, and the right to paint the killer-whale as his crest on the front of his house. Again, the first ancestor of the Kuexa clan is said to have been out hunting bears and to have met with a fabulous bird supposed to resemble a crane. The bird pecked at him and tried to kill him, but he dodged behind a cedar-tree and escaped. When he came home, he carved an image of the crane out of yellow cedar and set it up on the top of a pole outside of his house, and it became the crest of his clan. These legends, as Dr. Boas has pointed out, present a close analogy to the mode in which among the eastern Indians of America a man acquires his individual totem, guardian spirit, or *manitoo*.<sup>1</sup> Again, the Kwatsenok clan tell how a supernatural being came down from heaven in the shape of a bird with a neck-ring of red cedar-bark, how he built a house, cured one of the Kwatsenok clan of madness, and gave him the neck-ring. Since then members of the clan have danced a certain dance wearing neck-rings of red cedar-bark.<sup>2</sup> Again, the Gapenox clan tell of an ancestor of theirs called Counsellor-of-the-World, who lived with his people at Grassy Place. The world was then dark, for the sun never rose, being kept shut up in a box by Day-Receptacle-Woman, who lived at Cut-Beach. So Counsellor-of-the-World walked to see the village at Cut-Beach. There he discovered Day-Receptacle-Woman

Examples of the first kind of legends.

Origin of the killer-whale crest.

Origin of the crane crest.

Origin of the neck-rings of cedar-bark.

Origin of the day-break mask.

of Canada, pp. 29-32 (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint*); Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 335 sqq., 371 sqq.; *id.* "The Tribes of the North Pacific Coast," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 239-242.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 336 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 29 (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint*).

sitting in her house eating salmon. At once he turned himself into a baby and entered her womb. So she conceived and in four days she gave birth to a boy, who was no other than Counsellor-of-the-World himself. Then Counsellor-of-the-World cried for the box in which the sun was shut up; and at last to stop him from crying his mother gave it to him. He put it in a canoe and paddled away with it. Then he opened the box, let out the sun, and took off the double-headed serpent-mask of the sun. So it grew light in the world. The Sun spoke and said, "O friend! don't keep me, let me go to the upper world, and let me take care of our world, and it will become day. Now you have my double-headed serpent-mask." Also the Sun said, "O friend! just take care that you don't do any harm to my double-headed serpent-mask. Show the daybreak mask in the winter dance." Thus said the Sun. Then Counsellor-of-the-World bade him good-bye, and the Sun went up into the sky. That is why the Gapenox clan have the daybreak mask and red cedar-bark. They were all inside the box with the Sun.<sup>1</sup>

Examples  
of the  
second  
kind of  
legends.

In the other class of legends which the Kwakiutl tell to explain the origin of their crests, it is said that the ancestor of the clan came down from heaven, or up from the under-world, or out of the sea, wearing the dress, skin, or mask of an animal or supernatural being, that he afterwards doffed the dress, mask, skin, or other disguise and appearing as a man became the progenitor of the clan, who henceforth adopted the animal or thing as their crest. For example, the Neentsa clan tell how two eagles and their eaglet descended from heaven at Cape Scott, where they took off their eagle-skins and became men. The eaglet, or rather the young man, was afterwards drowned at sea, but he awoke to new life, flew up to heaven in the shape of an eagle, and then flew down again, still in the form of an eagle, to his sorrowful parents, who had given him up for dead. In his talons he bore

Descent  
of the  
Neentsa  
clan from  
an eagle.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas and George Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts*, ii. 393-397 (*Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, December 1902). This story

of the stealing of the Sun by a cunning hero is widespread among the Indians of North-West America. The Tlingits, for example, tell it of Yehl the Raven. See above, p. 293, note<sup>1</sup>.

a box in which were many whistles to imitate the eagle's scream. Also he wore a double mask and a neck-ring of red cedar-bark, and he became the ancestor of the Neentsa clan.<sup>1</sup> Again, the Sisintle clan, who have the sun for their crest, tell how the sun (*sentlae*) came down from heaven in the shape of a bird, took the likeness of a man, and wandering about the earth came at last to a place called "the Plain at the mouth of the river, where the clover-root is found," in the land of the Kwakiutl. In every tribe which he visited he married a wife, and their descendants are the clan Sisintle. But he resolved to settle among the Kwakiutl in the plain where the root of the clover grows. There he took a Kwakiutl woman to wife, and she conceived and bore him a son. And you may see their house there to this day. On each side of the door is painted a great image of the sun, and the posts are carved in the likeness of men each carrying a sun; and the crossbars which rest upon the posts are also carved like men, but the beams are sea-lions. And in winter, when people dance, the Sisintle clan wear the mask of the sun, and also the mask of a dog called the Sun-Shining-Red-through-the-Clouds; for that dog came down from heaven with the sun. And the heraldic column, or what people commonly call the totem pole, of the clan represents a series of copper plates with a man above them, and above that again is a mask of the sun with beams radiating from it.<sup>2</sup> Again,

Descent of the Sisintle clan from the sun in the shape of a bird.

Descent of the Gexsem clan from the Spirit of the Sea.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 29 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 29 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

1889, separate reprint).

and he was very angry, and sailed away with all his people in canoes, leaving his daughter alone in the deserted village. Only a dog and a bitch remained behind with the maiden, and they helped her. So she made four fish-baskets and at low water she placed them on the beach. At the next tide she found the baskets full of fish, and in one of the baskets was a man. He was the son of the Spirit of the Sea, and he carried a box which was small but very heavy, for it contained a whale. He built a large house and married the girl, and he invited all the tribes to a feast and gave them whale flesh to eat. So his descendants still use the mask which represents their ancestor, the son of the Spirit of the Sea. And when they shew the mask they sing this song:—

*It is a tale which came down to us from the beginning of the world.  
You came up, bringing the house of the Spirit of the Sea, you "Growing rich,"  
"Wealth coming ashore," "Covered with wealth," "Mountain of Property,"  
"Really great Mountain." It is a tale which came down to us from the beginning of the world.*<sup>1</sup>

Descent of the Gigilqam clan from the thunder-bird.

Descent of a clan from its crest animal resembles the descent of a clan from its totem; in fact the crest animals seem to be totems.

In some of the foregoing legends a clan traces its descent from an ancestor who first appeared in the form of a bird. Similarly the Gigilqam clan has a tradition that they are descended from the mythical thunder-bird; and the beak of the bird was carved and fastened as a crest to the front of their house, which was also excellently painted till the misplaced zeal of a missionary obliterated the gay heathen blazon under a coat of whitewash.<sup>2</sup> In these cases the descent of a clan from its crest animal resembles the descent of a clan from its totem animal, of which we have met with many examples in the course of this work; and on that and other grounds we might naturally conclude that the animals, supernatural beings, and other objects from which the Kwakiutl clans take their crests are simply their totems. Dr. Boas himself has taken this view in his general summary of the social system of the Indian tribes\* of this region; for he tells

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the*

*United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 375 sq.

us that "the Kwakiutl are divided into a number of clans, most of which have animals for their totems. Most of these totems are explained in the same manner as those of the northern tribes, while others are considered direct descendants of the totem animal."<sup>1</sup> Yet elsewhere Dr. Boas repeatedly denies that the Kwakiutl clans have animal totems.<sup>2</sup> But as the passage just quoted in which he affirms Kwakiutl totemism is later than those in which he denies it, we may suppose that it represents his more mature opinion, and I shall follow him in that opinion with the less hesitation because it seems to me difficult to distinguish the crest system of the Kwakiutl clans from totemism proper.

However, the Kwakiutl system has certainly some peculiar features which sharply discriminate it, as Dr. Boas has rightly pointed out, from the more normal totemism of their northern congeners the Haislas and the Heiltsuks. In the first place, while among the Haislas and the Heiltsuks the clans are limited in number to six and three respectively, among the Kwakiutl proper the number of the clans is much greater and indeed apparently unlimited.<sup>3</sup> Second, while the clans of the Haislas and Heiltsuks are named after totems, the clans of the Kwakiutl are not so named,<sup>4</sup> but are called either by the collective form of an ancestor's name, or by the name of the district which they inhabit, or again by titles of honour, such as "The Rich Ones" or "The Great Ones."<sup>5</sup> Thirdly, while the clans of the Haislas and Heiltsuks descend in the female line, the children belonging to the clan of their mother, among the Kwakiutl the clans apparently descend in the male line, children belonging to the clan of their father.

Features which distinguish Kwakiutl totemism from ordinary totemism.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 674 (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898). From the sequel it is clear that Dr. Boas is here speaking of the Kwakiutl proper, not of the northern members of the Kwakiutl stock, the Haislas and the Heiltsuks, who have totemism of the ordinary pattern.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages quoted above, p. 320, note <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Franz Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 29 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

<sup>5</sup> Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 332 sq.

On the question of the descent of the Kwakiutl clans Dr. Boas's statements appear to be conflicting.

Yet the question of descent in the Kwakiutl clans seems to be open to some doubt; at least it is difficult to elicit a clear and consistent account of it from Dr. Boas's statements on the subject. At one time he tells us that among the Kwakiutl "the child does not belong by birth to the gens of his father or mother, but may be made a member of any gens to which his father, mother, grandparents, or great-grandparents belonged."<sup>1</sup> At another time he says that among the Kwakiutl proper "a child belongs by blood to both his father's and his mother's family";<sup>2</sup> and, again, that "the Kwakiutl considers himself as belonging half to his mother's, half to his father's gens."<sup>3</sup> If in these passages "gens" and "family" are used, as they seem to be, as equivalents of each other and of "clan," the term which in other passages Dr. Boas applies to the kinship divisions of the Kwakiutl, then the first of the statements which I have quoted appears to contradict the other two. Yet in other passages, again, Dr. Boas speaks as if descent of the Kwakiutl clans was definitely in the paternal line. Thus he observes that "among the Kwakiutl the clans are also exogamic, and certain privileges are inherited in the paternal line, while a much larger number are obtained by marriage";<sup>4</sup> and again, after remarking that the social organisation of the Kwakiutl appears to be in a transitional stage between maternal and paternal institutions, he affirms simply that among the Kwakiutl "descent is in the paternal line."<sup>5</sup>

Apparently children belong to their father's clan, but can be nominated into the

It is to be hoped that in the monograph on the Kwakiutl which may be expected from Dr. Boas he will clear up the obscurity which appears to hang over the simple question, whether among this people children at birth are reckoned to their father's clan or not. So far as I can interpret Dr. Boas's various statements on the subject, I am inclined to

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 57 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 32 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne,

1889, separate reprint).

<sup>4</sup> Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 334.

<sup>5</sup> Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, pp. 121 sq. (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, November 1898).

infer that a child belongs by birth to his father's clan, but can afterwards be enrolled in any clan to which his father, mother, grandparents, or great-grandparents belonged, and that this enrolment is effected by giving the child one of the names belonging to the particular clan which it is desired that he should join; for each clan has a certain limited number of names, and by receiving the name of one of the clans to which his ancestors belonged a man becomes thereby a member of that particular clan. But by joining another clan a man apparently does not cease to belong to his original clan; chiefs are sometimes members of many clans; for example, we hear of a Kwakiutl chief who was a member of six. In fact a child is generally made a member of another clan as a sort of life-insurance; for by assuming the name and thereby joining the clan of a dead relative he inherits any debts due to the deceased and may thus be provided for in case his father should die, though at the same time he becomes responsible for any debts which his kinsman had left unpaid at his death. If a person does not take the name of a deceased relation, whether father, grandfather, or what not, he neither inherits his property nor becomes responsible for his debts.<sup>1</sup>

clan of their mother, grandparents or great-grandparents.

But while the question of the descent of the Kwakiutl clans remains to some extent uncertain, it seems clear that the clan crests descend through women, every man receiving at marriage his father-in-law's crest as a dowry with his wife and holding it in trust for his future son-in-law. To quote Dr. Boas: "The marriage ceremonies of the Kwakiutl seem to show that originally matriarchate prevailed also among them. The husband always assumes, a short time after marriage, his father-in-law's name and crest, and thus becomes a member of his wife's clan. From him this crest descends upon his children; the daughters retain it, but his sons, on marrying, lose it, adopting that of their wives. Thus the

The crests of the Kwakiutl clans seem to descend indirectly through women; that is, a man receives his crest through his wife at marriage.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 57 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). Elsewhere Dr. Boas says that "each clan has a certain limited number of names. Each individual has only

one name at a time. The bearers of these names form the nobility of the tribe" (*Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 675, in *Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898).

descent of the crest is practically in the female line, every unmarried man having his mother's crest ; but still we cannot call this matriarchate proper, as the father is the head of the family, as he gives up his own crest for that of his wife. This law is carried so far that a chief who has no daughters marries one of his sons to another chief's son, the latter thus acquiring his crest. By this means the extinction of gentes is prevented. It seems, however, that the father's gens is not entirely given up, for the natives frequently use carvings of both gentes promiscuously, but certain parts of the father's gens, to which I shall refer presently, are excluded from this use. The following instance, which came under my personal observation, will show the customs of the Kwakiutl regarding this point. Komenakula, chief of the gens Gyigyilkam, of the tribe Tlatlasikoala, has the heraldic column of that gens, and the double-headed snake for his crest. In dances he uses the latter, but chiefly the attributes of the raven gens. His mother belonged to the gens Nunemasekalis, of the Tlautsis ; hence he wears the mask of that gens. He had an only daughter who, with her husband, lived with him. She died and her husband is the present owner of the heraldic column of the gens. The son of this daughter, at present a boy seven years of age, is the future chief of the gens."<sup>1</sup> Again, Dr. Boas writes as follows: "Among the Kwakiutl we find a mixture of paternal and maternal institutions, but the son is not allowed to use his father's totem ; he acquires the right to his totem by marriage, receiving at that time the totem of his wife's father. When, later on, his daughter marries, the right to the totem descends upon her husband. In this manner the totem descends in the maternal line, although indirectly. Each clan has a certain limited number of names. Each individual has only one name at a time. The bearers of these names form the nobility of the tribe. When a man receives the totem of his father-in-law, he at the same time receives his name, while

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 33 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle - upon - Tyne, 1889, separate reprint). The example by which Dr. Boas seeks to elucidate the

descent of the crests is not as clear as might be desired. Is the Gyigyilkam clan the clan of Komenakula's father? What is Komenakula's relation to the Raven clan? What is the crest of his mother's clan?

the father-in-law gives up the name, and takes what is called 'an old man's name,' which does not belong to the names constituting the nobility of the tribe."<sup>1</sup> Again, we read: "One of the essential property rights of each individual is his clan-legend and the use of his crest. According to the Kwakiutl custom, the property right in these objects is held by the men of the tribe. It is, however, not transmitted as a permanent inheritance to the sons, but it is always acquired in marriage. Thus, if a certain man has a right to use the raven as his crest, he will give this crest to his son-in-law about the time when a child is born to the young man. In this way, the son-in-law practically holds the crest in trust for his wife's daughter, because when he in turn is to give up the use of the crest he must deliver it to his daughter's husband, who again holds it in trust for his future daughter. It is clear that in this manner a purely maternal descent is secured."<sup>2</sup> However, it would appear that among the Kwakiutl a man inherits a crest or crests also from his father; for Dr. Boas tells us that among them "the lowest carving on a totem pole is that which the owner inherited from his father. The higher ones are those which he obtained by marriage."<sup>3</sup>

Thus, as Dr. Boas says, the social organisation of the Kwakiutl seems to be in a transitional stage between maternal and paternal institutions;<sup>4</sup> for while the clans perhaps

The Kwakiutl appear to be in a

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 674 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 239 sq. Compare *id.*, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, pp. 121 sq. (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, November 1898): "The Kwakiutl have a peculiar organization, which may be considered a transitional stage between maternal and paternal institutions. Descent is in the paternal line; but a man, at the time of his marriage, receives his father-in-law's crest as a dowry, which he holds in trust for his son [-in-law?], so that actually each individual inherits the

crest of his maternal grandfather. The clans are exogamic." It is not clear how on Dr. Boas's shewing "each individual inherits the crest of his maternal grandfather." If I understand Dr. Boas aright, every man receives at marriage the crest of his wife's father, who in turn received it from his wife's father, and so on *ad infinitum*. Thus a man receives the crest of his wife's father, of his wife's maternal grandfather, etc., not of his own father, of his own maternal grandfather, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Franz Boas, in *Eleventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 9 (*Report of the British Association*, Liverpool, 1896, separate reprint).

<sup>4</sup> See the passage cited in note 2.

transitional state between mother-kin and father-kin. Dr. Boas is of opinion that their original system was father-kin, and that it has been modified by the adoption of maternal institutions.

descend in the male line, the crests appear to descend regularly, if not invariably, through women, each man acquiring his crest at marriage through his wife. The question then naturally arises, Are the Kwakiutl passing from maternal institutions to paternal institutions, from mother-kin to father-kin, or in the reverse direction? Is the female descent of the crests a relic of mother-kin? or is it on the contrary an innovation superposed on an old system of father-kin? In one passage Dr. Boas seems to incline to the former member of this alternative, that is, to the view that the Kwakiutl are passing or have passed from mother-kin or (as he calls it) matriarchate to father-kin or patriarchate; for he says that "the marriage ceremonies of the Kwakiutl seem to show that originally matriarchate prevailed also among them."<sup>1</sup> Yet he afterwards adopted with great decision the contrary view, namely, that the original system of the Kwakiutl was father-kin or patriarchate, which was at a later time modified by the adoption of maternal institutions. "In the north," he says, "a woman's rank and privileges always descend upon her children. Practically the same result has been brought about among the Kwakiutl, but in a manner which suggests that a people with paternal institutions has adapted its social laws to these customs. Here the woman brings as her dower her father's position and privileges to her husband, who, however, is not allowed to use them himself, but acquires them for the use of his son. As the woman's father, on his part, has acquired his privileges in the same manner through his mother, a purely female law of descent is secured, although through the medium of the husband. It seems to my mind that this exceedingly intricate law . . . can not be explained in any other way than as an adaptation of maternal laws by a tribe which was on a paternal stage. I can not imagine that it is a transition of a maternal society to a paternal society, because there are no relics of the former stage beyond those which we find everywhere, and which do not prove that the transition has been recent at all. There is

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889*, separate reprint.  
*Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 33 (*Report of the British*

no trace left of an inheritance from the wife's brothers ; the young couple do not live with the wife's parents. But the most important argument is that the customs can not have been prevalent in the village communities from which the present tribal system originated, as in these the tribe is always designated as the direct descendants of the mythical ancestor. If the village communities had been on the maternal stage, the tribes would have been designated as the descendants of the ancestor's sisters, as is always the case in the legends of the northern tribes."<sup>1</sup>

While the mature opinion of Dr. Boas on the people to whom he has paid so much attention deserves to be received with respect, I have indicated above<sup>2</sup> some of the reasons which lead me, not without hesitation, to incline to the other view, formerly favoured by Dr. Boas himself, namely, that the Kwakiutl are in a stage of transition from mother-kin to father-kin. But it is to be hoped that further researches of Dr. Boas, to whom we already owe so much valuable information on the Indians of North-West America, will clear up this and other obscurities which still remain in the social system of the Kwakiutl.

A very peculiar feature of the Kwakiutl clans is that in winter their organisation is practically dissolved and replaced by a grouping of the people into two great classes, the initiated and the uninitiated, each of which again is subdivided into lesser groups, the initiated being subdivided according to the particular secret society to which each person belongs, while the uninitiated are subdivided according to their age and prospective position among the initiated. The secret societies play a great part in the

But it seems more likely that the Kwakiutl are passing from mother-kin to father-kin.

In winter the social organisation of the Kwakiutl in clans is dissolved and replaced by a grouping of the people into two

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 334 sq. Some points in this passage create difficulties. I am at a loss to understand the statement that "the woman's father, on his part, has acquired his privileges in the same manner through his mother"; for in the preceding sentence we had been told that a husband acquires his privileges not through his mother nor

yet from his father, but through his wife ; and with this latter account of the acquisition of a crest Dr. Boas's other statements (above, pp. 329-331) seem to agree. Again, when Dr. Boas says that "the young couple do not live with the wife's parents," he seems to have forgotten the case, which fell under his own observation, of a young couple who lived with the wife's father (above, p. 330). But perhaps that case was exceptional.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 319-321.

classes, the initiated and the uninitiated, the initiated comprising all who are members of a secret society.

social life, not only of the Kwakiutl, but of the other Indian tribes of North-West America. While they are intimately related to the totemic system of the tribes, they are yet distinct from it. Accordingly the fuller consideration of them is reserved for a separate chapter. Here a brief notice of them must suffice. Members of a secret society are believed to be initiated by a patron-spirit, who presides over that particular society, protects its members, and invests them with certain supernatural or magical powers which vary with the society. The right to be initiated into any particular society is hereditary in certain clans and is acquired by a man at marriage in the same way as he acquires his crests through his wife. As the number of presiding spirits is not large, many clans have the same spirit or supernatural being for their patron. Amongst the Kwakiutl and the other Indian tribes of this region the most important patrons are the Cannibal Spirit, the Ghost, the Grizzly Bear, and the Fool Spirit; and corresponding to them the most important secret societies are the Cannibals, the Ghosts, the Bears, and the Fools. Of these the Cannibals rank highest, and next to them the Ghosts. The spirits appear to their devotees only in winter, and accordingly it is only in winter that the secret societies meet for the performance of their dances and ceremonies. Hence the winter season, when the clans are in abeyance and the secret societies are in force, is known among the Indians as "The Secrets" (*tsetsaeka*), a name which they also apply to the ceremonies themselves. The summer season, on the other hand, when the secret societies are in abeyance and the clan organisation is in force, is called by another name (*baxus*), which may be translated "profane," and which is also applied to all uninitiated persons. According to tradition, the secret societies originated in the same way as many of the clans; an ancestor met the patron spirit of one of the societies and was initiated by him. Similarly at initiation the novice is still supposed to be carried off and possessed by the patron spirit of the society to which he belongs; and the object of the whole winter ceremonial is to bring back the youth and to exorcise the spirit which possesses him, in order that, healed of his holy madness, he

Traditional origin of the secret societies. The novice is thought to be carried off by the presiding spirit of the society, and he

may be restored to the society of his relations and friends. It is with this kindly intention that the members of the secret societies perform their various dances, in which they personate their patron spirit, wearing his mask and ornaments and uttering his peculiar cries. The dance is, in fact, a dramatic performance of the myth which tells of the acquisition of the patron spirit. Each society, like each clan, has a limited number of personal names which are bestowed on the members; for the novice is supposed at initiation to receive a new name from the patron spirit of the society. But these secret or sacred names are only used in winter when the spirits are believed to dwell among the Indians; in summer they are dropped and replaced by the personal names of the clans.<sup>1</sup>

must be brought back by masked dancers who represent the spirit.

Like other Indian tribes of North-West America the Kwakiutl believe in the reincarnation of the dead; ~~they think that the soul of a deceased person returns to life in the first child born after his death.~~ This belief is illustrated by the following tale, the events of which are supposed to have happened not long ago. There were two chiefs called Ankoalagyilis and Tsekete. Ankoalagyilis was a twin and boasted that the deity took special care of him, and that he would go to heaven when he died. But he also laid up treasure on earth, for he collected blankets for years and hid them under stones in the wood. His wife helped him to do so. But one day his rival Tsekete followed the two into the forest, stabbed them to death, and threw the bodies, weighted with stones, into the sea. Nobody knew what had become of the chief and his wife. But the dead man had left a son, who in due time married a wife, and she bore him a male child. That child was no other than his murdered grandfather come to life again. When the boy

Belief of the Kwakiutl in the reincarnation of the dead.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 34, 52 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 62 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint); *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-*

*Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 675 (*Report of the British Association* (Bristol, 1898)); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakintl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 393-396, 418-424, 431; *id.* in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 243-247.

was a few years old, he said to his father, "I was once your father and I have returned from heaven." At first his father did not believe him, but the boy said, "You know that your father buried his property and that nobody can tell where it is. I will shew it to you." With that he led his father straight to the spot and shewed him the property, two canoe-loads of blankets. Then the people knew that the murdered chief had returned to life in the person of his grandchild. In time the boy became chief himself, but he magnanimously refrained from murdering his murderer.<sup>1</sup>

The souls of hunters of land-animals are reborn in wolves, and the souls of hunters of sea-beasts are reborn in killer-whales.

However, the souls of the dead are not always born again in human form. Sometimes they must be reincarnated in animals before they come to life again as men. This, in the opinion of the Kwakiutl, is the fate of hunters. The souls of dead men who hunted sea-beasts are turned into killer-whales; and the souls of men who hunted land-beasts are turned into wolves. Only when a killer-whale or a wolf dies, can their souls return and be born again in human bodies. Hunters ornament the bow seat in their canoes and cut a hole in it; this becomes their dorsal fin when they turn into killer-whales after death. The Kwakiutl believe that after the death of a hunter the killer-whale into which he has been transformed will come to the village and shew itself. When many killer-whales approach a village, it is supposed that they come to fetch a soul. But it is not only hunters whose souls transmigrate into the bodies of killer-whales. Once when a killer-whale was killed, the fin shewed a scar as if it had been burnt; and it had happened not long before that a girl had died who had burnt her hand. So the Kwakiutl concluded that her soul had transmigrated into this killer-whale. The belief that the souls of hunters of land animals are reborn in wolves may perhaps account for the treatment of a dead wolf by the Kwakiutl. When a wolf has been killed, its heart is taken out, and all who helped to kill it must eat four morsels of the heart. Then they wail over the carcase,

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 59 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

saying, "Woe! our great friend." After that they cover the carcass with a blanket and bury it.<sup>1</sup>

Like other totemic peoples the Kwakiutl tell a tale like that of Cupid and Psyche about a fairy wife, who lived happily with her husband for a time and then left him lamenting. To understand the story you must know that in the opinion of the Kwakiutl twins are nothing but salmon who have assumed human shape and in that guise can bring plenty of their finny brothers and sisters to the fisherman's net. Well, once upon a time there was a chief called Chief-of-the-Ancients. There was no river where he lived and therefore necessarily there were no salmon. That troubled the chief, so one day he said to his younger brothers, "I wish to look for one who is a twin and to make her my wife, that through her the salmon may come." His aunt the Star-Woman bade him go to the graves and search among them for a twin. So he went to the graves and cried out, "Is there a twin here, O graves?" But the graves said, "There is none here." Thus he did to many graves. But at last one of the graves answered, "I am a twin." Then Chief-of-the-Ancients went to it, and gathered the bones, and sprinkled them with the water of life, and the twin woman at once came to life. She was very pretty, and said, "O Chief-of-the-Ancients, why do you come and make me live?" He said, "I wish to have you for my wife." She said, "Beware, Chief-of-the-Ancients! Do me no harm." He took her home and she became his wife, and she made plenty of salmon, for she had only to put her finger in her mouth and dip it in water, and lo! there was a salmon jumping in the water. And when she went into a river the salmon came leaping at her feet. So the chief's salmon-traps were full of salmon, and his heart was lifted up and he grew proud, because he had much food. He spoke angrily to his younger brothers and to his wife; and when the backbone of the salmon caught in the hair of his head, he scolded it and threw it into a corner of the house, and said, "You come from the ghosts, and you catch me!"

Kwakiutl tale of the type of Cupid and Psyche. How a man married a salmon wife and lost her.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Eleventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 9 (*Report of the British Association, Liverpool, 1896, separate reprint*).

That made his wife Salmon-Maker very sad. She arose and weeping said to the dried salmon in the house, "Come, my tribe, let us go back." Thus she spoke to the dried salmon. And they followed her, for they were her tribe, and they all went away into the water. Chief-of-the-Ancients tried to stop her, putting his arm round his wife's body; but her body was like smoke and his arms went through her. She never came back, and Chief-of-the-Ancients and his brothers became poor again.<sup>1</sup>

### § 6. Totemism among the Salish

The social organisation of the Salish tribes in the south of British Columbia differs from that of the northern tribes; for among the Salish totemism and exogamy are nearly absent and descent is in the paternal line. But among the Coast Salish there is an

When we have passed from the northern to the southern tribes of British Columbia, we find that with the language the social organisation has changed; for whereas the northern tribes, the Haidas and the Tsimshians, with their neighbours the Tlingits of Alaska, are organised in totemic and exogamous clans with maternal descent, among the southern tribes, who belong to the great Salish stock, exogamy and totemism in the strict sense are absent, or nearly so, and descent is reckoned in the paternal line. The social organisation of the Salish tribes in the interior is very loose; there is no recognised tribal unit, no division into exogamous clans, and no hereditary nobility. The people are broken up into village communities occupying each its own permanent village in the river valleys, where they reside during the fishing season. But the population even of the villages is shifting; during the hunting and root-gathering seasons the Indians live dispersed in tents among the mountains.<sup>2</sup> Only among some tribes which dwell on or

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas and George Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts*, ii. pp. 322-330 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 23, 29 (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint*); *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 675, 676 (*Report of the British Association, Bristol, 1898*); *id.*, *The Mythology*

*of the Bella Coola Indians*, p. 122 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, November, 1898); *id.* "The Salish Tribes of the Interior of British Columbia," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 219-221, 240; C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, p. 158; *id.* "Some Features of the Language and Culture of the Salish," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vii. (1905) pp. 680 sq.

near the coast do we find a certain approximation to the clans and crests of the northern tribes ; and it appears to be the opinion of Dr. Boas, one of our best authorities on the Indian tribes of North-West America, that this approximation has come about, not by independent evolution, but through diffusion, the Salish Indians borrowing the crests or totems with their appropriate legends from their neighbours.<sup>1</sup> But while totemism in the usual sense of the term, that is, the organisation of the whole community into totemic and exogamous clans, seems to be lacking among the Salish tribes of the interior, on the other hand individual or personal totems are reported to be universally prevalent among them.<sup>2</sup>

approximation to the system of the northern tribes.

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To this subject we shall return in the next chapter. But in speaking of these Indians it is well to bear in mind the statement of Dr. Boas, made many years ago, that "the ancient customs of the Salish tribes of the interior of the Province of British Columbia have almost entirely disappeared, as the natives have been christianised by the endeavours of Catholic missionaries. Only a very few still adhere to their former customs and usages ; for instance, a group of families living in Nicola Valley and another on North Thompson River."<sup>3</sup>

The Salish tribes of the interior are for the most part Christians.

Two tribes of the Salish stock which possess a social system approximating in some degree to the totemic system of the northern tribes are the Bella Coolas (Bilqulas) and the Lillooets. Of these the Bella Coolas are the most northern tribe of the Salish stock. They live isolated from their congeners, being wedged in between alien tribes, to wit, the Haislas on the north, the Chilcotins on the east,

The Bella Coolas, the most northerly tribe of the Salish stock, practise endogamy ; marriage

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 676 (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898) ; *id.*, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, pp. 122 sqq. ; *id.* in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 225, 240. The view of Dr. Boas is shared also by Mr. James Teit, who has given us valuable monographs on the Thompson and Lillooet Indians. See J. Teit, *The Lillooet Indians* (Leyden and New York, 1906), p. 254 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of*

*Natural History*).

<sup>2</sup> C. Hill-Tout, "Some Features of the Language and Culture of the Salish," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vii. (1905) p. 682 : "In the tribes of the interior, where group totems, so far as we have been able to discover, are wholly unknown, every individual of both sexes is said to possess his or her personal totem."

<sup>3</sup> Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 80 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

outside of  
the village  
community  
is for-  
bidden.

and the Kwakiutl on the south. Considered grammatically, their language is more closely related to the dialects of the Coast Salish than to those of the tribes of the interior. A number of terms referring to the sea and to sea-animals are the same in the Bella Coola tongue and in the dialects of the Gulf of Georgia; hence we may safely assume that the Bella Coolas have been differentiated from this group. They inhabit the coasts of Bentinck Arm and Dean Inlet and extend far up the Bella Coola River.<sup>1</sup> The tribe is divided, like the Salish Indians generally, into village communities, and each village has its own crest and its own tradition; but the village community is not exogamous. On the contrary, whereas the southern Coast Salish tribes exhibit a tendency to exogamy, the Bella Coolas have developed a system of endogamy; marriage outside of the village community is forbidden. In this respect the Bella Coolas stand alone among the Indian tribes of the North Pacific coast. The motive which has led them to adopt this unusual rule of marriage, if Dr. Boas is right, is a jealous desire to prevent the crest and the tradition of the village, both of which are highly prized, from being communicated by intermarriage to the people of other villages. "The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village," he tells us, "are not subdivided into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same tradition." In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community. Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village community by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among near relatives are permitted; and although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Seventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 2 (*Report of the*

*British Association*, Cardiff, 1891, separate reprint).

tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes."<sup>1</sup>

Among the Bella Coolas the crests are painted on the house-fronts and on the dancing implements. Thus the Tokoais family have a killer-whale (*Delphinus orca*) painted on the house-front. Tradition runs that their ancestor, hunting in the mountains, found a house on which a killer-whale was painted. The chief who lived in the house presented him with his crest for himself and his descendants. The crest consists of the killer-whale, eagle, swan, and heron. Again, the Spatsatlt family have breaking waves painted on their house-front, and in dances they use the mask of a large kind of whale, of the crow, and of the black bear. Another family uses the mask of The Sleeper and the eagle. Another family paints the moon on the front of the house. Another uses the raven, robin, eagle, whale, the flood-tide, and the bird *tehtlala*; and they paint the sun, moon, and stars on their house-front. Another paints a mountain surmounted by a mackerel sky on their house, and waves are included in their crest.<sup>2</sup> Other people wear eagle masks and eagle

The family crests of the Bella Coolas.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, p. 116 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, November 1898); compare *ibid.* pp. 121, 122, 124 sq. Elsewhere (*Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 240) Dr. Boas has stated the rule, or rather the exception, somewhat differently. He says: "The Bella Coola of the central part of British Columbia, who are neighbours of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, and under whose influence their culture has developed, have also adopted the crest system. The village community is here also the social unit, and each village has its own crest. Here, however, the jealousy with which the property rights in the crest are guarded is so great that at least among chiefs' families exogamy is strictly forbidden." According to

this later statement it is the chiefs who adhere most strictly to the rule of endogamy; according to Dr. Boas's earlier statement, quoted in the text, it is precisely the chiefs who break that rule most frequently. As the two statements seem to be irreconcilable, we may perhaps assume that the later statement corrects the earlier, and that both of them correct Dr. Boas's still earlier statement that each of the Bella Coola tribes "is subdivided into gentes, which appear to be arranged in exogamic groups" (*Seventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 3, *Report of the British Association*, Cardiff, 1891, separate reprint).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Seventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 5 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Cardiff, 1891,

blankets because their ancestor is said to have been sent down by the Sun wearing an eagle dress.<sup>1</sup> When a person dies, his masks are burnt, and his crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shews how many canoes, copper-plates, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches in his life ; representations of these objects are carved or painted on the column. In former times slaves were killed at the burial of a chief, and the number slain was recorded by as many human figures carved on his monument.<sup>2</sup>

The Lillooets, a Salish tribe of the interior of British Columbia.

The Lillooets are an Indian tribe of the Salish stock who inhabit the south-western interior of British Columbia. Their territory, about a hundred miles square, lies entirely within the Coast Range, and is divided in two by the watershed which runs between Mosquito or Pole River and Anderson River. On the whole the country is more rugged and mountainous than that of any other tribe in the interior of British Columbia. From the watershed west and south the climate grows wetter, till in the neighbourhood of Harrison Lake the annual rainfall is very heavy (150 centimetres). Corresponding to the geographical division of the country is the division of the aboriginal inhabitants. Those who live to the south of the watershed are the Lower Lillooets ; those who live to the north and east of it are the Upper Lillooets. But the Lillooets, though they all speak the same language, appear to have no one name to include them all ; the Lower Lillooets they call the Liluet, and the Upper Lillooets they call the Slalemux.<sup>3</sup>

separate reprint). In this passage Dr. Boas speaks of the crest-bearing groups as gentes, not as villages. In the text I have called them families. Dr. Boas adds (*ibid.* p. 6) : " The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the decision being left to the choice of the parents."

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, pp. 65-67 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Seventh Report of*

*the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 13 (*Report of the British Association*, Cardiff, 1891, separate reprint).

<sup>3</sup> James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians* (Leyden and New York, 1906), pp. 195 sq. (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*). Mr. C. Hill-Tout calls the whole tribe the Stlatlunh ("Report on the Ethnology of the Stlatlunh of British Columbia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) pp. 126 sqq.).

The Lillooets, who are all now nominally Catholics, were formerly divided into clans. It would seem that originally all the people of one village were supposed to be descendants of a common ancestor, for they had a single tradition of their origin. Perhaps then at one time each village community consisted of a single clan. The following is a list of all the clans of which Mr. James Teit, our principal authority on the tribe, obtained information, together with a list of the places at which they are supposed to have originated :—

Place.	Clan.				
Pemberton Meadows . . . . .	<table border="0" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td>Wolf.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td><i>Hailotaux</i> (beings half human, half fish).</td> </tr> </table>	{	Wolf.	{	<i>Hailotaux</i> (beings half human, half fish).
{	Wolf.				
{	<i>Hailotaux</i> (beings half human, half fish).				
Owl Creek on Pole River . . . . .	Owl.				
Upper Lillooet River . . . . .	<i>Sainux</i> (beings half human, half fish).				
Lower end of Seaton Lake at Sqemqain . . . . .	<i>xanaukst.</i>				
Lower end of Slakal . . . . .	<i>lupst.</i>				
Sel (Reservation near town of Lillooet). . . . .	Frog.				
Bridge River . . . . .	Bear (?).				
Fountain . . . . .	Coyote.				

The clans of the Lillooets.

Membership of the clan descended both in the male and the female line. A man could not become a member of his wife's clan nor she of his; but children could claim membership of the clan of both their father and mother, for by blood they were members of both clans. There were no restrictions on intermarriage between the clans. This perhaps means that there were no barriers to marriage within as well as without the clan, in other words, that the clans were not exogamous.<sup>1</sup>

Descent of the clan.

The clans used masks which represented the ancestor or had reference to some important incident in his life. Thus the Sainux clan danced with a mask representing a monster, half man, half fish, and wore cedar-bark dresses. The Wolf clan wore a mask made like the face and head of a wolf, and in their dances were clad in wolf-skins. The Owl clan wore a mask representing that bird, and used owl-feathers attached

Dancing masks and costumes of the Lillooet clans.

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, nominally Catholics is mentioned by p. 252. That the Lillooets are all Mr. Teit elsewhere (*op. cit.* p. 278).

to their clothes, and a head-dress of owl-feathers. The Hailolaux clan used a mask somewhat like the face of a grizzly bear: they painted their hair red, and wore the skins of grizzly, brown, and cinnamon bears when they danced. The people of the lower end of Seaton Lake personated their ancestor when they danced, and wore masks representing the *satuen*, a variety of crane. They used bone whistles at dances, and mimicked the cries of the pelican, crane, and swan. The people of Sel employed masks representing the frog. The people of Fountain wore coyote skins and masks representing the coyote. The Bear clan of Bridge River used bear masks and black-bear skins. All these masks were the property of the clan and could be shown by any man or woman of the clan when he or she was giving a *potlatch*, but not otherwise.<sup>1</sup> They were used at the clan festivals; and the dancers also wore necklaces consisting of the skin and claws or feathers of the animal or bird they personated. Feather head-dresses were worn by the clans who personified birds. Those clans who did not dress in animal skins, garbed themselves in cloaks, kilts, necklaces, and sometimes head-bands of cedar-bark, white, red, or red and white. All dancers put bird's down on their heads.<sup>2</sup> A person who gave a *potlatch* and shewed his mask at it never wore it himself: he hired another man, generally an old man, to wear it, to sing the clan songs, and to dance or act and relate the clan legend. The man hired to wear a mask was liberally paid, because it was thought that masks brought ill luck, particularly an early death.<sup>3</sup> Hence when they had been used once they were hung up on a tree or thrown away, and similar new ones were made to replace them. It was because they represented the ancestors and were therefore associated with the dead that masks were deemed unlucky. For the same reason they were always painted partly white, that being the colour of the dead or of the ghosts. Some people thought that the wearer of a mask would die within the year.<sup>4</sup>

The Lower Lillooets carved or painted the clan totem on various parts of the house and also on grave-posts, and

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, pp. 253 sq.

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 290.

The masks were not worn by their owners, but by persons hired for the purpose.

sometimes regular totem-poles were erected near the grave-box.<sup>1</sup> These Indians also set up totem-poles in front of their houses, after the manner of the Coast tribes. But the poles were much shorter and not so well carved or painted. The figures differed according to the clan totem. The body was always represented as human; and the face resembled the mask used by the clan—generally it was the face of an animal.<sup>2</sup>

Clan crests carved on houses, grave-posts, and totem-poles.

“The clan totems were to a certain extent considered as guardian spirits of the clan. Some people claim that animals represented by clan masks were the guardian spirits of the ancestor of the clan, and that such animals (or ‘mysteries’) continue to be the guardians and advisers of his descendants. Clans were supposed to take after the qualities of their totem.”<sup>3</sup>

The clan totems considered as guardian spirits of the clans.

The Lillooets observed the custom of the levirate. After her period of mourning was over, the widow married the brother or other nearest male kinsman of her deceased husband. But if she was old and her sons full-grown, she often did not marry, but continued to live with them.<sup>4</sup>

The Levirate.

§ 7. Totemism among the Tinnehs (Dénés)

Having now surveyed the totemic systems of the Indian tribes which inhabit the coasts of Southern Alaska and British Columbia, we turn to the Tinnehs or Dénés, the widely spread Indian nation who inhabit for the most part the interior of Alaska and a great extent of the Canadian territory which stretches from there to the Arctic Ocean on the north, towards Hudson’s Bay on the east, and to the Lillooet mountains on the south. They belong, as we have seen, to the great linguistic family now commonly called Athapascan, of which the most southerly members are the Apaches and Navahoes of Arizona and New Mexico.<sup>5</sup> Among the tribes into which the Canadian Tinnehs are divided the following are the principal:—

The Tinnehs or Dénés, an Athapascan nation of North-West America.

Principal Tinneh tribes.

1. The Loucheux, often called the Kutchins, whose country

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, pp. 272, 300.

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 283.

<sup>4</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* pp. 255 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 241 sq., 252.

- The Loucheux or Kutchin. extends north to south from the fishing-grounds of the Eskimo to  $67^{\circ}$  of North Latitude, while it stretches from the Anderson River on the east through the lower valley of the Mackenzie River and the vast forests of Alaska almost to the Pacific on the west. They number about 5500 souls.
- The Mountaineers. 2. The Mountaineers or *Etagotinne*, a small tribe who roam the valleys of the Rocky Mountains.
- The Hares. 3. The Hares, a timid tribe, who hunt along the Anderson and Macfarlane Rivers from the northern shores of the Great Bear Lake.
- The Dog-ribs. 4. The Dog-ribs, who hunt between the Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake, east of the Mackenzie River as far as the Coppermine River.
- The Slaves. 5. The Slaves, whose country stretches from the western shores of Great Slave Lake along the banks of the Mackenzie River as far as the outlet of Great Bear Lake.
- The Yellow Knives or Copper Indians. 6. The Yellow Knives or Copper Indians, whose original home appears to have been the valley of the Coppermine River. Alone of all the Tinnehs they formerly boasted of the possession of copper tools wrought out of pieces of that metal which they found scattered on the slopes of a particular mountain. They now roam chiefly over the barren steppes to the north-east of Great Slave Lake.
- The Cariboo-eaters. 7. The Cariboo-eaters, an important tribe, whose territory comprises the waste lands east of Lakes Cariboo, Wollaston, and Athabaska.
- The Chippewayans. 8. The Chippewayans. They are divided into (*a*) the Athabaskans, who hunt around Lake Athabaska as well as along the Slave River, and (*b*) the Chippewayans proper, who dwell on the shores of Lakes Isle-à-la-Crosse, Cold and Heart. They number about 4000 souls.
- The Nahanaïs. 9. The Nahanaïs, who, like the Loucheux, are distributed on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, though their principal seat is west of that range. They number about a thousand, and inhabit the valley of the Stickine River and its tributaries in northern British Columbia.
- The Beavers. 10. The Beavers, who inhabit the vast plains along the Peace River immediately to the east of the Rocky Mountains.
11. The Sekanaïs, whose principal trading-posts are

Forts McLeod and Grahame. Their original home was to the east of the Rocky Mountains; but they, together with the following tribes, now belong to the western division of the Tinnehs.

12. The Babines, numbering about 530 souls, who dwell immediately to the west of the Sekanais on Babine Lake and along the Bulkley valley down to French and Morice Lakes.

13. The Carriers, who live to the south of the Babines. Their villages lie between Tremblay Lake in the north and Alexandria. In 1889 they numbered 1600 souls, but in 1905 these numbers were reduced to 970.

14. The Chilcotins, who live immediately south of the Carriers on both sides of the Chilcotin River. They are the most southern members of all the Canadian Tinnehs. They number about 450 souls.

15. The Tsetsauts on Portland Inlet, an arm of the sea which forms the northern boundary of British Columbia on the Pacific.

These tribes fall into two groups, an eastern and a western. The Western Tinnehs or Dénés are the Sekanais, Babines, Carriers, Chilcotins, and Tsetsauts.<sup>1</sup> While the Eastern Tinnehs are inveterate nomads, constantly moving after the game on which they chiefly subsist, the Western Tinnehs are semi-sedentary, living in permanent villages part of the year but quitting them periodically to hunt the fur-bearing animals. The staple food of these Western Tinnehs is the salmon, which they catch in such quantities that once dried it takes the place of daily bread and enables them to stay longer at home in the village.<sup>2</sup>

Our information as to the social condition of most of the Tinnéh tribes is very meagre; but we are informed that

<sup>1</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 189 sq. Compare *id.* "The Western Dénés, their Manners and Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, Toronto*, Third Series, vol. vii. Fasciculus 1 (Toronto, 1889) pp. 109-144; *id.* "Notes, Archæological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*,

iv. (1892-93) pp. 11-17; E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dènè Dindjè* (Paris, 1876), pp. 26-28. For a list of the Tinnéh tribes of Alaska, see W. H. Dall, "Tribes of the Extreme Northwest," in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, i. (Washington, 1877) pp. 24-36.

<sup>2</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 200.

The Western Tinnéhs are divided into totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line.

most of the Western Tinnéhs are divided into totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line. The rule of exogamy among the clans is or was strictly observed; we are informed that "no youth would ever dream of seeking the hand of a girl who was a perfect stranger to him if told that she belonged to the same clan as himself."<sup>1</sup> Our principal authority on the subject is the Catholic missionary Father A. G. Morice, who has laboured among the Carrier Indians for many years and has given us some valuable accounts of their old customs and beliefs. He tells us that the Western Tinnéhs (Dénés) are divided into clans or gentes. "These to the number of five, form a kind of very strict relationship, to which, to the present time, they have held very tenaciously. Each of these clans has one or several particular heraldic emblems or totems, the toad, grouse, crow, beaver, salmon, etc.; the image of which formerly received special consideration. This organisation outsteps the village limits, and members of the same clan are to be found in localities very wide apart. But however remote their respective places, they still claim mutual kinship. Now, from time immemorial, a fundamental law in their social constitution has been for individuals of the same clan never to intermarry. So it is that endogamy is looked upon with horror among them. Indeed, I think I am warranted in affirming that marriage with a consanguine, unless a very close one, was preferred to matrimonial union with a co-clansman. As it is, agnation and consanguinity in the direct or collateral line on the paternal side were considered powerful barriers to sexual relations, males and females descended from the same stock being always regarded as brothers and sisters. . . . Such was not the case, however, with consanguinity in collateral lines by the mother's side, cousins of that class, even as near as the first degree, being by a time-honored custom, almost bound to intermarry. And here it is as well to state at once that, in common with nearly all the primitive people, mother-right is the supreme law regulating succession among nearly all the Western Dénés, and I may add that here<sup>2</sup> it admits of no

Marriage of cousins.

Mother-kin and female descent of titles and property.

<sup>1</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "The *logical Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 201. Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archæo-*

<sup>2</sup> At Stuart's Lake.

exception whatever. On the other hand, another ordinance of their social code forbids titles as well as landed property to pass by heredity into a different clan. Therefore children of a notable among them belonging to their mother's clan, could never inherit from their father. But if the latter had nephews by a sister, one of them was *de jure* his successor, this nephew belonging through his mother to his uncle's clan. Now, by way of compensation, and to permit the notable's children who could not otherwise inherit from him, to enjoy at least, as much as was lawful of their father's succession, one of his daughters would be united in marriage with her inheriting maternal first cousin. As for affinity consequent upon either lawful or unlawful sexual relations, it was simply ignored. Nay, I should say that it was rather considered a powerful incentive to marriage, except when the regulations of the clan organization interfered so as to make the two relatives fellow clansmen. Thus it was, that in the case of a deceased brother's wife, the Dénés treated her conformably with the directions of the Jewish law, and the nephew considered himself in duty bound to espouse her."<sup>1</sup>

The statement just quoted as to the marriage of first cousins is somewhat ambiguous. Elsewhere Father Morice writes that "the kinship resulting from fellow-clanship was reputed to be so strict that it precluded the possibility of co-clansmen intermarrying, while, on the other hand, marriage between even first cousins, if on the mother's side, was quite common, and, in some cases, almost obligatory";<sup>2</sup> and again: "First cousins married each other without any scruple

Cousin-marriages.

<sup>1</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés, their Manners and Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, Toronto, Third Series, vol. vii. Fasciculus I (Toronto, 1889), pp. 118-120. Compare *id.*, *Au pays de l'ours noir, chez les sauvages de la Colombie Britannique* (Paris and Lyons, 1897), pp. 67 *sq.* In the latter passage it is said that it was the brother, not the nephew, of the deceased husband who was bound to marry the widow: and this is probably the correct statement. Elsewhere also Father Morice observes that "by an immemorial custom, the widow of a

Carrier was also inevitably transferred as wife to the deceased's surviving brother" (Father A. G. Morice, "Are the Carrier Sociology and Mythology indigenous or exotic?" *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1892*, x. (Ottawa, 1893), Transactions, Section ii. p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "Are the Carrier Sociology and Mythology indigenous or exotic?" *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1892*, x. (Ottawa, 1893), Transactions, Section ii. p. 112.

if related only through the father's side."<sup>1</sup> The last statement is apparently, though perhaps not really, contradictory of the other two.

Ambiguity of the expressions "cousins on the father's side" and "cousins on the mother's side."

As I have already pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the expressions "cousins on the father's side" and "cousins on the mother's side" are ambiguous, and each of them may cover relationships which to the savage mind are entirely different, though the civilised mind confuses them. For the expression "cousins on the father's side" includes not only cousins who are the children of two brothers; it may include also cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively, since to the children of the brother the children of the sister are "cousins on the father's side." Similarly the expression "cousins on the mother's side" includes not only cousins who are the children of two sisters; it may include also cousins who are the children of a sister and a brother respectively, since to the children of the sister the children of the brother are "cousins on the mother's side." If we would keep our ideas clear, therefore, the expressions "cousins on the father's side" and "cousins on the mother's side" should be strictly avoided. In the passages just quoted which seem to contradict each other Father Morice was probably thinking of cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively; but whereas in the one passage ("first cousins, if on the mother's side") he was thinking of this relationship from the side of the sister's child, in the other passage ("if related only through the father's side") he was thinking of this relationship from the side of the brother's child. At least this interpretation reconciles the two seemingly contradictory statements with each other and with the common usage of savage tribes. We may conjecture, therefore, that among the Tinnehs, as among many other peoples, first cousins are allowed or even expected to marry each other when they are the children of a brother and a sister respectively, but that they are forbidden to marry each other when they are children of two brothers or of two sisters respectively.

Among the Carriers the number of totemic clans was

<sup>1</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 383 note<sup>2</sup>.

four, not five as among other of the Western Tinnehs. Their names and totems were as follows :—<sup>1</sup>

Clans and totems of the Carriers.

TOTEMIC CLANS OF THE CARRIERS

Clans.	Totems.
<i>Ltsemes-yu</i>	The Grouse
<i>Tsa-yu</i>	The Beaver
<i>Yesíl-yu</i>	The Toad
<i>Temten-yu</i>	The Grizzly Bear

Of these native names of the clans *Tsa-yu* means "beaver medicine"; the others are untranslatable and in the opinion of Father Morice "are probably imported from among the heterogeneous tribes from which the whole system is undoubtedly derived." The Grouse clan is by far the most powerful among the Carriers; and the Toad and Grizzly Bear clans are thought to have a sort of affinity which entitles the members of each to consideration and protection at the hands of the other.<sup>2</sup> "In case of extended travelling—which, however, was of rare occurrence—the totem served also as an emblem guaranteeing to the bearer a brotherly reception and constant protection by any member of the same clan he might fall in with"<sup>3</sup> These bonds of kinship between members of the same clan reached even beyond the limits of the tribe; for we are told that "a Babine from the far north-west, if chance brought him in contact with a clansfellow from, say Alexandria, 500 miles to the south, was sure of protection, hospitality and every

Social relations of members of a totemic clan.

<sup>1</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "Notes, Archaeological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) p. 203. In writing the native names of the clans Father Morice has turned some of the letters upside down, a practice which has also commended itself to many other American ethnologists for the sake, no doubt, of conveying the exact shade of pronunciation more exactly. As the advantages of this peculiar orthography appear to me scarcely to outweigh its

inconveniences, I have taken the liberty here and elsewhere of restoring the letters to the position which they usually occupy in books printed in Europe.

<sup>2</sup> Father A. G. Morice, *op. cit.* p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "Are the Carrier Sociology and Mythology indigenous or exotic?" *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1892*, x. (Ottawa, 1893), p. 112.

mark of attachment, though Carrier and Babine might not before as much as have known of each other."<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the nature and meaning of the clan totems among the Western Tinnéhs we have little information. Father Morice tells us that they "were sets of animals or other beings, which were supposed to have had in pristine times something to do with the establishment of those artificial divisions. They were regarded with a peculiar respect almost amounting to veneration, and, on festival occasions, they personified the whole clan and its members, whose symbol or crest they became."<sup>2</sup> At such festivals an effigy of the totem of the clan who acted as hosts was carved and exposed at the door of the house; and every person who did not belong to the clan was expected at entering to make a present to the totem and hence to the givers of the feast; but there was a tacit understanding that he would receive in return at some future time a present of at least equal value. Even to name publicly the totem of another clan was an act which had to be atoned for with the gift of a blanket, a piece of dressed skin, or any article of wearing apparel; else it would be thought that the crest was slighted and the whole clan thereby dishonoured. Specimens of such carved images of their clan totems no longer exist among these Indians,<sup>3</sup> who are now "considerate, virtuous, and law-abiding Christians."<sup>4</sup>

Besides the carved effigies of their clan totems which the Carriers displayed at festivals for the purpose of attracting contributions, it was also customary to place images of the same sort on the mortuary column or on the grave. Only two specimens of such sepulchral monuments survived in the year 1893; both of them represented a beaver carved in the round and perched, one on the top of a pole, the other on the top of a grave. In both cases the deceased was a member of the Beaver clan. The rest of these memorials of

<sup>1</sup> Father A. G. Morice, *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 203.

<sup>3</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "Notes,

Archæological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) pp. 119, 204.

<sup>4</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 197.

Respect  
shewn for  
the totems  
and crests.

Totemic  
images  
placed  
on the  
mortuary  
column or  
on the  
grave.

the past have long disappeared, probably destroyed by the zeal of the missionaries or their converts. But carved monuments seem never to have been common among the Carriers; they are not an artistic people like the Haidas.<sup>1</sup>

The practice of tattooing used to be very prevalent among the Western Tinnehs; and the figures tattooed on the breast "had generally a totemic significance"; the marks tattooed on the forearms "referred as a rule to a personal totemic animal revealed in dream, and the bearing of whose symbol was supposed to create a reciprocal sympathy and a sort of kinship between the totem and the tattooed individual."<sup>2</sup> The personal as distinct from the clan totems of the Tinnehs will be considered in the next chapter.

The headmen or representatives of the totemic clans were called *teneza*, "the men," by the Carriers and Babines, but *téné-thié*, "great men," by the Nahanaïs. They formed a privileged class of hereditary nobles, and the hunting grounds were parcelled out as their lawful patrimony, over which no one else had any right. They enjoyed great consideration in the tribe, were respectfully listened to and obeyed so far as obedience consisted with a state of society little above savagery, and on ceremonial occasions they wore a special costume and occupied seats of honour as remote as possible from the door. The whole institution, we are informed, had more points of resemblance to the landed nobility of the Old World than to the class of tribal chiefs; indeed chiefs in the strict sense did not exist among the Tinnehs before the advent of the whites. Even the children of such noblemen enjoyed some consideration and were dubbed *oeskheza*, "true children." Yet belonging as they did to their mother's clan they could not succeed to the rank and property of their father. As the lands belonged to the clan they passed at the death of the headman (*teneza*) not to his own son but to the son of his sister or, failing that, to the dead man's brother; and if

<sup>1</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "Notes, (1892-93) pp. 199-201. Archaeological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv.

<sup>2</sup> Father A. G. Morice, *op. cit.* p. 182.

there were neither brothers nor sisters' sons, the lands and title might pass to a sister or to a sister's daughter. Hence female chiefs were occasionally found among the Western Tinnehs or Dénés.<sup>1</sup>

Marriage  
customs.

Among the Carriers a young man used to serve the father of his betrothed wife for one or two years. During this time he contributed the products of the chase and his other earnings to his future father-in-law and the other relations of his betrothed, receiving her hand at the end of his period of service.<sup>2</sup> Polygamy was common; the higher a man's rank, the more numerous were his wives; we hear of a chief who had as many as six at one time.<sup>3</sup> Among the Northern Tinnehs men made no scruple of having two or three sisters for wives at one time.<sup>4</sup> We have seen that this practice of marrying several sisters at the same time or successively was very common among the North American Indians.<sup>5</sup>

Practice of  
taking  
several  
sisters to  
wife.

Totemic  
clans not  
found  
among the  
Sekanaïs.

The social organisation of the community in totemic clans is not found among all the Western Tinnehs; for example, it is entirely lacking among the Sekanaïs, being replaced, we are told, by a sort of anarchy. That tribe has neither clans nor hereditary nobility with their hunting domains; the fathers of families are the natural chiefs of the group, but their authority is more nominal than real.<sup>6</sup>

Exogamous  
clans  
among the  
Loucheux  
or Kut-  
chins.

On the other hand the large tribe of the Loucheux or Kutchins, as they are variously named, is or rather used to be divided into three exogamous clans or castes, as they are called by the writers who have recorded them.

<sup>1</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés, their Manners and Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, Toronto, Third Series, vol. vii. Fasciculus I (Toronto, 1889), p. 125; *id.* "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Father A. G. Morice, *Au Pays de Pours noir, chez les sauvages de la Colombie Britannique*, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, Third Series, vol.

vii. Fasciculus I (Toronto, 1889), p. 123; *id.*, *Au Pays de Pours noir*, p. 122; *id.* "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Report of the Archaeological Institute*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> S. Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795), p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 65, 85, 108, 127, 136, 148, 154, 246.

<sup>6</sup> A. G. Morice, *Au Pays de Pours noir, chez les sauvages de la Colombie Britannique* (Paris and Lyons, 1897), pp. 117 sq.

According to Mr. William L. Hardisty, of the Hudson Bay Company, the names of the three clans were *Chitsah*, *Tain-gees-ah-tсах*, and *Nat-singh*; according to Mr. Strachan Jones, formerly commander at Fort Yukon, the names were *Tchit-che-ah*, *Tenge-rat-sey*, and *Nat-sah-i*;<sup>1</sup> according to Mr. W. W. Kirby the names were *Chit-sa*, *Tanges-at-sa*, and *Nate-sa*.<sup>2</sup> Allowing for local differences of pronunciation and for variations of spelling the three lists seem to be identical.

Mr. Hardisty's account of the clans or castes runs as follows: "With reference to the story about caste it is difficult to arrive at a correct solution of the matter. The fact, I believe, is that they do not know themselves, for they give various accounts of the origin of the three great divisions of mankind. Some say it was so from the beginning; others that it originated when all fowls, animals, and fish were people—the fish were *Chitsah*, the birds *Tain-gees-ah-tсах*, and the animals *Nat-singh*; some that it refers to the country occupied by the three great nations who are supposed to have composed the whole family of man; while the other, and, I think, most correct opinion, is that it refers to color, for the words are applicable. *Chitsah* refers to anything of a pale color—fair people; *Nat-singh*, from *ah-zingh*, black, dark—that is, dark people; *Tain-gees-ah-tсах*, neither fair nor dark, between the two, from *tain-gees*, the half, middle, and *ah-tсах*, brightish, from *tsa*, the sun, bright, glittering, shining, etc. Another thing, the country of the Na-tsik-koo-chin is called Nah-tsingh to this day, and it is the identical country which the Nat-singh occupied. The Na-tsik-koo-chin inhabit the high ridge of land between the Youcon and the Arctic sea. They live entirely on the flesh of the reindeer, and are very dark-skinned compared with the Chit-sangh, who live a good deal on fish. All the elderly men fish the salmon and salmon trout during the summer, while the

Hardisty's account of the three castes or clans of the Loucheux.

<sup>1</sup> "Notes on the Tinneh or Chepe-  
 wyan Indians of British and Russian  
 America," communicated by George  
 Gibbs, *Annual Report of the Board  
 of Regents of the Smithsonian Institu-  
 tion for 1866* (Washington, 1867), pp.  
 315, 326; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its  
 Resources*, pp. 196 sq.; *id.* "Tribes

of the Extreme North-west," in *Contri-  
 butions to North American Ethnology*,  
 i. (Washington, 1877) p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Kirby, "A Journey to the  
 Youcon, Russian America," *Annual  
 Report of the Board of Regents of  
 the Smithsonian Institution for 1864*  
 (Washington, 1865), p. 418.

Rule of  
exogamy.

Maternal  
descent of  
the caste  
or clan.

In war the  
obligations  
of the clan  
overrode  
that of  
blood.

young men hunt the moose, and have regular white-fish fisheries every autumn besides. Some of the Chit-sangh are very fair, indeed, in some instances approaching to white. The Tain-gees-ah-tsa live on salmon trout and moose meat, and, taken as a whole, are neither so fair as the Chit-sangh nor so dark as the Nah-tsingh. They are half-and-half between the two. A Chit-sangh cannot, by their rules, marry a Nah-tsingh, although the rule is set at naught occasionally; but when it does take place the persons are ridiculed and laughed at. The man is said to have married his sister, even though she may be from another tribe and there be not the slightest connection by blood between them. The same way with the other two divisions. The children are of the same color as their mother. They receive caste from their mother; if a male Chit-sangh marry a Nah-tsingh woman the children are Nah-tsingh, and if a male Nah-tsingh marry a Chit-sangh woman the children are Chit-sangh, so that the divisions are always changing. As the fathers die out, the country inhabited by the Chit-sangh becomes occupied by the Nah-tsingh, and so on *vice versa*. They are continually changing countries, as it were. Latterly, however, these rules are not so strictly observed or enforced as formerly, so that there is getting to be a complete amalgamation of the three great divisions, such a mixture that the difference of color is scarcely perceptible, and, no doubt, will soon disappear altogether, except what is produced by natural causes. The people who live on the flesh of the reindeer are always darker than those who live on fish, or on part fish and part flesh. One good thing proceeded from the above arrangement—it prevented war between two tribes who were naturally hostile. The ties or obligations of color or caste were stronger than those of blood or nationality. In war it was not tribe against tribe, but division against division, and as the children were never of the same caste as the father, the children would, of course, be against the father and the father against the children, part of one tribe against part of another, and part against itself, so that, as may be supposed, there would have been a pretty general con-

fusion. This, however, was not likely to occur very often, as the worst of parents would have naturally preferred peace to war with his own children."<sup>1</sup>

From the foregoing account it would seem that the three exogamous clans of the Loucheux or Kutchins formerly occupied separate districts, and that they differed in complexion as well as in their modes of life. It is not easy to understand how exogamous and intermarrying clans can in the long run differ in any marked degree physically from each other, since constant and compulsory intermarriage might be expected to produce a uniform type among all the clans which thus mix their blood. We may surmise, therefore, that the statement as to a physical distinction between the clans, and perhaps also as to separate territories occupied by them, is erroneous. This surmise is partially confirmed by the account which the experienced French missionary, Father E. Petitot, gives of the social organisation of the Loucheux. He says: "What distinguishes the Dindjié [Loucheux] from their neighbours is the division of their nation into three camps or fractions, independent of the local division in tribes. These camps take the names of 'Men of the Right' (*Etchian-Kpét*); 'Men of the Left' (*Nattsein-Kpét*); and 'Men of the Middle' (*Tpendjidhoettset-Kpét*). The young people of one camp are bound to choose a wife in the opposite camp. But the men of the middle have the choice between the one and the other camp. The children belong to the camp of their mother. The *Etchian* are reputed white, the *Nattsein* black, and the *Tpendjidhoettset* brown, indications of the mixture of two races and of half-breeds."<sup>2</sup>

Petitot's account of the three castes or clans of the Loucheux.

The names of what Father Petitot calls the three camps or fractions of the Loucheux are clearly only divergent forms of the names given by our other authorities Messrs. Hardisty, Jones, and Kirby; and the separation of these exogamous

The separation of the three clans in different camps

<sup>1</sup> "Notes on the Tinneh or Chepewyan Indians of British and Russian America," contributed by George Gibbs, in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1866* (Washington, 1867), p. 315. Mr. Hardisty's account is reproduced with some small verbal changes and

omissions in W. H. Dall's *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 196 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Émile Petitot, *Traditions indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest* (Paris, 1886), pp. 14 sq. In spelling Indian names M. Petitot uses the Greek  $\rho$  to express a sound like the guttural  $r$  in Arabic.

resembles  
the Central  
Australian  
custom.

divisions of the tribe in different camps, but not in different districts, reminds us of the similar separation of the exogamous classes in the camps of the Central Australian aborigines.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that, when the rule of exogamy was first introduced, the intermarrying classes into which the community dissolved itself were locally segregated from each other in order to avoid confusion and mistakes. Indeed without some such segregation it is difficult to imagine how the new rule could have been either understood or obeyed.

Chiefs  
of the  
Loucheux.

The Loucheux generally live in large parties, each band headed by a chief and one or more medicine-men. Though the medicine-men exercise no secular power as chiefs, they acquire through their magical practices an authority to

Polygamy  
of the  
chiefs.

which even the chiefs themselves are subject. All the

chiefs, medicine-men, and those who possess rank acquired by property have two, three, or more wives, so that but few of the young men can marry, unless they content themselves with an old cast-off widow, who, from ill health and the effects of bad treatment, is no longer able to do heavy work. Hence those who have wives are invariably jealous and treat their women most brutally. This is one of the principal causes of the great falling off in numbers of the Loucheux

Female  
infanticide.

tribe. Other causes of the decrease of the population are female infanticide, premature births, and very frequent miscarriages from excessive fatigue. The only reason alleged by the women for killing their infant daughters is

Women  
fewer than  
men.

a desire to spare them the miseries of life. The women are fewer than the men, which coupled with the practice of polygamy among the chiefs and nobles must seriously diminish the number of married men. It is the mother

Hard work  
imposed on  
the women  
by the men.

who disposes of her daughters in marriage; fathers and brothers have no voice in the matter. Yet the women, we are told, are literally beasts of burden to their lords and masters. All the heavy work is done by them. When an animal is killed, they carry the meat and skin on their backs to the camp, after which they dress the skin, cut up the meat and dry it. They hew the wood and draw the water. All the household duties devolve on them: they tend the fires,

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 248.

cook the food, make and mend their husband's and children's clothes, lace the snow shoes, and so forth. In migrating from place to place, if it be winter, the woman hauls the whole of the baggage, provisions, lodge poles, cooking utensils, and perhaps a couple of children on the top of all, while the husband strolls ahead with his gun, horn, shot-pouch, and empty game bag. If it be summer, the man paddles a light canoe, while the woman propels with straining nerves a large clumsy canoe laden with the baggage.<sup>1</sup> Yet these savages have mother-kin, that is, the system which traces descent through women. So little does mother-kin or mother-right, as it is often called, carry with it the social superiority of women to men.

Another Indian tribe of the Tinneh stock who were divided into exogamous clans with descent in the female line were the Tsetsauts, who lived on Portland Inlet in the

The  
Tsetsauts  
a Tinneh  
tribe on  
Portland  
Inlet.

<sup>1</sup> "Notes on the Tinneh or Chepewyan Indians of British and Russian America," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1866* (Washington, 1867), p. 312. Compare W. W. Kirby, "A Journey to the Youcon, Russian America," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1864* (Washington, 1865), p. 418: "The women are much fewer in number and live a much shorter time than the men. The latter arises from their early marriages, harsh treatment they receive, and laborious work they have daily to perform, while the former is caused, I fear, by the cruel acts of infanticide which to female children have been so sadly prevalent among them." Yet with regard to these same Loucheux Indians Father Petitot tells us that "they are gentle, humane, hospitable, intelligent, frank, and good-humoured. They are kind to their women, whose advice they often take to the extent of making them their chiefs" (E. Petitot, *Traditions indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest*, p. 14). So difficult is it to extract a consistent account of the moral character of savages from the reports of different writers. However, most

observers seem to agree in describing the Tinnehs as unusually gentle, unwarlike, and even timid to a ridiculous degree, though some of the tribes, such as the Chepewyans, Beavers, and Yellow Knives, are less so than others. They never made war on the whites and have been described as "the most peaceable tribe of Indians known in North America." See Samuel Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795), p. 310; Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America* (London, 1801), pp. cxix., cxxiv.; "Notes on the Tinneh or Chepewyan Indians of British and Russian America," *Annual Report of the Bureau of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1866* (Washington, 1867), pp. 307, 308, 309 sq.; E. Petitot, *Mono-graphie des Dènè-Dindjè* (Paris, 1876), pp. 30, 32; *id.*, *Traditions indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest*, p. 14; A. G. Morice, "Notes, Archæological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) pp. 18 sq., 20; *id.* "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto,), pp. 193 sq.

extreme north of British Columbia, where it borders on Alaska. When Dr. Boas visited the tribe in 1894, it was reduced in numbers to about twelve members, of whom only two could speak their language correctly. By this time the tribe may perhaps be extinct. Some seventy or eighty years ago the Tsetsauts numbered about five hundred souls, but were for the most part exterminated by their enemies the Tlingits. They have no fixed villages, but make a camp wherever they intend to hunt. Their temporary houses are made of bark with a slanting roof, which is propped against the trunk of a great tree. When two families desire to inhabit one house, two of these bark structures are joined together, so that the two roofs slope up and meet each other in the middle, one of them overlapping the other a little to keep out the rain and snow. For the same reason also they set up the house under the shelter of the butt of a tall tree in the forest. When the tribe moves to another place, these houses are taken to pieces and the props tied together and fastened to a tree. On their return to the same spot, the bundles are untied, the props taken out, and the house set up again. In winter, when the doors of the houses are blocked with the deep snow, the exit is through the roof. It is possible that this winter house may be the primitive type out of which the subterranean lodge of the interior of British Columbia has developed. The staple food of the Tsetsauts is porcupine, marmot, mountain-goat, and bear. The skins of these animals furnish them with clothing. In summer they go down the rivers of Portland Inlet to catch salmon, which they dry for winter use. They made fire by means of a fire-drill worked with a bow. Their arrows were headed with flints.<sup>1</sup> The tribe was divided into two exogamous clans, the Eagle and the Wolf, with descent in the female line. Hence if an Eagle man married a Wolf woman, the children were Wolves; if a Wolf man married an Eagle woman, the children were Eagles. Each clan had its own personal names for its members. Children inherited not

Their  
migratory  
life.

The  
Tsetsauts  
divided  
into two  
exogamous  
clans with  
descent in  
the female  
line.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 34, 39, 40 sq.,

41 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

from their father but from their mother's brother. The parents of a child changed their names and were called after their child "Father of So-and-So," "Mother of So-and-So." This widespread custom,<sup>1</sup> in so far as it is observed by the Tsetsauts, is explained by Dr. Boas as follows: "There are a limited number of names only in the tribe, probably names belonging to the nobility. When a child reaches a certain age, his father, uncle, mother, or aunt may give it his or her name; and since by this act the former owner has relinquished his place, he also loses the name belonging to the place, and consequently adopts that of the father, mother, or aunt of the owner of the place, thus indicating that he owned the place formerly."<sup>2</sup> On this explanation it is to be remarked that if a father gives his own name to his son, that name cannot be a clan name, since father and son always belong to separate clans, and each clan has names appropriated to its members. The custom of naming parents after their children is practised by other tribes of the Tinneh stock.<sup>3</sup>

Parents named after their children.

The Tsetsauts observe the custom of the levirate: when a man dies leaving a widow, his brother marries her. However, he may not marry her before the lapse of a certain time, for they think that the ghost of the dead husband haunts his widow and would do a mischief to the man who should usurp his rights too soon. During the period of her mourning the widow is supported by her late husband's brother, her future spouse.<sup>4</sup>

The levirate.

The Tsetsauts further observe the custom which obliges a man and his mother-in-law to avoid each other. It is said that this custom is found among all the northern tribes of the Tinneh stock. Among the Tsetsauts persons who stand in this relationship are ashamed to talk to or even to see each other. The mother-in-law leaves the house before her son-in-law enters it, or, if that cannot be done, she hides her

Avoidance of a man and his wife's mother.

<sup>1</sup> For more examples of it in other parts of the world see *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 412 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 44 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

<sup>3</sup> E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dènè-Dindjé* (Paris, 1876), p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 45 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

Avoidance  
of adult  
brothers  
and sisters.

face or turns the other way while he is near her. Dr. Boas's Indian informant further stated that an adult man must not look at his adult sister. "This custom, he explained, is based on a tradition according to which a man married his sister. Their brothers were ashamed, tied them together, and deserted them; but the man broke the ropes. They had a child, and eventually he killed a ram, a ewe, and a kid of the mountain-goat, put on their skins, and they assumed the shape of goats. He had acquired the power of killing everything by a glance of his eyes. One day his tribe came up the river for the purpose of hunting and he killed them. Then he travelled all over the world, leaving signs of his presence everywhere, such as remarkable rocks. The woman and her child went to the head waters of the Nass River, where they still continue to live on a lake."<sup>1</sup>

Avoidance  
of brothers  
and sisters  
elsewhere.

So far as this tradition bases the avoidance of brother and sister on a desire to remove from them the temptation to incest it is probably correct. We have seen that the mutual avoidance of brothers and sisters is practised by the Navaho and Arapaho Indians of North America as well as by people in other parts of the world. In every case the intention of the custom is probably to prevent incest.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Tinnehs such precautions would seem to be necessary; for with regard to the eastern tribes of this nation we are informed that "the divine and customary barriers between blood relations are not well observed, for, although it is not considered correct by general opinion, instances of men united to their mothers, their sisters, or their daughters, though not common, are far from rare. I have heard among them of two sons keeping their mother as a common wife, of another wedded to his daughter, and of several married to their sisters, while in cases of polygamy having two sisters to wife is very usual."<sup>3</sup> And speaking of the Southern

Marriage  
with  
mothers,  
sisters, and  
daughters.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 44 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 245; and vol. i. p. 542; vol. ii. pp. 77 *sqq.*, 124, 131,

147, 188 *sq.*, 343, 344.

<sup>3</sup> "Notes on the Tinnah or Chepe-  
wyan Indians of British and Russian  
America," communicated by George  
Gibbs, *Annual Report of the Board of  
Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*  
(Washington, 1867), p. 310. The

Indians of the Tinnéh stock, whom in this respect he contrasts disadvantageously with the Northern Indians, the old traveller Samuel Hearne observes: "Most of the Southern Indians, as well as the Athapuscow [Athapascan] and Neheaway [Nahanai] tribes, are entirely without scruple in this respect. It is notoriously known, that many of them cohabit occasionally with their own mothers, and frequently espouse their sisters and daughters. I have known several of them who, after having lived in that state with their daughters, have given them to their sons, and all parties been perfectly reconciled to it. In fact, notwithstanding the severity of the climate, the licentiousness of the inhabitants cannot be exceeded by any of the Eastern nations, whose luxurious manner of life, and genial climate, seem more adapted to excite extraordinary passions, than the severe cold of the frigid zone. It is true that few of those who live under the immediate protection of the English ever take either their sisters or daughters for wives, which is probably owing to the fear of incurring their displeasure; but it is well known that acts of incest too often take place among them, though perhaps not so frequently as among the foreign Indians."<sup>1</sup>

The last Indian tribe of the Tinnéh stock and indeed of North America whose totemic system we shall notice are the Kenayes or Kenais, who inhabit the Kenai Peninsula and the neighbourhood of Cook's Inlet in Alaska, where they border on the Eskimo. They call themselves Tnaina or Tnai, that is, "men," this name being probably a mere dialectical variation of Tinnéh or Déné. In temperament more taciturn and in manners more dignified than their cheerful lively neighbours the Eskimo, these Indians are expert fishers and ardent hunters. In summer they catch the various kinds of salmon which swarm in their seas and streams; and in the early days of August, when the fishing season is over, they betake themselves to the mountains,

The Kenayes or Kenais, a Tinnéh tribe of Alaska.

Their mode of life.

authority quoted in the text is Mr. Bernard R. Ross, of the Hudson's Bay Company.

*Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795), p. 130.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Hearne, *Journey from*

where they make long and toilsome journeys over the high passes in pursuit of reindeer and mountain-goats, returning lean, worn, and exhausted by privations and fatigue to hunt the beaver until, with the setting in of the first hard frosts, they give themselves up to their winter rest and recreations. In the neighbourhood of the sea their country is an ascending plain dotted with lakes but bare of trees except in the deep ravines, which are clothed with a stunted growth of creeping willows and alder bush. Further inland, as the land rises, you come to a belt of forest and beyond that to the great alpine chain of mountains which runs parallel to the sea, glittering in the distance with its glaciers and eternal snows. Herds of reindeer browse all over this region, retreating with the approach of summer to the inaccessible heights of the mountains, where they may often be seen by the traveller as a moving line of black dots winding over the snow-fields far above.<sup>1</sup>

The Kenais are divided into two exogamous clans or perhaps phratries. According to their traditions the Raven created two women out of different stuffs; one of them became the ancestress of the one clan, and the other of the other. Of the two clans one is divided into six and the other into five septs, which are named as follows:—

- |          |   |                                                                                                                                        |
|----------|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Clan I.  | { | 1. <i>Kachgija</i> , so called from the croaking of ravens.                                                                            |
|          |   | 2. <i>Kali</i> , " " the catching of fish.                                                                                             |
|          |   | 3. <i>Tlachtana</i> , " " a grass-mat.                                                                                                 |
|          |   | 4. <i>Montochtana</i> , " " the inner corner of a hut.                                                                                 |
|          |   | 5. <i>Tschichgi</i> , " " a colour.                                                                                                    |
|          |   | 6. <i>Nuchschi</i> , those who have fallen from heaven.                                                                                |
| Clan II. | { | 1. <i>Tultschina</i> , so called from the inclination to bathe in cold water in late autumn.                                           |
|          |   | 2. <i>Kutluchtna</i> , women fond of stringing glass-beads.                                                                            |
|          |   | 3. <i>Schischlachtana</i> , deceivers like the Raven, who at the creation of the earth and mankind always played tricks on the latter. |
|          |   | 4. <i>Nutschichgi</i> , named after a mountain near Lake Skilach.                                                                      |
|          |   | 5. <i>Zaltana</i> " " " "                                                                                                              |

<sup>1</sup> Admiral v. Wrangell, "Einige Bemerkungen über die Wilden an der Nordwest-Küste von Amerika," in K. C. v. Baer und Gr. v. Helmersen's *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des russischen Reiches*, i. (St. Petersburg, 1839) pp. 103, 112-116; Ivan Petroff, *Report on*

*the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, pp. 24, 26; W. H. Dall, "Tribes of the Extreme Northwest," in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, i. (Washington, 1877) pp. 35 sq.; A. Krause, *Die Thinkit-Indianer*, p. 326.

The country of the Kenais.

Exogamous divisions of the Kenais.

According to ancient custom, the men of the first clan or group of six septs may not marry women of their own clan or group of six septs, but must marry women of the other clan or group of five septs ; similarly the men of the second clan must always marry women of the first clan, not of their own. The children are reckoned to the clan and sept of their mother. However, even in the first half of the nineteenth century this rule of exogamy was no longer strictly observed, and men were allowed to marry women even of their own sept. Old people attributed the great mortality of their tribe to the new practice of inbreeding. A man's heir is his sister's child ; the son inherits very little from his father. A man serves in the house of his future father-in-law for a year ; after that he receives payment for his services and takes his wife home. Rich men have three or four wives.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamy and maternal descent of the divisions.

It deserves to be noted that the Tinnehs share with the coast tribes the belief in the transmigration of souls or the reincarnation of the dead. Thus, with regard to the Chepewyans, a Tinnéh tribe, we read that " they have some faint notions of the transmigration of the soul ; so that if a child be born with teeth, they instantly imagine, from its premature appearance, that it bears a resemblance to some person who had lived to an advanced period, and that he has assumed a renovated life, with these extraordinary tokens of maturity."<sup>2</sup> And of the Tinnehs or Dénés in general Father Petitot observes that " the ancient faith in metempsychosis and the transmigration of souls is deeply rooted in a great number of tribes. It is usually the little children born with one or two teeth (a circumstance common enough among the Dénés) who pass for persons resuscitated or reincarnated. It is the same with those who come into the world soon after the death of somebody. The testimony

Belief of the Tinnehs in the transmigration of souls and the reincarnation of the dead.

<sup>1</sup> Admiral v. Wrangell, " Einige Bemerkungen über die Wilden an der Nordwest-Küste von Amerika," in K. C. v. Baer und Gr. v. Helmersen, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des russischen Reiches*, i. (St. Petersburg, 1839), pp. 104 sq. Compare T. de Pauly, *Description ethnographique des peuples*

*de la Russie* (St. Petersburg, 1862), *Peuples de l'Amérique russe*, pp. 9, 10 ; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of America* (London, 1801), p. cxix.

Belief of  
the Hurons  
in the rein-  
carnation  
of infants.

of Hearne confirms my assertion. I had much trouble in dissuading the Hareskins from this superstition, and I doubt whether I succeeded. I could not banish from the mind of a young girl the idea that she had lived before her birth under a different name and with different features than those with which I was familiar; nor could I prevent an old woman from claiming the possession of a neighbour's child under the specious pretext that she recognized in it the transmigrated soul of her deceased son. I have known of several such cases. The Hurons shared the same belief. According to Malte-Brun, they buried their little ones beside the paths, in order that the women who passed by might receive their souls and bring them afresh into the world. This power of reincarnation is by the Dénés extended equally to the animals. I have known an unhappy old mother who grieved because a professional witch assured her that she had seen her dead son prowling on the bank of the river in the likeness of a bear. It seldom happens after the death of a conspicuous savage that his companions do not say they have seen him transformed into a two-footed cariboo, a bear, or an elan."<sup>1</sup> Again, Father Morice tells us that "metempsychosis was believed in by the Carriers and the Sekanais and very likely by the other two tribes also [the Chilcotins and the Nahanes], though I could not positively affirm this. It amounted, in their estimation, to the regeneration of persons who had led a virtuous life and were supposed to be rewarded therefor by a new birth. Transformations into beings of a lower order, however, than that of their former condition, were repugnant to their psychological ideas."<sup>2</sup>

When we remember how closely a belief in the reincarnation of the dead is associated with the totemic system of

<sup>1</sup> E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dènè-Dindjié*, p. 59. Under the name Dènè-Dindjié the writer includes the whole Tinneh stock (*op. cit.* pp. 23 sq.). I have not found the passage of Hearne to which Father Petitot refers in confirmation of his statement. The account of the Huron belief in the reincarnation of infants comes from a Jesuit missionary report of the

year 1636. See *Relations des Jésuites*, 1636, p. 130 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858).

<sup>2</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés, their Manners and Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, Toronto, Third Series, vol. vii. Fasciculus 1 (Toronto, 1889), p. 161.

the Central Australian aborigines,<sup>1</sup> we need not be surprised at finding the same belief held by totemic peoples in other parts of the world ; and if the view is correct that totemism in its origin was simply a theory invented to explain the facts of conception and childbirth, the coincidence of the belief in reincarnation with the practice of totemism in the same tribes may not be accidental but vital.

Totemism associated with the re-incarnation of the dead also in Australia.

The Tinneh or Déné Indians possess the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the Tâ-nâ-tinne tribe, who seem to be the Hare Indians, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *Sa-tâ* "my father" to his father, and to his father's brother ; he applies the same term *A-na* "my mother" to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. In his own generation he has separate terms for "my elder brother" (*Sün-no-ga*) and "my younger brother" (*Sün-no-gâ-yă-za*), for "my elder sister" (*Sa-da-za*) and "my younger sister" (*Sa-da-za-yă-za*) ; and he applies the same terms "elder brother," "younger brother," "elder sister," "younger sister" to his first cousins, the sons and daughters of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. In the generation below his own he applies the same term *Sa-yă-za* "my son" and *Sa-to-a* "my daughter" to his own sons and daughters and to his nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters both of his brothers and of his sisters.<sup>2</sup>

The classificatory system of relationship among the Tâ-nâ-tinne or Hare Indians.

Again, among the Loucheux or Kutchins in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *Te-angh* "my father" to his father and to his father's brothers ; he applies the same term *Na-aingh* "my mother" to his mother and to his mother's sisters. In his own generation he has separate terms for "my elder brother" (*Soon-da-ga*), "my younger brother" (*Sa-chă*), "my elder sister" (*Sa-che*), and "my younger sister" (*Sa-chith*) ; and he applies the same terms "elder brother," "younger brother," "elder sister," "younger sister" to his first cousins, the sons and daughters of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. In the

The classificatory system of relationship among the Loucheux or Kut-chins.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 182 sq., 188 sqq.

*sanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 236 and Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-*

generation below his own he applies the same term *Sa-tin-ge* "my son" and *Sa-che* "my daughter" to his own sons and daughters and to his nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of his brothers. But he applies different terms *Soo* "my nephew (?)" and *Sa-ke* (?) "my niece" to the sons and daughters of his sisters.<sup>1</sup>

### § 8. *Reported Totemism among the Eskimo*

The Eskimo appear to be without the institutions of totemism and exogamy.

From almost all the accounts which have been given of the Innuït or Eskimo, who range over an immense but dreary and inhospitable region from Bering Strait on the west to Greenland on the east, it would seem that the institutions of totemism and exogamy are wholly lacking among that people. In these respects, therefore, if the accounts are true, the Eskimo resemble their neighbours in north-eastern Asia, the Chukchee and Koryak.<sup>2</sup> On this subject one good authority, Mr. W. H. Dall, definitely says that "the totemic system is not found among the Innuït."<sup>3</sup> However, a subsequent writer, Mr. E. W. Nelson, who has given us a valuable account of the Innuït or Eskimo about Bering Strait,<sup>4</sup> believed that he had found totemism in that branch of the race. He says: "From Kuskokwim river northward to the shores of Bering strait and Kotzebue sound the Eskimo have a regular system of totem marks and the accompanying subdivision of the people into gentes."<sup>5</sup> What Mr. Nelson calls the totem marks are carved on weapons and implements of many sorts, painted on garments and wooden utensils, and tattooed on faces. Some of these

However, Mr. E. W. Nelson reports that totemism exists among the Eskimo of Bering Strait. Marks which Mr. Nelson regards as

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 239 and Table II. pp. 293 *sqq.* In his monograph on the Tinnehs or Dénés the missionary Father E. Petitot gives some indications of the use of the classificatory system of relationship among them; for he tells us that they have no word in their language for cousins, whether first cousins or cousins further removed; they call them all brothers and sisters. Further, they have no words for brother and sister in general, but they have special terms to distinguish elder from younger brothers

and sisters. And further in their language the words for uncle and aunt are derived from the words for father and mother. See E. Petitot, *Monographie des Déné-Dindjé* (Paris, 1876), p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 348, 352.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (London, 1870), p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> W. E. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1899) pp. 19-518.

<sup>5</sup> E. W. Nelson, *op. cit.* p. 322.

marks represent or refer to the wolf, the otter, the ermine, the raven, and the gerfalcon. "Arrows or other weapons marked with the sign of the wolf or other animal totem mark are believed to become invested with some of the qualities of the animal represented and to be endowed with special fatality."<sup>1</sup> "Women belonging to the wolf gens braid strips of wolfskin in their hair, and the young men and boys wear a wolf tail hung behind on the belt. It is said to have been the ancient custom for all to wear some mark about the dress by which the gens of each person might be distinguished."<sup>2</sup> "It is customary for hunters to carry about with them an object representing their totem. A man belonging to the raven gens carries in his quiver a pair of raven feet and a quill feather from the same bird. The gerfalcon man carries in his quiver a quill feather of that totem bird."<sup>3</sup> Further, we are told that some of the masks worn by the Eskimo at their festivals represent the totemic animals, and that on these occasions the wearer of such a mask is believed to become the creature whose mask he wears, or at least he is supposed to be endowed with its spiritual essence.<sup>4</sup>

totemic are carved on weapons, painted on garments, and tattooed on faces.

Totemic badges said to be worn by members of a totemic clan.

Totemic masks.

Such in brief is the evidence on which Mr. Nelson relies to prove the existence of totemism and totemic clans among the Eskimo. It does not seem to me to be sufficient; and until more cogent arguments are adduced, I prefer to acquiesce in the opinion of Mr. W. H. Dall that the totemic system is not found among the Eskimo.

Mr. Nelson's evidence of totemism among the Eskimo seems insufficient.

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1899), p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> E. W. Nelson, *op. cit.* p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> E. W. Nelson, *op. cit.* p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> E. W. Nelson, *op. cit.* p. 395.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### GUARDIAN SPIRITS AMONG THE AMERICAN INDIANS

#### § 1. *Guardian Spirits in general*

Besides the totem of their clan many American Indians possessed a guardian spirit, which they acquired for themselves in dreams and did not transmit to their offspring.

WE have now completed our survey of totemism in the usual sense of the term, that is, of clan totems, in North America. But besides the clan totem, which was hereditary either in the male or the female line and was shared by every member of the clan, many North American Indians stood individually in a certain mystic relationship to a supernatural being, commonly called their guardian spirit, which they neither shared with others nor transmitted to their descendants. As this guardian spirit generally appeared in the form of an animal, and as the man often, though not always, respected the species of animal in which he believed his mysterious patron to be embodied, it is clear that these guardian spirits or tutelary animals bear some resemblance to totems, and accordingly I have called them individual totems<sup>1</sup> to distinguish them from the hereditary totems of the clans.

These guardian spirits have been called individual totems.

To this it has been objected by Professor E. B. Tylor<sup>2</sup> that the guardian spirit of each individual Indian, even when it is embodied in an animal, is something entirely different from the totem of the clan and ought not to be designated by the general name of totem, even with the qualifying epithet individual or personal. The distinction between the two is indeed manifest, and both in my original treatise and in my subsequent writings I have been careful to maintain it; for whenever I speak of totems or totemism in the abstract without qualification, I always refer to the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. 49 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Tylor, in *Man*, ii. (1902) pp. 2 *sq.*

totems of clans. Yet the attitude of respect and affection in which a man stands towards his totemic animal in the strict sense of the word so closely resembles that in which he stands towards his guardian spirit in animal form, that it seems, at least at first sight, difficult to separate them entirely and to affirm that they are wholly unconnected with each other. Indeed some of the most eminent American ethnologists, who have personally studied totemism and the system of guardian spirits as living institutions among the Indians, are so strongly impressed by the connection between the two that they derive the clan totem directly from the guardian spirit, believing that it is nothing but the guardian spirit of an individual ancestor of the clan transmitted by inheritance to his descendants—whether in the male or the female line. But if the clan totem could be proved to have originated in this way, it would be hard to bestow the name of totem on the guardian spirit of the descendants and yet to deny it to the same guardian spirit of the ancestor. This view of the origin of the clan totem will be discussed later on. Whether we accept it or not, the weight of authority by which it is supported entitles it at least to a respectful consideration.

Resemblance of the guardian spirit to the clan totem.

Theory that the clan totem is derived from the guardian spirit.

Others again, admitting a relation between the clan totem and the guardian spirit, invert it by supposing that the guardian spirit is not the original of the clan totem but that on the contrary it has been developed out of it at a time when the totemism of the clans was falling into decay, and when consequently individuals, deprived of the protection of the clan totem, looked about for a personal guardian of their own to supply its place.<sup>1</sup> In support of this view it might be urged, that whereas individual totems or guardian spirits in the form of animals are rare in Australia, where clan totemism is, or rather was lately, in full bloom, they were far commoner in North America, where on the

Contrary theory that the guardian spirit is derived from the clan totem.

<sup>1</sup> This is, if I understand them aright, the view of Mr. E. S. Hartland, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Messrs. H. Hubert and M. Mauss. See E. S. Hartland in *Folk-Lore*, xi. (1900) p. 68; A. C. Haddon, in *Report of the British Association Meeting at Belfast*,

1902, p. 742; H. Hubert et M. Mauss, "Théorie générale de la Magie," *L'Année Sociologique*, vii. (Paris, 1904) pp. 32 sq. Mr. A. R. Brown, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, tells me in conversation that he shares this view.

other hand clan totemism would seem to have been decadent, the sanctity of the relation between a man and his clan totem being at least much less prominent in America than in Australia.<sup>1</sup>

In this uncertainty as to their relation to each other it is best to consider the guardian spirit by itself.

Whether either or neither of these views as to the relation of guardian spirits to clan totems be correct, the subject deserves to be considered in a treatise on totemism, and accordingly I shall now give some account of the guardian spirits of the American Indians. But to prevent confusion, I have hitherto treated the American clan totems independently and have reserved the consideration of the guardian spirits for a separate chapter. I shall describe the institution of guardian spirits as it existed in the various tribes, and shall then compare its diffusion with that of clan totemism, in order to see whether the comparison may throw light on the relation between the two.

## § 2. *Guardian Spirits among the Algonkins*

Guardian spirits or *manitoo*s best attested for the Algonkins.

The existence of guardian spirits of individuals is best attested among the tribes of the Algonkin stock in Eastern America and again among some of the tribes of the North-West. We shall begin with the Algonkins, among whom the guardian spirit of the individual was known as the *manitoo*.<sup>2</sup> The following account of the *manitoo* or *manitou* is given by the historian Mr. Francis Parkman, who drew his knowledge of it from life as well as from books. It applies to the Iroquois and Hurons as well as to the Algonkins:—

Francis Parkman's account of the *manitoo*.

“Besides ascribing life and intelligence to the material world, animate and inanimate, the Indian believes in supernatural existences, known among the Algonquins as *Manitous*, and among the Iroquois and Hurons as *Okies* or *Otkons*.

<sup>1</sup> I have again and again emphasised the absence of information as to the religious aspect of totemism among the North American Indians; but as this lack of information may be due rather to the inattention of observers than to the indifference of the Indians, I speak with hesitation on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> The word is variously spelt as *manitoo*, *manitou*, *manito*, *manido*, *monedo*, *munedoo*, and so forth. The spelling *manitou* represents the French pronunciation and ought not to be adopted in English. Compare *Hand-book of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 800 sq.

These words comprehend all forms of supernatural being, from the highest to the lowest, with the exception, possibly, of certain diminutive fairies or hobgoblins, and certain giants and anomalous monsters, which appear under various forms, grotesque and horrible, in the Indian fireside legends. There are local *manitous* of streams, rocks, mountains, cataracts, and forests. The conception of these beings betrays, for the most part, a striking poverty of imagination. In nearly every case, when they reveal themselves to mortal sight, they bear the semblance of beasts, reptiles, or birds, in shapes unusual or distorted. There are other *manitous* without local habitation, some good, some evil, countless in number and indefinite in attributes. They fill the world, and control the destinies of men,—that is to say, of Indians: for the primitive Indian holds that the white man lives under a spiritual rule distinct from that which governs his own fate. These beings, also, appear for the most part in the shape of animals. Sometimes, however, they assume human proportions; but more frequently they take the form of stones, which, being broken, are found full of living blood and flesh.

“Each primitive Indian has his guardian *manitou*, to whom he looks for counsel, guidance, and protection. These spiritual allies are gained by the following process. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, the Indian boy blackens his face, retires to some solitary place, and remains for days without food. Superstitious expectancy and the exhaustion of abstinence rarely fail of their results. His sleep is haunted by visions, and the form which first or most often appears is that of his guardian *manitou*,—a beast, a bird, a fish, a serpent, or some other object, animate or inanimate. An eagle or a bear is the vision of a destined warrior; a wolf, of a successful hunter; while a serpent foreshadows the future medicine-man, or, according to others, portends disaster. The young Indian thenceforth wears about his person the object revealed in his dream, or some portion of it,—as a bone, a feather, a snake-skin, or a tuft of hair. This, in the modern language of the forest and prairie, is known as his ‘medicine.’ The Indian yields to it a sort of worship, propitiates it with offerings of tobacco, thanks it in prosperity, and upbraids it in disaster. If his medicine fails

The term is a general word designating supernatural beings or spirits of every sort.

The personal *manitou* or guardian spirit is obtained by fasting and dreaming at puberty; the thing which appears in a dream to the faster is his guardian spirit, and he wears a piece of it about him.

to bring the desired success, he will sometimes discard it and adopt another. The superstition now becomes mere fetich-worship, since the Indian regards the mysterious object which he carries about with him rather as an embodiment than as a representative of a supernatural power."<sup>1</sup>

The unscrupulous and cowardly might avail themselves of this superstition to shirk fighting.

Thus it appears that a man's career in life might be decided by the animal of which he happened to dream at puberty. Mr. Parkman knew an old Dakota chief, who was greatly respected, but had never been to war, though he came of a fighting family. The reason of his pacific life was that at his initiatory fast he had dreamed of an antelope, the peace-spirit of his people.<sup>2</sup> It is obvious that cowardly and unscrupulous youths might take advantage of this superstition to shirk the hardships and dangers of war; they had only to profess to have dreamed of an antelope or other timorous creature, and the thing was done. "Women fast as well as men,—always at the time of transition from childhood to maturity. In the *Narrative* of John Tanner, there is an account of an old woman who had fasted, in her youth, for ten days, and throughout her life placed the firmest faith in the visions which had appeared to her at that time. Among the Northern Algonquins, the practice, down to a recent day, was almost universal."<sup>3</sup>

Women fast as well as men.

Thus *manitoo* was a general Algonkin term for all the spirits of nature. The guardian spirits of individuals were only one class of these *manitoos*. Early Jesuit account of the *manitoo*.

From the preceding account we gather that *manitoo* was a general term including most of the spirits of nature in which the Algonkins believed. Thus the guardian spirit of the individual was only one of a large class of spirits to which the common name of *manitoo* was given. This description of the *manitoo* agrees with that of the early Jesuit missionaries, one of whom writes that the Montagnets, an Algonkin tribe of Canada "give the name of *manitoo* to every nature superior to man, whether good or bad. That is why, when we speak of God, they name him sometimes the Good *Manitoo*, and when we speak of the devil, they call him the Wicked *Manitoo*. All those who have special knowledge of the good or bad *Manitoo* they call *Mantouisiouekehi*. And so far as these men know only the wicked *Manitoo*, that is to say, the

<sup>1</sup> Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, Fourth Edition (Boston, 1870), pp. lxix.-lxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Parkman, *op. cit.* p. lxxi. note <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Parkman, *op. cit.* p. lxxi.

devil, we call them sorcerers.”<sup>1</sup> These sorcerers were supposed to be able to kill people by invoking their *manitoo*. They would shut themselves up in their hut, and the spirits would bring them the souls of their enemies in the shape of stones or other objects, which the sorcerer then struck with a sword or an axe, till the blood ran out and reddened the weapon ; whereupon the person whose soul suffered in this fashion fell sick and died.<sup>2</sup> Before going to hunt, a man would retire to a small hut and there consult his *manitoo*, who was expected to tell him where to find game.<sup>3</sup> The spirit or, as the Jesuits called him, the devil also communicated with the Montagnet Indians in dreams. A man would dream, for example, that an elk appeared to him in his sleep and said to him, “Come to me.” On waking from sleep the dreamer would seek that elk till he found it, and having stabbed it to death he would open the carcase and discover in it some hair or a stone ; and this object, whatever it was, he would carefully keep in order to be afterwards lucky in finding and killing many animals. The precious thing, which thus served as a talisman, was hidden in a bag, into which the owner would suffer no one else to look.<sup>4</sup>

The man kills the animal of which he dreamed and keeps a portion of it as a charm in a bag.

The following is the account which the Jesuit Charlevoix, the historian of French America, gives of the guardian spirit ; like that of Parkman it appears to apply to the Hurons and Iroquois as well as to the Algonkins :—

“They address themselves to the evil genii only to pray not to harm them, but they suppose that the rest are committed to the guardianship of men, and that every man has his own. In the Huron tongue they are called *okkis* and in the Algonkin *manitoos*. The Indians have recourse to them in the dangers they incur, in the enterprises they undertake and when they wish to obtain some extraordinary favour. There is nothing, however unreasonable and immoral, which they do not think themselves entitled to ask of them. But they are not under their protection at birth. To merit that favour they must be able to handle the bow and arrow,

Charlevoix's account of the *manitoo*.

<sup>1</sup> *Relations des Jésuites*, 1637, p. 49 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 1637, pp. 49, 50 (Canadian reprint).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1633, p. 17 (Canadian reprint).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 1637, p. 50 (Canadian reprint).

and many preparations are needed before they can receive it. It is the most important part of their life. The following are the principal circumstances.

The  
*manitoo* or  
guardian  
spirit  
acquired by  
fasting and  
dreaming.

“They begin by blackening the boy’s face, then they make him fast for eight days without giving him anything at all to eat, and it is requisite that his future guardian genius should manifest himself to the boy in dreams during this time. The hollow brain of the poor lad, who has just arrived at puberty, cannot fail to furnish him with dreams, and every morning they are at great pains to make him tell them. Nevertheless the fast often ends before the appointed time, few boys having the strength to prolong it so far; however, that makes no difference; here, as elsewhere, the convenient custom of allowing dispensations is practised. The guardian genius is always the thing of which the boy has oftenest dreamed; and in truth the thing is only a symbol or figure under which the spirit manifests himself. But it has happened to these people as to all who have departed from the primitive religion; they have clung to the figure and lost sight of the reality.

The  
guardian is  
sometimes  
a part of an  
animal, or  
a piece of  
wood, etc.

“However, these symbols signify nothing by themselves, sometimes it is the head of a bird, at others the foot of an animal, or a piece of wood, in short any common or worthless thing. Nevertheless they keep the thing with as much care as the ancients took in the preservation of their Penates. There is indeed nothing in nature, if we can believe the savages, which has not its spirit; but there are spirits of all orders, and all have not the same virtue. When there is anything which they do not understand, they attribute to it a superior genius, and the mode of expressing themselves is to say, ‘It is a spirit.’ Similarly, but in a higher degree, with men: those who have singular talents or perform extraordinary feats are spirits; that is, they have a guardian genius of an order above the common. Some, and especially the jugglers, try to persuade the multitude that they are subject to ecstatic transports. . . . The jugglers never fail to announce that in their pretended ecstasies their genii impart to them great knowledge of the most distant things and of the future; and as chance (supposing you will not allow that the Devil has a hand in it) will sometimes have it that they

devine or guess aright, they gain great credit thereby and are esteemed geniuses of the first order.

“As soon as a boy has been told what he is thenceforth to regard as his tutelary genius, he is carefully instructed as to his obligation of honouring it, of following the advice which he will receive from it in sleep, of deserving its favours, of reposing all his trust in it, and of fearing the effects of its wrath if he fails to acquit himself of his duty. The ceremony ends by a feast, and it is also usual to tattoo the figure of his *okki* or *manitoo* on the boy's body. It would seem that so solemn an engagement, of which the mark is ineffaceable, should be inviolable; nevertheless very little is needed to break it.

The guardian honoured and trusted.

“The savages are unwilling to acknowledge themselves in the wrong, even in regard to their gods; and they make no scruple of justifying themselves at the expense of the deities. So the first time they must either condemn themselves or cast the blame on their guardian genius, it is always the latter who is at fault; they look out for another without more ado and with the same precautions as in the first instance. The women have also their *manitoos* or *okkis*, but they pay less attention to them than the men, perhaps because they give them less to do.”<sup>1</sup>

Women also have their *manitoos*.

The following is Schoolcraft's account of the guardian spirit or personal *manitoo* among the Algonkins: “To give some idea of the Indian mythology as above denoted, it is necessary to conceive every department of the universe to be filled with invisible spirits. These spirits hold in their belief nearly the same relation to matter that the soul does to the body: they pervade it. They believe not only that every man, but also that every animal, has a soul. . . . Dreams are considered by them as a means of direct communication with the spiritual world; and hence the great influence which dreams exert over the Indian mind and conduct. They are generally regarded as friendly warnings of their personal *manitos*. No labor or enterprise

Schoolcraft's account of the *manitoo* among the Algonkins.

Belief in the power of dreams.

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), vi. 67-70. Sagard also tells us that the name for a spirit in Huron is *oki* and in Algonkin *manitoo*. See F. Gabriel Sagard,

*Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons* (Paris, 1865), pp. 160 sq. Sagard's travels were first published at Paris in 1632.

is undertaken against their indications. A whole army is turned back if the dreams of the officiating priest are unfavorable. A family lodge has been known to be deserted by all its inmates at midnight, leaving the fixtures behind, because one of the family had dreamt of an attack, and been frightened with the impression of blood and tomahawks. To give more solemnity to his office the priest or leading *meta* exhibits a sack containing the carved or stuffed images of animals, with medicines and bones constituting the sacred charms. These are never exhibited to the common gaze, but, on a march, the sack is hung up in plain view. To profane the medicine sack would be equivalent to violating the altar. Dreams are carefully sought by every Indian, whatever be their rank, at certain periods of youth, while fasting. These fasts are sometimes continued a great number of days, until the devotee becomes pale and emaciated. The animals that appear propitiously to the mind during these dreams, are fixed on and selected as personal *manitos*, and are ever after viewed as guardians. This period of fasting and dreaming is deemed as essential by them as any religious rite whatever employed by Christians. The initial fast of a young man or girl holds the relative importance of baptism, with this peculiarity, that it is a free-will or self-dedicatory rite.”<sup>1</sup>

The  
medicine-  
bag.

Fasts and  
dreams,  
their  
importance  
for the  
Indians.

Distinction  
between  
totems and  
guardian  
spirits.

Again, in regard to the Algonkin tribes which clustered round Lake Michigan, Schoolcraft tells us that “each clan or family has a totem, which serves to keep up the line of descents. This is different, in principle, from the system of guardian spirits. Every individual, male and female, has one of the latter, no matter what the totem may be. Totems are by descent—guardian spirits by choice or experience. This experience is chiefly sought in fasts and dreams, a series of which are undertaken for this purpose, at the age of puberty. The fast is undertaken to prepare the body for the dream. These dreams are continued until some animal or bird, or other animate object, appears, which is fixed on as the

<sup>1</sup> Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Oneöta, or Characteristics of the Red Race of America* (New York and London, 1845), pp. 455 *sq.*; *id.*, *The American Indians, their History, Condition and Prospects*, New Revised Edition (Buffalo, 1851), pp. 212 *sq.*

genie, or guardian spirit. Thus the mind of the Indian, dark in itself, gropes after truth. Feeling the need of some supernatural power, it aims to strengthen itself by reliance on the shadowy, the mysterious, and the symbolic. It is believed that the guardian spirit leads the man safely through the vicissitudes of life, preserves him in battle, and gives him success in the chase."<sup>1</sup>

Trust in the guardian spirit.

The following account of guardian spirits appears, like the foregoing, to apply to the Algonkin Indians of Lake Michigan, particularly to the Pottawatamies, who occupied the country at the south end of the lake. "Independently of the name which he bears, and of the *totem* or badge of family to which he lays claim, an Indian has frequently a kind spirit to watch over him and assist him. This tutelary saint is, of course, held in high veneration, and nothing is done that could in the least offend him. The mode in which each Indian becomes acquainted with the name or nature of this ministering spirit, is by dreams, in which he fancies that the Master of Life reveals himself to him in his sleep, under the form of some tangible object in creation, generally of an animal; under this shape the Great Spirit holds converse with him, and the Indian ever after supposes that this is the form in which he may expect to see the Great Spirit appear to him. To this animal, whom he considers as a medium of communication between him and the Master of Life, he addresses his prayers and states his wants; he consults it in all difficulties, and not unfrequently conceives that he has derived relief from it. Of course, he abstains from eating of the animal, and would rather starve than sacrilegiously feed upon his idol. But he holds the animal as a friend to himself alone. He knows that others have different spirits, and hence does not think himself bound to protect that animal against his companions, because he knows that there is no virtue in the animal for any one but himself. Sometimes, instead of the whole animal, it is only in some part of it that the charm resides,

Keating's account of the guardian spirit.

The guardian spirit is an animal seen in a dream and supposed to embody the Great Spirit.

The Indian will not eat his tutelary animal.

Sometimes the charm resides in a part only of an animal.

<sup>1</sup> Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 196. In the next sentence Schoolcraft adds: "With the rest of the Algonquin tribes, they

believe in magic, witchcraft, sorcery, and the power and influence of minor *monedos*, as well as one great ruling good *monedo*, and one great counter-acting bad *monedo*."

and in this case he will feel no hesitation in eating of all the other parts of the beast."<sup>1</sup>

Points of resemblance between the totem and the guardian spirit.

From the foregoing account it appears that when a man has acquired a guardian spirit in the form of an animal, he carefully abstains from eating the flesh of any animal of that species, though he does not object to other people partaking of it. This attitude of a man to his tutelary animal resembles that of a man to his clan totem. Further, it is of interest to observe that the practice of splitting a totem, which is sometimes applied with great advantage to the clan totem,<sup>2</sup> can be profitably applied also to the individual totem or guardian spirit. Thus to pare down the claims of superstition to the narrowest limits is a sign both of intellectual and of economic progress.

Guardian spirits among the Pottawatamies.

The Jesuit missionary Father De Smet has given us the following account of guardian spirits among the Pottawatamies: "When the time comes to give a child a name, the parents make a great feast. They send to all the guests a small leaf of tobacco or a small ring, which is their manner of invitation. After the repast the oldest member of the family proclaims the name, which has generally reference either to some distinctive mark or to some dream of the child or perhaps to some good or evil trait in his character. This ceremony takes place for boys when they have attained the age of seventeen. Previously they are bound to undergo a very rigorous fast of seven or eight days, during which the parents recommend their son to pay great attention to the dreams which the Great Spirit may send him, and which will reveal to him his future destiny. For example, if he is to be a chief or a great warrior, it will be revealed to him by the number of animals which will fall beneath his tomahawk, or by the number of scalps which he will take from his enemies in his dreams. The animal which presents itself to him will become his totem (*dodême*), and all his life long he will carry about him a badge of it, whether it be a claw, a tooth, a tail, a feather, or what not."<sup>3</sup> Further, Father

<sup>1</sup> William H. Keating, *Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (London, 1825), i. 117 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Le R. P. De Smet, *Voyages aux Montagnes Rocheuses et séjour chez les tribus indiennes de l'Oregon*, Nouvelle édition (Brussels and Paris,

De Smet tells us that before the tomb of a warrior these Indians set up "the post of the braves; on the top of it they paint in red the animal or totem (*dodême*), the guardian spirit of the deceased, and all the persons present make one or more marks on it. These marks are red crosses, by which they mean to represent all the ghosts of their vanquished foes whom they wish to serve their comrade as slaves in the other world. I have seen posts which had eighty to a hundred of these crosses."<sup>1</sup> From these passages it is clear that the missionary De Smet fell into the same mistake as the interpreter J. Long<sup>2</sup> of confusing the guardian spirit with the totem.

Similarly, the Ottawas, another Algonkin tribe, revered their *manitoos*, as we learn from an old letter of a Catholic missionary. He writes that "where the superstition of these peoples appears most extravagant is in the worship they pay to what they call their *manitoo*. As they know hardly anything but the beasts with which they live in the forests, they imagine that in these beasts, or rather in their skins, or in their feathers, there resides a sort of genius who governs all things and is the Master of Life and Death. According to them there are *manitoos* common to a whole nation, and particular *manitoos* for each person.

"Oussakita, they say, is the grand *manitoo* of all the beasts that walk upon the earth or that fly in the air. It is he who governs them; so when they go hunting, they offer him tobacco, powder, lead, and well tanned skins, which they fasten to the end of a pole and set up in the air. 'Oussakita,' they say to him, 'we give you to smoke, we offer to you that with which to kill the beasts. Deign to accept these presents, and suffer not that the beasts escape our shafts. Let us kill a great many of them, and the fattest, that our children may lack neither garments nor food.' They give the name of *Michibichi* to the *manitoo* of the waters and of the fish, and they make him a somewhat similar sacrifice when they go afishing or when they

The *manitoos* of the Ottawas.

General *manitoos* common to the whole tribe.

1873), p. 393. The account given by De Smet of the customs of the Pottawatamies was first published in the *Annales de la propagation de la*

*Foi*, xi. (Lyons, 1838-1839) pp. 479-498.

<sup>1</sup> De Smet, *op. cit.* p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 51 sq.

undertake a voyage. This sacrifice consists in throwing into the water tobacco, provisions, and kettles, begging that the waters of the river may flow more gently, that the rocks may not break their canoes, and that he would grant them an abundant fishing.

Particular  
*manitoos* of  
individuals.

“Besides these common *manitoos*, each has his own particular one, who is a bear, or a beaver, or a bustard, or some such creature. They wear the skin of that animal in war, in the chase, and on journeys, being persuaded that it will save them from every danger and cause them to succeed in their undertakings. When a savage wishes to get a *manitoo*, the first animal which presents itself to his imagination in sleep is usually the one on which his choice falls. He kills an animal of the species, puts its skin, or its feathers if it is a bird, in the most honourable part of his hut, and prepares a feast in its honour, during which he harangues the creature in the most respectful terms, after which it is recognized as his *manitoo*.”<sup>1</sup>

The man  
kills the  
animal of  
which he  
dreamed  
and keeps  
a portion  
of it as a  
charm.

The  
*manitoo* or  
guardian  
spirit  
among the  
Ojibways.

The guardian spirit or personal *manitoo* also played an important part in the beliefs and customs of the Ojibways, an important Algonkin tribe. The evidence of the Indian interpreter John Long on this subject has been already quoted.<sup>2</sup> The Ojibway creed and practice in regard to the *manitoo* or *munedo* are thus explained by William W. Warren, the historian of the Ojibways, who had himself Ojibway blood in his veins:—

Warren's  
account  
of the  
Ojibway  
belief in a  
Great  
Spirit and  
many  
minor  
spirits.

“They believe in a multiplicity of spirits which pervade all nature, yet all these are subordinate to the one Great Spirit of good. This belief is as natural (if not more so) as the belief of the Catholics in their interceding saints, which in some respects it resembles, for in the same light as intercessors between him and the Great Spirit, does the more simple Red Man regard the spirits which in his imagination pervade all creation. The never-failing rigid fasts of first manhood, when they seek in dreams for a guardian spirit, illustrate this belief most forcibly.

The Great  
Spirit (Ke-  
che-mun-  
e-do).

“*Ke-che-mun-e-do* (Great Spirit) is the name used by the Ojibways for the being equivalent to our God. They have

<sup>1</sup> *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Nouvelle édition, vi. (Paris, 1781) pp. 172-174.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 52.

another term which can hardly be surpassed by any one in the English language, for force, condensity, and expression, namely *Ke-zha-mune-do*, which means pitying, charitable, overruling, guardian and merciful Spirit; in fact, it expresses all the great attributes of the God of Israel. It is derived from *Ke-zha-wand-e-se-roin*, meaning charity, kindness—*Ke-zha-wus-so* expressing the guardian feeling, and solicitude of a parent towards its offspring, watching it with jealous vigilance from harm; and *Shah-wau-je-gay*, to take pity, merciful, with *Mun-e-do* (spirit). There is nothing to equal the veneration with which the Indian regards this unseen being. They seldom even ever mention his name unless in their *Me-da-we* and other religious rites, and in their sacrificial feasts; and then an address to him, however trivial, is always accompanied with a sacrifice of tobacco or some other article deemed precious by the Indian. They never use his name in vain, and there is no word in their language expressive of a profane oath, or equivalent to the many words used in profane swearing by their more enlightened white brethren. Instances are told of persons while enduring almost superhuman fasts, obtaining a vision of him in their dreams; in such instances the Great Spirit invariably appears to the dreamer in the shape of a beautifully and strongly-formed man. And it is a confirmed belief amongst them, that he or she who has once been blessed with this vision, is fated to live to a good old age and in enjoyment of ease and plenty.

The  
beatific  
vision.

“All other minor or guardian spirits whom they court in their first dream of fasting appear to them in the shape of quadrupeds, birds, or some inanimate object in nature, as the moon, the stars, or the imaginary thunderers; and even this dream-spirit is never mentioned without sacrifice. The dream itself which has appeared to the faster, guides in a great measure his future course in life, and he never relates it without offering a sacrificial feast to the spirit of the dream. The bones of the animal which he offers are carefully gathered, unbroken, tied together, and either hung on a tree, thrown into deep water, or carefully burnt. Their beliefs and rites, connected with their fasts and dreams, are of great importance to themselves, more so than has been

The minor  
guardian  
spirits  
obtained by  
fasting and  
dreams.

generally understood by writers who have treated of the Algics." <sup>1</sup>

Peter Jones's account of the Ojibway belief.

Every medicine man has his own *munedoo* or guardian spirit. He obtains it by fasting and dreaming in his youth.

An instructive account of the Ojibway belief in guardian spirits is given by the Rev. Peter Jones, a full-blooded Ojibway Indian, who had himself fasted in his youth to obtain a guardian spirit, but without success. He says:—

"In addition to their belief in the existence of these general gods, each *pow-wow* conjurer and medicine man has his personal or familiar gods, which are of his own imagining. The method they take to obtain the favour of these is by fasting and watching. The Indian youth from the age of ten to manhood are encouraged by their parents and the old people to fast, with the promise that if they do they will entertain them in the evening by the relation of one of their traditions or tales. Inspired with the hope of gaining favour with some god, and looking forward to the promised reward at the end of the day, they rise before the sun, take a piece of charcoal, which they pound to powder, and with it blacken their faces, the girls only blackening the upper part. During their fast they abstain from all food and drinks; towards sunset they wash their faces and then eat a little broth or soup which has been prepared for them; in this way they go on for several successive days, the longer the better, and the more *munedoos* they will be likely to propitiate. All this time they notice every remarkable event, dream, or supernatural sound; and whichever of these makes the most impression on their minds during their fast, suggests the particular spirit which becomes their personal *munedoo* as long as they live, and in all emergencies and dangers they will call upon him for assistance. . . . By the agency of these *munedoos* they pretend to possess the power of bewitching one another, performing extraordinary cures, foretelling future events, vanquishing their enemies, and charming the pretty Indian girl they intend to marry. If they chance to dream of seeing a *munedoo* standing on a rock in the lake, they imagine they have obtained the assistance

Power exercised by means of the *munedoo*.

<sup>1</sup> William W. Warren, *History of the Ojibways* (St. Paul, Minn., 1885), pp. 63-65 (*Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*). The writer adds:

"These facts are mentioned here to

show an analogy with the ancient and primitive customs of the Hebrews—their faith in dreams, their knowledge and veneration of the unseen God, and the customs of fasting and sacrifice."

of a powerful god. To dream of seeing an old grey-headed man is taken as a token of long life ; or of a pretty woman, that they will be blest with more wives than one. If they happen to dream of sharp-pointed instruments, or anything that is proof against the arrow, tomahawk, or bullet, they fancy themselves proof against the shot of their enemy. When they dream of animals or fowls they imagine they are invested with the power of self-defence as possessed by these creatures. A poor Indian at Lake Huron used to boast that he had obtained the spirit of a bat. The following Ojibway tradition of a war exploit will show the confidence they place in dreams :—

“ A canoe manned with warriors was once pursued by a number of others, all filled with their enemies. They endeavoured to escape, paddling with all their might, but the enemy still gained upon them ; then the old warriors began to call for the assistance of those things they had dreamt of during their fast-days. One man’s *munedoo* was a sturgeon, which being invoked, their speed was soon equal to that of this fish, leaving the enemy far behind ; but the sturgeon being short-winded, was soon tired, and the enemy again advanced rapidly upon them. The rest of the warriors, with the exception of one young man who, from his mean and ragged appearance, was considered a fool, called the assistance of their gods, which for a time enabled them to keep in advance. At length, having exhausted the strength of all their *munedoo*s, they were beginning to give themselves up for lost, the other canoes being now so near as to turn to head them, when just at this critical moment the foolish young man thought of his medicine bag, which in their flight he had taken off from his side and laid in the canoe. He called out, ‘ Where is my medicine bag ? ’ The warriors told him to be quiet ; what did he want with his medicine bag at this perilous time ? He still shouted, ‘ Where is my medicine bag ? ’ They again told him to paddle and not to trouble them about his medicine bag. As he persisted in his cry, ‘ Where is my medicine bag ? ’ one of the warriors seeing it by his side took it up and threw it to him. He, putting his hand into it, pulled out an old pouch made of the skin of a *Saw-bill*, a species of duck. This he

Invulner-  
ability.

Ojibway  
tradition  
illustrative  
of the  
magical  
virtues  
possessed  
by the  
guardian  
spirits.

Power  
of the  
Saw-bill  
medicine-  
bag.

held by the neck to the water. Immediately the canoe began to glide swiftly at the usual speed of a *Saw-bill*; and after being propelled for a short time by this wonderful power, they looked back and found they were far beyond the reach of the enemy, who had now given up the chase. . . . The young man then took up his pouch, rung the water out of it, and replaced it in his bag; telling the Indian[s] that he had not worn his medicine bag about his person for nothing,—that in his fast he had dreamt of this fowl, and was told that in all dangers it would deliver him, and that he should possess the speed and untiring nature of the *Saw-bill* duck. The old warriors were astonished at the power of the young man whom they had looked upon as almost an idiot, and were taught by him a lesson, never to form a mean opinion of any persons from their outward appearance.

Ojibway story of invulnerability conferred by the Spear guardian spirit.

“Another story related by our people illustrates the reliance they place on the power and help of these *munedoos*:—Many years ago an old chief had occasion to go to war with a neighbouring tribe of Indians. He assembled all his warriors together, and, after informing them of the object he had in view, called them to him one by one, and inquired what they had dreamt of during their fast-days, and what *munedoos* they could rely on for assistance. Those who had had dreams, and those who had had none at all, he placed by themselves. All who had dreamt of wars, or things proof against the arrow, tomahawk, or bullet, he selected for the expedition. When he came to the last man and asked him what he had dreamt of, he replied with a long whining tone ‘*Ahneed.*’ The chief, not understanding what he meant, repeated the question; the man replied as before, ‘*Ahneed.*’ ‘What do you say?’ said the chief. ‘*Ahneed.*’ was again the answer. The chief inquired what he meant by *ahneed*; when the warrior surprised him by stating that during his fastings he dreamed of *ahnit*, that is, a spear. The chief asked, ‘And what good will a spear do you?’ ‘As the point of the spear is proof against the arrow, tomahawk, and bullet, so is my body against all the shot of the enemy.’ ‘Very well,’ said the chief, ‘you shall go with me to the war.’ The chief, with his select warriors, then left for the scene of action; and, after crossing a river in canoes,

they fell upon the enemy, whom they soon conquered, destroying many of them. In all the battles they fought, not one of the old chief's party fell. The success and preservation of this war party was attributed solely to the aid of the *munedoo*s obtained by dreams.

"I well remember, in my early days, when I used to blacken my face and fast, in order to obtain the favour of some familiar god, that one day, being thirsty, I took a sip of water. The moment I had done so I remembered I was fasting. The thoughtless act filled me with sorrow, and I wept the greater part of the night, fearing that now no *munedoo* would ever communicate himself to me. In all my fastings I never had any vision or dream; and, consequently, obtained no familiar god, nor a spirit of the rank of a *pow-wow*." <sup>1</sup>

From the foregoing account it appears that a man is supposed to acquire the qualities of his guardian spirit or *manitoo* (*munedoo*). Thus if his guardian spirit is a sturgeon, he acquires the power of swimming fast like the sturgeon; if his guardian spirit is a duck, he acquires the power of skimming swiftly over the water like a duck; and if his guardian spirit is a spear (and it is to be remembered that the Indians commonly attribute spirits even to inanimate objects), he acquires the power of being invulnerable like a spear. In this respect the guardian spirit or *manitoo* resembles the clan totem; for as we have seen, a man is sometimes supposed to acquire the qualities of his clan totem, indeed to be in some measure identified with it. <sup>2</sup> Another point of interest in this valuable account of the guardian spirits is that some men, less imaginative and perhaps honester than their fellows, failed to dream of anything at the critical moment and so never claimed to possess a mysterious patron. On the other hand, the possession of a guardian spirit is essential to the medicine-man or magician (*pow-wow*); from which we may infer that as a class medicine-men and magicians are either more imaginative or less scrupulous than their fellows.

Amongst the Blackfeet, another Algonkin tribe, many

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, pp. 87-91.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 55 sq., 106, and vol. ii. pp. 8 sq.

Fruitless attempt to obtain a guardian spirit.

Thus a man is supposed to acquire the qualities of his guardian spirit. In this respect the guardian spirit resembles a clan totem.

Rev. E. F. Wilson's account of guardian spirits among the Blackfeet.

but not all men had their guardian spirits. The following account of the custom was given to the Rev. Edward F. Wilson by a Blackfoot chief named Big Plume: "Young men go up on to a hill, and cry and pray for some animal or bird to come to them. Before starting out they wash themselves all over and put off all their clothing and ornaments except a blanket. For five or six days they neither eat nor drink, and they become thin. They take a pipe with them and tinder and flint, and a native weed or bark for smoking (not matches or tobacco). When the pipe is filled they point the stem to the sun and say, 'Pity me, that some animal or bird may come to me!' Then they address the trees, the grass, the water, and the stones in the same manner. If any one crosses their path while so engaged, they call aloud to them to warn them off, saying, 'I am living alone. Do not come near!' While in this state they dream, and whatever animal or bird they see in their dream becomes their medicine or guardian through life. They are told also in a dream what description of herbs or roots to gather as their medicine, and this they collect and put carefully into a small bag to keep as a charm. They also kill the animal that they dreamed of, and keep its skin as a charm. No one knows what is the medicine they have gathered; it is kept a profound secret. The little bag is kept in the tent, and no one may touch it but the owner. Other Indians would be afraid to meddle with it. There is no particular age for young men to engage in the above rites. They start away in the evening—only in summer. Some go of their own accord, others are bid to do so by their fathers or elder brothers. If they do not go, any sickness that comes upon them will certainly be fatal, or if shot by an enemy they will certainly die."<sup>1</sup>

The medicine-bag.

Mr. Grinnell's account of guardian spirits among the Blackfeet.

Another account of the guardian spirits of the Blackfeet is given by Mr. George Bird Grinnell, who is well acquainted with the tribe. He says: "The Blackfeet men often went off by themselves to fast and dream for power. By no means every one did this, and, of those who attempted it, only a few endured to the end,—that is, fasted the whole

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Edward F. Wilson, "Report on the Blackfeet Tribes," *Report of the British Association, meeting held at Manchester, 1887, p. 187.*

four days,—and obtained the help sought. The attempt was not usually made by young boys before they had gone on their first war journey. It was often undertaken by men who were quite mature. Those who underwent this suffering were obliged to abstain from food or drink for four days and four nights, resting for two nights on the right side, and for two nights on the left. It was deemed essential that the place to which a man resorted for this purpose should be unfrequented, where few or no persons had walked ; and it must also be a place that tried the nerve, where there was some danger. Such situations were mountain peaks ; or narrow ledges on cut cliffs, where a careless movement might cause a man to fall to his death on the rocks below ; or islands in lakes, which could only be reached by means of a raft, and where there was danger that a man might be seized and carried off by the *Sū-yē-tūp-pi*, or Under Water People ; or places where the dead had been buried, and where there was much danger from ghosts. Or a man might lie in a well-worn buffalo trail, where the animals were frequently passing, and so he might be trodden on by a travelling band of buffalo ; or he might choose a locality where bears were abundant and dangerous. Wherever he went, the man built himself a little lodge of brush, moss, and leaves, to keep off the rain ; and, after making his prayers to the sun and singing his sacred songs, he crept into the hut and began his fast. He was not allowed to take any covering with him, nor to roof over his shelter with skins. He always had with him a pipe, and this lay by him, filled, so that, when the spirit, or dream, came, it could smoke. They did not appeal to any special class of helpers, but prayed to all alike. Often by the end of the fourth day, a secret helper—usually, but by no means always, in the form of some animal—appeared to the man in a dream, and talked with him, advising him, marking out his course through life, and giving him its power. There were some, however, on whom the power would not work, and a much greater number who gave up the fast, discouraged, before the prescribed time had been completed, either not being able to endure the lack of food and water, or being frightened by the strangeness or loneliness of their surroundings, or by something that they

Not every one who sought a guardian spirit obtained it.

thought they saw or heard. It was no disgrace to fail, nor was the failure necessarily known, for the seeker after power did not always, nor perhaps often, tell any one what he was going to do.”<sup>1</sup>

Catlin's account of guardian spirits among the Blackfeet, Ojibways, Crows, etc.

The painter Catlin, who lived among the Indians and knew them well, has given an account of their guardian spirits and medicine-bags. When he wrote it in 1832, he was living at the mouth of the Yellowstone River, on the upper Missouri, surrounded by Indians of many tribes, Crows, Blackfeet, Ojibways, Assiniboins, and Crees; and as he does not in his description distinguish between the tribes, we may fairly assume that it applies equally to all. Of these tribes the Blackfeet, Ojibways, and Crees belong to the Algonkin stock, while the Crows and Assiniboins are of the Siouan or Dacotan stock. After explaining that the word “medicine” applied by the whites to Indian beliefs signifies “*mystery*, and nothing else,” “every thing mysterious or unaccountable,” and that “medicine-men” are native physicians or doctors, who are “all supposed to deal more or less in mysteries and charms, which are aids and hand-maids in their practice,” Catlin proceeds as follows:—

Meaning of the word “medicine.”

The medicine-bag.

“The Indians do not use the word medicine, however; but in each tribe they have a word of their own construction, synonymous with mystery or mystery-man. The ‘medicine-bag’ then is a mystery-bag; and its meaning and importance necessary to be understood, as it may be said to be the key to Indian life and Indian character. These bags are constructed of the skins of animals, of birds, or of reptiles, and ornamented and preserved in a thousand different ways, as suits the taste or freak of the person who constructs them. These skins are generally attached to some part of the clothing of the Indian, or carried in his hand—they are oftentimes decorated in such a manner as to be exceedingly ornamental to his person, and always are stuffed with grass, or moss, or something of the kind; and generally without drugs or medicines within them, as they are religiously closed and sealed, and seldom, if ever, to be opened. I find that every Indian in his primitive state, carries his medicine-bag in some form or other, to which he pays the greatest

Trust of the Indians in their medicine-bags.

<sup>1</sup> George Bird Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (London, 1893), pp. 191-193.

homage, and to which he looks for safety and protection through life—and in fact, it might almost be called a species of idolatry; for it would seem in some instances as if he actually worshipped it. Feasts are often made, and dogs and horses sacrificed, to a man's medicine; and days, and even weeks, of fasting and penance of various kinds are often suffered, to appease his medicine, which he imagines he has in some way offended. This curious custom has principally been done away with along the frontier, where white men laugh at the Indian for the observance of so ridiculous and useless a form; but in this country it is in full force, and every male in the tribe carries this, his supernatural charm or guardian, to which he looks for the preservation of his life, in battle or in other danger; at which times it would be considered ominous of bad luck and an ill fate to be without it.

Sacrifices to the "medicine."

"The manner in which this curious and important article is instituted is this: a boy, at the age of fourteen or fifteen years, is said to be making or 'forming his medicine,' when he wanders away from his father's lodge, and absents himself for the space of two or three, and sometimes even four or five, days; lying on the ground in some remote or secluded spot, crying to the Great Spirit, and fasting the whole time. During this period of peril and abstinence, when he falls asleep, the first animal, bird, or reptile, of which he dreams (or pretends to have dreamed, perhaps), he considers the Great Spirit has designated for his mysterious protector through life. He then returns home to his father's lodge, and relates his success; and after allaying his thirst, and satiating his appetite, he sallies forth with weapons or traps, until he can procure the animal or bird, the skin of which he preserves entire, and ornaments it according to his own fancy, and carries it with him through life, for 'good luck' (as he calls it); as his strength in battle—and in death his guardian Spirit, that is buried with him, and which is to conduct him safe to the beautiful hunting-grounds, which he contemplates in the world to come.

Mode of obtaining the "medicine" or guardian spirit.

The fasting dream and the vision.

"The value of the medicine-bag to the Indian is beyond all price; for to sell it, or give it away, would subject him to such signal disgrace in his tribe, that he could never rise

Trust of the Indians in their medicine-

bags ; the loss of them is deemed disgraceful, but can be repaired by slaying an enemy and taking his medicine-bag.

above it ; and again, his superstition would stand in the way of any such disposition of it, for he considers it the gift of the Great Spirit. An Indian carries his medicine-bag into battle, and trusts to it for his protection ; and if he loses it thus, when fighting ever so bravely for his country, he suffers a disgrace scarcely less than that which occurs in case he sells or gives it away ; his enemy carries it off and displays it to his own people as a trophy ; whilst the loser is cut short of the respect that is due to other young men of his tribe, and for ever subjected to the degrading epithet of 'a man without medicine,' or 'he who has lost his medicine,' until he can replace it again ; which can only be done, by rushing into battle and plundering one from an enemy whom he slays with his own hand. This done, his medicine is restored, and he is reinstated again in the estimation of his tribe ; and even higher than before, for such is called the best of medicine, or '*medicine honourable.*'"<sup>1</sup>

Dr. W. J. Hoffman's account of guardian spirits among the Menominees.

Another Algonkin tribe who have, or had till lately, guardian spirits or *manitoos* are the Menominees of North-eastern Wisconsin. I will quote from Dr. W. J. Hoffman, who has given us an elaborate memoir on the tribe, the following account of the custom :—

The guardian spirit was an animal or bird seen by a youth in a fasting dream.

"Until quite recently it was customary for each Indian youth to pass through a certain process of 'fasting and dreaming,' whereby he might receive a manifestation from the Great Unknown as to what particular animate form he might adopt as . . . his guardian mystery. The course of procedure necessary for the young aspirant for honors to pursue was to leave the camp and go into the forest, there to remain in meditation, abstaining from all food, until gradual exhaustion produced that condition of ecstasy during which various forms of animals, or birds, appeared to him. The first of these forms to clearly impress itself on his mind was adopted as the special gift of the Great Mystery, and was thereafter supposed to act as an adviser in times of indecision ; a monitor when the Indian was in danger, or an intercessor with the superior *manidos* when special power or influence was desired. During the period of

<sup>1</sup> Geo. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), i. 35-37.

probation the lad's friends or parents would keep watch that no danger overtook him while in the forest, and furthermore, that his fasting was not carried to the point of danger to life and health.

"Among some of the Algonquian tribes the animal or bird forms that may thus be adopted by an Indian are sometimes the same as the totem of which he is a member. Under such circumstances the animal representing the totem, and the 'familiar' or *manido*, is seldom hunted or shot; but should he be permitted to hunt such an animal the hunter will first address the animal and ask forgiveness for killing him, telling him that certain portions, which are tabu, shall be set up in the place of honor in the *wikomik*. For instance, should an Indian of the Bear totem, or one whose adopted guardian is represented by the bear, desire to go hunting and meet with that animal, due apology would be paid to it before destroying it. The carcass would then be dressed and served, but no member of the Bear totem would partake of the meat, though the members of all other totems could freely do so. The hunter could, however, eat of the paws and head, the bones of the latter being subsequently placed upon a shelf, probably over the door, or in some other conspicuous place. Due reverence is paid to such a relic of the totem, and so strictly observed is this custom that no greater insult could be offered to the host than for any one to take down such bones and to cast them carelessly aside. Due reverence must be had by the Indian for his so-called guardian or *manido*, neglect in this direction being considered as the direct cause of misfortune or sickness. A feast then becomes necessary as an offering to induce the *manido* to return and to again manifest its favor to the Indian."<sup>1</sup>

A man's guardian spirit might be identical with his clan totem. Respect shewn for the animal guardian.

The Sauks, Foxes, and Kickapoos, all of them belonging to the Algonkin stock, also obtained guardian spirits or personal *manitoos* by means of fasts and visions.<sup>2</sup>

Guardian spirits of the Sauks, Foxes, etc.

Lastly, the institution of the guardian spirit or *manitoo*

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Hoffman, M.D., "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) pp. 64 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. Jones, "The Algonkin *Manitou*," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xviii. (1905) pp. 183-190.

Guardian  
spirits  
(*manitoos*)  
among the  
Delawares.  
Loskiel's  
account of  
them.

was found also among the Delawares or Lenapes, the most easterly tribe of the Algonkin stock. It has been described as follows by the old Moravian missionaries, whose account is apparently meant to apply also to the Iroquois. "Our missionaries have not found rank polytheism, or gross idolatry, to exist among the Indians. They have, however, something which may be called an idol. This is the *Manitto*, representing in wood the head of a man in miniature, which they always carry about them, either on a string round their neck or in a bag. They hang it also about their children, to preserve them from illness and ensure to them success. When they perform a solemn sacrifice, a *manitto*, or a head as large as life, is put upon a pole in the middle of the house. But they understand by the word *manitto* every being, to which an offering is made, especially all good spirits. They also look upon the elements, almost all animals, and even some plants, as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. . . . The *manittos* are also considered as tutelar spirits. Every Indian has one or more, which he conceives to be peculiarly given to assist him and make him prosper. One has in a dream received the sun as his tutelar spirit, another the moon; a third, an owl; a fourth, a buffaloe; and so forth. An Indian is dispirited, and considers himself as forsaken by God, till he has received a tutelar spirit in a dream; but those who have been thus favored, are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally."<sup>1</sup>

Hecke-  
welder's  
account of  
guardian  
spirits  
among the  
Delawares.

Again, the missionary Heckewelder, who lived among and near the Delawares or Lenni Lenape for more than thirty years, has given us an account of the fasts and visions by which they obtained their guardian spirits. The description appears to apply also to the Iroquois, with whom Heckewelder was acquainted. Under the head of "Initiation of Boys" he writes thus:—

"I do not know how to give a better name to a superstitious practice which is very common among the Indians, and, indeed, is universal among those nations that I have become acquainted with. By certain methods, which I shall

<sup>1</sup> G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America* (London, 1794), i. 39 sq.

presently describe, they put the mind of a boy in a state of perturbation, so as to excite dreams and visions; by means of which they pretend that the boy receives instructions from certain spirits or unknown agents as to his conduct in life, that he is informed of his future destination and of the wonders he is to perform in his future career through the world. When a boy is to be thus initiated, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared beforehand. He will fancy himself flying through the air, walking under ground, stepping from one ridge or hill to the other across the valley beneath, fighting and conquering giants and monsters, and defeating whole hosts by his single arm. Then he has interviews with the *Manitto* or with spirits, who inform him of what he was before he was born and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him, the spirit tells him what is to be his future employment, whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, a doctor, a conjurer, or a prophet. There are even those who learn or pretend to learn in this way the time and manner of their death.

“When a boy has been thus initiated, a name is given to him analogous to the visions that he has seen, and to the destiny that is supposed to be prepared for him. The boy, imagining all that happened to him while under perturbation, to have been real, sets out in the world with lofty notions of himself, and animated with courage for the most desperate undertakings. The belief in the truth of those visions is universal among the Indians. I have spoken with several of their old men, who had been highly distinguished for their valour, and asked them whether they ascribed their achievements to natural or supernatural causes, and they uniformly answered, that as they knew beforehand what they could do, they did it of course. When I carried my questions farther, and asked them how they knew what they could do? they

A boy's mind is artificially perturbed by fasting and physic, and the thing which his disordered fancy sees in a vision is his guardian spirit.

The boy receives a name that accords with his vision.

Universal belief of the Indians in the truth of these fantastic visions.

never failed to refer to the dreams and visions which they had while under perturbation, in the manner I have above mentioned. I always found it vain to attempt to undeceive them on this subject. They never were at a loss for examples to shew that the dreams they had had were not the work of a heated imagination, but that they came to them through the agency of a *mannitto*.”<sup>1</sup>

### § 3. *Guardian Spirits among the Sioux or Dacotas*

Dr. S. R. Riggs's account of guardian spirits among the Sioux or Dacotas.

The armour god.

Tabooed parts of an animal.

The Sioux or Dacotas also had their guardian spirits, but apparently these were not acquired in dreams but were bestowed on the youth by older men. On this subject Dr. S. R. Riggs, who laboured as a missionary among the Dacotas from 1837 to 1883, and has given us a dictionary and grammar of their language, tells us that “in the ancient times the exhortation to a young man was ‘Guard well your sacred armor’; and that consisted of the spear, an arrow, and a bundle of paint, with some swan’s down painted red, to which were sometimes added some roots for the healing of wounds. These were wrapped together in strips of red or blue cloth, and could be seen in pleasant days carefully set up outside of the lodge. These were given by an older man, who was believed to have power over spirits, and who had, in the act of consecration, made to inhere in them the spirit of some animal or bird, as the wolf, the beaver, the loon, or the eagle. Henceforth these, or rather the one which became each one’s tutelary divinity and his armor god, were sacred and not to be killed or eaten until certain conditions were fulfilled. . . . The reception of the *wo-ta-we*, or armor, by the young man places him under certain pledges which he must, if possible, redeem in after life. It taboos or consecrates certain parts of an animal, as the heart, the liver, the breast, the wing, etc. Whatever part or parts are tabooed to him he may not eat until by killing an enemy

<sup>1</sup> Rev. John Heckewelder, “An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the

neighbouring States,” *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*, i. (Philadelphia, 1819) pp. 238 sq.

he has removed the taboo."<sup>1</sup> From this account it appears that the spirit of an animal or bird was conjured into a young man's weapons and so became his guardian spirit or "armour god." Henceforward the weapons were sacred (*wah-kon*, *wakan*) and might not be touched by a woman. A man prayed to his weapons in the day of battle.<sup>2</sup> Also he often made an image of the sacred animal which had entered into his weapons, and this image he carried about with him, regarding it as having a direct influence upon his everyday life and ultimate destiny.<sup>3</sup>

Image of  
the sacred  
animal.

The Dacotas had also their medicine-bags or mystery-sacks, as some American writers prefer to call them, with which were associated certain divinities or guardian spirits. These spirits were bestowed upon young men at the time when they were initiated into the secret society or order of the Mystery Dance, and were therefore only possessed by members of that order. We were told that each spirit of the medicine-bag was not a separate god, but a god-power, a sacred or mysterious (*wakan*) power, derived from certain great gods called *Oonk-tay-he* (*Unktehi*).<sup>4</sup> Immediately after the creation of the world and of men these gods gave the Indians the medicine-bag (mystery-sack) and instituted the medicine or mystery dance. "They ordained that the sack should consist of the skin of the otter, raccoon, weasel, squirrel, loon, one variety of fish, and of serpents. It was also ordained that the sack should contain four species of medicines of *wakan* qualities, which should represent fowls, medicinal herbs, medicinal trees, and quadrupeds. The down of the female swan represents the first, and may be

Medicine-  
bags of the  
Dacotas.

<sup>1</sup> S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Washington, 1893), pp. 219, 220 (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. ix.).

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, LL.D., "The Theogony of the Sioux," *American Antiquarian*, ii. (1879-1880) p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 443. Mr. Dorsey adds: "Parkman says (in his *Jesuits in North America*, p. lxxi. note) that the knowledge of this guardian

spirit comes through dreams at the initiatory fast. If this is ever true among the Dakota, it is not the rule. This knowledge is communicated by the 'war-prophet'" (*op. cit.* pp. 443 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, D.D., "The Theogony of the Sioux," *American Antiquarian*, ii. (1879-1880) p. 270; Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 445. As to the secret society or order of the Mystery Dance see below, pp. 463 sqq.

seen at the time of the dance inserted in the nose of the sack. Grass roots represent the second, bark from the roots of the trees the third, and hair from the back or head of a buffalo the fourth. These are carefully preserved in the sack. From this combination proceeds a *wakan* influence so powerful that no human being, unassisted, can resist it."<sup>1</sup>

Guardian spirits among the Omahas. Edwin James's account. The Wahconda, a Protean god, the greatest and best of beings.

The Omahas, a tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock, had also their guardian spirits. On this subject one of our earliest authorities on the tribe writes as follows: "The Wahconda is believed to be the greatest and best of beings, the creator and preserver of all things, and the fountain of mystic medicine. Omniscience, omnipresence, and vast powers are attributed to him, and he is supposed to afflict them with sickness, poverty, or misfortune, for their evil deeds. . . . Their Wahconda seems to be a Protean god; he is supposed to appear to different persons under different forms. All those who are favoured with his presence become medicine men or magicians, in consequence of thus having seen and conversed with the Wahconda, and of having received from him some particular medicine of wondrous efficacy. He appeared to one in the shape of a grizzly bear, to another in that of a bison, to a third in that of a beaver, or owl, etc., and an individual attributed to an animal, from which he received his medicine, the form and features of the elephant. All the magi, in the administration of their medicine to the sick or afflicted, mimic the action and voice, variously exaggerated and modified, of the animal, which, they say, is their respective medicine, or, in other words, that in which the Wahconda appeared to them."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains under the Command of Maj. S. H. Long* (London, 1823), i. 246 sq. On this account it is remarked by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, our best authority on the Omahas, that the writer "mistook the generic term *Wahconda* for a

specific one." There appear, in fact, to have been a number of *Wakanda*. See Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 372 sqq., 430. The mistake corrected by Mr. Dorsey resembles Gason's mistake as the *Mura-Mura* of the Dieri, which was in like manner corrected by the Rev. Otto Siebert. See vol. i. p. 148. In both cases the mistake was made by a layman and corrected by a missionary.

A somewhat fuller account of the mode in which among the Omahas a youth obtained his guardian spirit is given us by Miss Alice C. Fletcher, who speaks of the guardian spirit as "the personal totem." She tells us that the guardian spirit or personal totem "was not received from an ancestor, was not the gift of any living person, but was derived through a certain rite, by the man himself. . . . This rite, called by the untranslatable name *Non-zhin-zhon*, has been observed up to the present time. When the youth had reached the age of puberty, he was instructed by his parents as to what he was to do. Moistened earth was put upon his head and face, a small bow and arrows given him, and he was directed to seek a secluded spot upon the hills, and there to chant the prayer which he had been taught, and to lift up his hands wet with his tears to heaven, and then to lay them upon the earth; and he was to fast until at last he fell into a trance or sleep. If, in his trance or dream, he saw or heard anything, that thing was to become the special medium through which he could receive supernatural aid. The ordeal over, the youth returned home to partake of food and to rest. No one questioned him, and for four days he spoke but little, for if within that time he should reveal his vision, it would be the same as lost to him. Afterwards he could confide it to some old man, known to have had a similar manifestation, and it then became the duty of the youth to seek until he should find the animal he had seen in his trance, when he must slay it and preserve some part of it (in cases where the vision had been of no concrete form, symbols were taken to represent it); this memento was ever after to be the sign of his vision, his totem, the most sacred thing he could ever possess, for by it his natural powers were to be so reinforced as to give him success as a hunter, victory as a warrior, and even the power to see into the future."<sup>1</sup> This guardian spirit or personal totem "opened a means of communication between man and the various agencies of his environment, but it could not transcend

Miss Alice C. Fletcher's account of the Omaha mode of obtaining a guardian spirit.

The youth had to kill the animal which he saw in his trance and to keep some part of it as a powerful talisman.

<sup>1</sup> Alice C. Fletcher, *The Import of the Totem, a Study from the Omaha Tribe* (Salem, Mass., 1897), pp. 3 sq. It is remarkable that this mode of obtaining a guardian spirit or personal

totem appears to have been unknown to the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, our principal authority on the tribe, who has given us a full account of their totemic system. See above, pp. 94 sqq.

Assimilation of men in character and power to their guardian spirits.

the power of its particular species; consequently all totems were not equally potent. Men who saw the Bear in their visions were liable to be wounded in battle, as the bear was slow of movement, clumsy and easily trapped, although a savage fighter when brought to bay. Winged forms, such as the Eagle, having greater range of sight than the creatures which traveled upon the ground, could bestow upon the men to whom they came in the dream the gift of looking into the future and foretelling coming events. Thunder gave the ability to control the elements, and the authority to conduct certain religious rites."<sup>1</sup> Thus among the Omahas a man was supposed to partake of the nature of his guardian spirit, just as among some totemic peoples a man is thought to partake of the nature of his clan totem.

Guardian spirits among the Mandans. Lewis and Clark's account.

Another Indian tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock who had guardian spirits were the Mandans. Thus the explorers Lewis and Clark, who visited the tribe in 1804, tell us that "the whole religion of the Mandans consists in the belief of one great spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius since it is associated with the healing art, and the great spirit is synonymous with great medicine, a name also applied to everything which they do not comprehend. Each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being or more commonly some animal, which thenceforward becomes his protector or his intercessor with the great spirit; to propitiate whom every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of seventeen horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose committed them to the care of his medicine and abandoned them for ever. The horses less religious took care of themselves, and the pious votary travelled home on foot."<sup>2</sup>

Costly sacrifices to a man's "medicine."

<sup>1</sup> Alice C. Fletcher, *The Import of the Totem, a Study from the Omaha Tribe* (Salem, Mass., 1897), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Expedition under*

*the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905) i. 196.

The Prince of Wied, who visited the Mandans in 1833, thus describes their belief in guardian spirits: "They undertake nothing without first invoking their guardian spirit or medicine, in their language *choppenih* (*ch* guttural), who is generally indicated to them by dreams. When they would choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast three, four, or more days, betake themselves to secluded spots, do penance, even offer joints of their fingers—some of which are missing in nearly all of them,—lament, howl, and cry to the Master of Life or to the First Man, that these would vouchsafe to shew them their guardian spirit. In this feverish state they dream, and the first animal or other object that presents itself to them in their dream is chosen as their guardian spirit (medicine). Every one of them has such a guardian, which is sacred to him. In the prairie there is a great hill, on which they set themselves motionless several days together, lamenting, howling, and fasting. Not far from it is a hole, into which they creep for the night."<sup>1</sup>

The Prince of Wied's account of the Mandan guardian spirits. Sacrifice of finger-joints in order to obtain guardian spirits.

Another Indian tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock who had guardian spirits were the Hidatsas or Minnetarees of the Upper Missouri. On this subject our principal authority on the tribe, Dr. Washington Matthews, observes that "every man in this tribe, as in all other neighboring tribes, has his personal medicine, which is usually some animal. On all war-parties, and often on hunts and other excursions, he carries the head, claws, stuffed skin, or other representative of his medicine with him, and seems to regard it in much the same light that Europeans in former days regarded—and in some cases still regard—protective charms."<sup>2</sup>

Guardian spirits among the Hidatsas or Minnetarees.

#### § 4. *Guardian Spirits among the Creek Indians*

Among the Creek or Muskogee Indians also lads at puberty obtained guardian spirits by means of fasts and

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-1842), ii. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, 1877), p. 50.

Guardian  
spirits  
among the  
Creek or  
Muskogee  
Indians.

Colonel  
Benjamin  
Hawkins'  
account.

visions. The following account of the custom by Colonel Benjamin Hawkins appears to have been written about the year 1800:—

“*The Ceremony of initiating Youth into Manhood.*—At the age of from fifteen to seventeen, this ceremony is usually performed. It is called *Boos-ke-tau*, in like manner as the annual *Boosketau* of the nation. A youth of the proper age gathers two handfuls of the *Sou-watch-cau*, a very bitter root, which he eats a whole day; then he steeps the leaves in water and drinks it. In the dusk of the evening, he eats two or three spoonfulls of boiled grits. This is repeated for four days, and during this time he remains in a house. The *Sou-watch-cau* has the effect of intoxicating and maddening. The fourth day he goes out, but must put on a pair of new mocassins (*stil-la-pica*). For twelve moons, he abstains from eating bucks, except old ones, and from turkey cocks, fowls, peas and salt. During this period he must not pick his ears, or scratch his head with his fingers, but use a small stick. For four moons he must have a fire to himself, to cook his food, and a little girl, a virgin, may cook for him; his food is boiled grits. The fifth moon, any person may cook for him, but he must serve himself first, and use one spoon and pan. Every new moon, he drinks for four days the *possau* (button snakeroot), an emetic, and abstains for these days from all food, except in the evening a little boiled grits (*humpetuh hutke*). The twelfth moon, he performs for four days, what he commenced with on the first. The fifth day, he comes out of his house, gathers corn cobs, burns them to ashes, and with these rubs his body all over. At the end of this moon, he sweats under blankets, then goes into water, and this ends the ceremony. This ceremony is sometimes extended to four, six, or eight moons, or even to twelve days only, but the course is the same. During the whole of this ceremony the physic is administered by the *Is-te-puc-cau-chau thluc-co* (great leader), who in speaking of the youth under initiation, says, ‘I am physicking him’ (*Boo-se-ji-jite saut li-to-mise-cha*), or, ‘I am teaching him all that is proper for him to know’ (*nauk o-mul-gau e-muc-e-thli-jite saut litomise cha*). The youth, during this initiation, does not touch any one except young persons, who are under a

like course with himself, and if he dreams, he drinks the *possau*." <sup>1</sup>

In the foregoing account no express mention is made of the medicine, mystery, or guardian spirit which presumably is supposed to appear to the boy in his fast; but this omission is supplied by Miss Mary Alicia Owen, in her book on the Muskogee or Musquakie Indians. She writes: "During the nine years of novitiate, the training from month to month and year to year grows more severe and continuous. The fasts that at first were deprivation from one meal lengthen, till they stretch over days and nights of abstinence from both food and water; and other hardships increase in proportion. In addition, his father has spent what he can to obtain the goodwill and assistance of the shaman towards making the boy a fine man, this assistance consisting outwardly in the shaman's spinning round and round before the door of the sweat-lodge after he has been sweated, and singing prayers and flattery to the boy's totem. Also the father gives as many Religion dances as he can afford, and, during the last year of the trial, has him, for eighty days, taught to lead the Religion dance. Finally, comes the nine days' fast, during which the poor young wretch wanders solitary in the woods, dreams feverish dreams supposed to be prophetic, and one special dream which tells him what his 'medicine' is to be, and, sometimes, what his vocation is. Before the fast is over, it is incumbent upon him to find the thing which constitutes his medicine, obtain possession of it without causing its death or destruction, and place this part obtained in a little bag, to be worn under the left arm." <sup>2</sup>

Miss M. A. Owen's account of the Muskogee mode of obtaining a guardian spirit.

### § 5. *Guardian Spirits among the Californian Indians*

The Acagchemem Indians of San Juan Capistrano in California had also their guardian spirits, as we learn from

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Hawkins, "The Creek Confederacy," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, iii. (Savannah, 1848) pp. 78 sq. This account is reproduced with verbal alterations by Mr. A. S. Gatschet, in his *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. (Philadelphia,

1884) pp. 185 sq. He explains that "grits" are "maize pounded into grits."

<sup>2</sup> Mary Alicia Owen, *Folk-lore of the Musquakie Indians of North America* (London, 1904), pp. 67 sq.

Guardian  
spirits  
among the  
Acag-  
chemem  
Indians of  
California.  
Father  
Boscana's  
account.

Father Boscana, one of the old Spanish missionaries who laboured among them in the days when California still belonged to Spain. His account runs thus: "Although, ignorant as they were of the knowledge of the true God, the moral instruction given by parents to their children was contained in the precepts of Chinigchinich,<sup>1</sup> which were strongly impressed upon their minds, that they might become good, and avoid the fate of the evil. The perverse child, invariably, was destroyed, and the parents of such remained dishonored. At the age of six or seven years, they gave them a kind of god as protector; an animal, in whom they were to place entire confidence, who would defend them from all dangers, particularly those in war against their enemies. They, however, were not to consider this animal as the real God, for he was invisible, and inhabited the mountains and bowels of the earth; and if he did appear to them at any time, it was in the shape of an animal of the most terrific description. This was not Chinigchinich, but another called *Touch*, signifying a *Devil*. That they might know the class of animal, which the God, Chinigchinich, had selected for their particular veneration, a kind of drink was administered to them, made from a plant called *Pibat*, which was reduced to a powder, and mixed with other intoxicating ingredients. Soon after taking this preparation, they became insensible, and for three days were deprived of any sustenance whatever. During this period they were attended by some old men or women, who were continually exhorting them to be on the alert, not to sleep for fear the coyote, the bear, the crow, or the rattlesnake might come; to observe if it were furious or gentle, and to inquire of the first that should come, what were its desires. The poor Indian, thus intoxicated, without food or drink, suffering under delirium, beheld all kinds of visions; and when he made known that he had seen any particular being, who explained the observances required

<sup>1</sup> According to Father Boscana, this Chinigchinich was a god whom the Indians feared, venerated, and respected. He is said to have first taught in the town of Pubuna and afterwards in all the neighbouring parts, explaining the laws and establishing

the rites and ceremonies necessary to the preservation of life. See *Life in California*, by an American (New York, 1846), p. 254. For the full title of this rare and valuable work, see the following note.

of him, then they gave him to eat and drink, and made a grand feast ; at the same time advising him to be particular in obeying the commands of the mysterious apparition.”<sup>1</sup>

§ 6. *Guardian Spirits among the Indians of Washington State*

The custom of possessing or claiming guardian spirits was widespread among the Indian tribes of the Chinook and Salish stocks in the State of Washington and the adjoining southern part of British Columbia. Further north it was found also among the Tinnehs. We shall take the tribes roughly from south to north.

Thus with regard to the Twana and Klallam tribes of Washington we are told that “the practical part of their religion is a compound of shamanism and spiritism, called in Chinook jargon *tamanous*, *tamahnous*, or *tamanamus*, and the word expresses their idea so completely that it has been somewhat adopted into English, for the word expresses a combination of ideas for which we have no exact English equivalent. *Tamanous* is a noun, and as such refers to any spiritual being, good or bad, more powerful than man and less powerful only than God or Satan. Hence the being may be a good or bad *tamanous*. It is also used to express the work of influencing any of their spirits by incantation. The word is also an adjective, and as such is used to describe any stick, stone, or similar article in which spirits are at times supposed to dwell, and also any man, as a medicine man, who is supposed to have more than ordinary power with these spirits ; hence we often hear of *tamanous* sticks and *tamanous* men. It is likewise a verb, and to *tamanous* is to perform the incantations necessary to influence these spirits. In some cases it is done mainly by the medicine men, but in others by any one. I do not believe that these Indians ever had any idea of the Great Spirit before the coming of the whites. . . . They firmly

Guardian spirits among the Chinook and Salish Indians.

The *tamanous* or spirits of the Twana and Klallam Indians.

<sup>1</sup> Friar Geronimo Boscana, “Chinigichinich ; a Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions of the Indians at the Missionary Establish-

ment of St. Juan Capistrano, Alta California, called the Acagchemem Nation,” in *Life in California*, by an American (New York, 1846), pp. 270 sq.

believe in the presence and power of malignant spirits, and much of their *tamanous* is to conquer them and to gain their favor and aid. . . .

Each person has his or her guardian spirit (*tamanous*).

“ Angelic spirits they believe to be constantly around. Every man and nearly every woman formerly was thought to have one which was called his or her *tamanous*. Such a spirit was supposed to guard the man or woman who often communed with it in the dark, when alone in the woods, and, by various incantations, invoked its aid in time of need. These angels were the most useful deities they had.

“ They believe that these spirits, both good and bad, may dwell at times in certain sticks or stones, hence these sticks and posts become objects of reverence. . . .

The guardian spirit (*tamanous*) obtained by a long fast and a vision.

“ The first thing for a young man to do in the way of a sacred rite is to get his *tamanous*. In order to accomplish this I am told that a father would send his son into the woods a long way from home, where he was not allowed to eat or drink during a period of from ten to thirteen days, though he was allowed to bathe often and keep up a good fire. At last his *tamanous* revealed itself to him in the shape of some animal, either a bird or beast, which was afterwards sacred to him. They think that ordinarily such fasting would kill a man, but that he is kept alive by his *tamanous*. After this the Indian *tamanouses* for what he wishes very earnestly on somewhat the same principle that the Mohammedan prays. Hence they *tamanous* for wind, for gambling, and to cure the sick or cause sickness.

Power of the medicine-men, bad and good.

“ A wicked medicine man can, as they believe, in an invisible manner shoot a stone, ball, or poison into the heart of a person to make him sick. They believe this so firmly that they say when the heart of one who died was opened the stone or bone has been found in it. He is also supposed to be able to send a woodpecker, squirrel, bear, or any treacherous animal to the heart of his enemy to eat his heart, plague him, make him sick, or kill him. The good medicine man finds out from his sickness what kind of animal it is and then tries to draw it forth, and while the common people make a noise, pounding on a rough drum, on sticks, halloing, singing, etc., the medicine man places his hands on some part of the body and draws forth, or says he does, the evil

spirit, and when he says he has it he holds it between his hands, invisible, and blows it up or takes it to another man who throws a stone at it and kills it." <sup>1</sup>

We may perhaps suppose that the animal or thing which a wicked medicine-man projects into a person's body to make him sick is the medicine-man's own *tamanous* or guardian spirit. In any case we learn that the medicine-man is merely one who has more power with the spirits (*tamanouses*) than ordinary people; his familiar spirit (*tamanous*) is stronger than theirs, or he knows better than they how to use it. But the difference between him and common folk is one of degree rather than of kind; they all alike claim to possess familiar or guardian spirits.

Sometimes these Indians conjured their guardian spirits (*tamanouses*) into material objects; for Mr. Eells tells us that he has seen "two doors of dwellings, with figures painted on them, a head board to a bed, painted and slightly carved, a carved powder charge, a figured powder horn, and a cap with the feathers of the red-headed woodpecker sewed into it, all of which are supposed to contain the spirit of the guardian angel and to protect the owner when in his house or asleep, and to assist him when hunting and travelling." <sup>2</sup>

"When a young man went forth to obtain his *tamanous* he washed himself, much as already described, this cleansing being very essential. A Klallam doctor told me that the children, if they wished to become strong *tamanous* men, were accustomed daily, both summer and winter, to bathe, remaining in water a long time, sometimes, he said, for hours, supposing they thereby gain the favor of the *tamanous*. He said that he did so when young." <sup>3</sup>

The guardian spirit is sometimes conjured into a material object.

Washing essential to the acquisition of a guardian spirit.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Myron Eells, "The Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending June 30, 1887*, Part i. (Washington, 1889) pp. 672-675. Compare *id.* "The Religion of the Clallam and Twana Indians," *American Antiquarian*, ii. (Chicago, 1879-80) pp. to sq., where Mr. Eells tells us that the animal which appeared to the young man in his fast "was not the spirit, but

the spirit dwelt in it."

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Myron Eells, "The Religion of the Clallam and Twana Indians," *American Antiquarian*, ii. (1879-80) p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Myron Eells, "The Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending June 30, 1887*, Part i. (Washington, 1889) p. 678.

Guardian  
spirits  
(*tamanowash*)  
among the  
Kliketats.

Again, in regard to the Kliketats, a group of eight tribes speaking a common language in Washington State, we are informed that they have "still a belief in familiar spirits, in Chinook *tamanowash*, whom they address when in difficulty. They consider that supernatural aid, or *tamanowash*, may be obtained for five objects, namely, the cure or infliction of disease, skill in hunting, and in gambling, courage, and invulnerability; lastly, success in the acquisition of property. A youth desirous of obtaining *Tamanowash* must adhere to strict cleanliness of person, and must abstain from sexual intercourse, as indispensable preliminaries; he must also leave the parental lodge of an evening and sleep by the shore of some distant and lonely lake, or in some other secluded place, night after night, until during sleep the *tamanowash* communicates with him. By this way of acting, on returning to the lodge in the morning the parents know whether or not the son has been successful in his night's quest. Either the ambition of the sire, the son, or of both will prompt to perseverance in trial. It is an Indian belief that when an Indian dies, or is killed, his *Tamanowash* passes to his son. Some say they have a grizzly bear as *tamanowash*, others a woodpecker, the invulnerables an oak, and so on *ad infinitum*."<sup>1</sup> This account is interesting because it shews the acquired guardian spirit in the act of passing by heredity to a son and thus tending to become the totem of a clan.

At a man's  
death his  
guardian  
spirit  
passes to  
his son.

Guardian  
spirits  
(*tamanuus*)  
among the  
Chinook  
and Kila-  
muke tribes  
of the  
Columbia  
River.

Of the Chinook and Kilamuke tribes on the Columbia River we are told that "each Indian has his *tamanuus*, or spirit, which is selected by him at a very early age, and is generally the first object they see in going out to the woods that has animal life. Others create from their imagination one that has never met mortal eyes. The choice of a spirit, however insignificant it may appear, has a great influence on their after-life; for, by its supposed commands, they are directed to good or evil, as they conceive that a nonconformity to its wishes would involve them in a multitude of evils, for they suppose it is able to destroy health, or preserve

<sup>1</sup> Dr. W. F. Tolmie, of the Hudson's Bay Company service, quoted by J. K. Lord, *The Naturalist in Vancouver*

*Island and British Columbia* (London, 1866), ii. 247 sq.

it, or inflict miseries without end. They at times, and particularly when in the water, pretend to hold converse with it, and talk to themselves in a low, monotonous tone of voice.”<sup>1</sup> Again, among the Pend d’Oreille Indians of Washington, when a lad approached manhood, he “was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather was worn as a charm.”<sup>2</sup>

§ 7. *Guardian Spirits among the Salish Indians of Vancouver’s Island and British Columbia*

Again, guardian spirits are believed in by the Cowichans, a group of Indian tribes of the Salish stock who inhabit a portion of the east and south-east coasts of Vancouver Island, and the country in the vicinity of the forty-ninth parallel of North latitude from the sea to the Cascade Mountains; they occupy the lower valley of the Fraser River as far as Spuzzum. Like other tribes in this part of America they flatten the heads of their children in infancy. With the Cowichans this flattening of the head is esteemed not only a great beauty but a mark of free birth; for slaves are not allowed to flatten the heads of their children, unless they are adopted into the tribe. “The fasting ceremony on entering manhood is one of the most interesting customs prevailing among the Cowitchans, and one on which it is very difficult to obtain correct information. The young man retires to the hills and fixes upon some spot convenient to water, in which to undergo the ordeal, and remains there as long as hunger will allow him, generally from three to five days. During this time frequent ablutions are performed, a fire is kept up, and no sleep allowed, which gradually weakens the nerves until he sees visions, in which his *Tomanoas* (guardian spirit or medicine) appears to him, usually in the shape of some beast, fish, or bird, and predicts the course of his future

Guardian  
spirits  
(*tomanoas*)  
among the  
Cowichans.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, New Edition (New York, 1851), v. 118.

<sup>2</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of America* (London, 1875-1876), i. 283 sq.

life. This *Tomanoas* is supposed to accompany the Indian in after life, guiding his actions for good or evil, and to it they address themselves in secret, never mentioning the name even to their nearest relations and friends. Returning to his village, half wild with the cravings of hunger, he seizes a knife, with which he rushes up and down, wounding all who come in his way, until, working himself into a state of frenzy, he sinks down exhausted, and is appropriated by the *Tomanoas* or medicine-man of his tribe, who, with dismal howls and a chorus of sticks and paddles, proclaims him a man and a warrior. The young women do not seem to retire into the woods, but sit apart in the lodge, bathing frequently, fasting, and undergoing a general purification."<sup>1</sup>

Guardian  
spirits  
among the  
Ahts of  
Vancouver  
Island.

Among the Ahts of Vancouver's Island "stories are told of men who, going into the mountains to seek their 'medicine,'—which means choosing a guardian spirit, on attaining manhood,—have associated with wolves, like the Arcadian mentioned in Pliny's legend; and, after a time, body and soul have changed into the likeness of these beasts."<sup>2</sup> "What is called the 'medicine' of the natives, is something which they seek after arriving at manhood, and which is only to be got by hard trial of privation or exposure. The Indian, taking with him neither food nor water, and only a single blanket to cover his body, ascends to the summit of a high hill not far from the encampment, and there remains for several days. He keeps a fire burning to show to the people that he is actually at the place. The longer he endures the more efficacious 'medicine' is he supposed to obtain. As might be supposed of a people

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Wilson, "Report on the Indian Tribes inhabiting the Country in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel of North Latitude," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, iv. (1866) p. 281. As to the geographical situation of the Cowichans, see *ibid.* p. 278; Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 10 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate

reprint, where the name is spelled K-au'itcin); *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 355. As to the flattening of the heads, see Capt. Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 279 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (London, 1868), p. 173. The Greek legend referred to in the text is found in Pliny, *Natural History*, viii. 81. See my note on Pausanias, viii. 2. 6 (vol. iv. 189 sq.).

whose life and thoughts are bound almost within the limits of their bodily perceptions, this medicine generally comes through a dream in the form of an animal, as a wolf or eagle, when the sufferer's body and mind are enfeebled and disordered by hunger and exposure. Occasionally the medicine-seeker loses his reason, and wanders about and dies, and he is then believed to have gone further in search, and his return to the village is looked for month after month. The animal, thus supernaturally revealed to the native as his 'medicine,' is supposed, throughout his life, to be connected with him as only an untrained imagination could conceive or explain, and finally, as is believed by some of the natives, to receive into its body the Indian after his departure from the earth."<sup>1</sup> This supposed transmigration of the dead man into the body of his tutelary animal is noteworthy.



The faith in guardian spirits seems to have been common to all the tribes of the Salish stock in British Columbia, whether on the coast or in the interior. Thus Commander R. C. Mayne, comparing the tribes of the interior with the tribes of the coast, writes as follows:—"Their medicine-feasts are also much the same, and, like the others, they all wear charm-bags round their necks. The medicine-bag charm ordinarily worn is small, but on feasts and great occasions the chiefs and medicine-men wear very large ones. As a rule, nothing can be done without the aid of the medicine-men and their mummeries. The bag I have spoken of is, I believe, generally made of the skin of some animal, bird, or reptile, as the beaver, otter, polecat, or weasel; eagle, magpie, or hawk; snake or toad. Anything—dry grass, leaves, etc.—is stuffed into it, and it is carefully sewn up and ornamented. Before a young man is admitted to be a man and a warrior, he has to get his medicine, which he does, or is supposed to do, by roaming about the woods, fasting and praying to the great spirit to help him to medicine, much in the same way, though to a less extent, as the medicine-men prepare themselves for the higher mysteries. His medicine-animal is the first animal, bird, or reptile he dreams of during this process; and, having dreamt of it, he immediately kills one, and it becomes his medicine for ever. His bag is or

R. C. Mayne on the medicine-bags of the Salish! Indians.

A man kills his "medicine" animal and keeps its skin.

<sup>1</sup> G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, pp. 173 sq., note.

should be made of this animal's skin ; but there is much trickery in all these matters."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. F.  
Boas  
on the  
guardian  
spirits of  
the Salish  
Indians.

On the same subject Dr. Franz Boas writes that "the religious concepts of the Salish tribes of the interior were also much simpler than those of the coast Indians. Since the social organization is simple, and ritualistic societies are not found, the whole group of ideas connected with these concepts does not occur. The essential trait of the religious beliefs of these tribes is connected with the acquisition of guardian spirits. Each person is believed to have his guardian spirit, which is acquired by the performance of ceremonials. Only a few shamans are believed to have inherited their guardian spirits from their parents who have been particularly powerful. All animals and objects possessed of mysterious powers can become guardian spirits, whose powers are somewhat differentiated. Objects referring to death—such as graves, bones, teeth, and also natural phenomena, such as blue sky, east and west, and powerful animals—could become guardian spirits of shamans. Warriors had weapons and strong animals for their guardian spirits ; hunters, the water, the tops of mountains, and the animals they hunted, or others that were themselves successful hunters. Fishermen had for their guardian spirits canoes, paddles and water animals ; and gamblers, a variety of smaller animals, and also objects used for securing good luck or wealth. The frequent occurrence of guardian spirits that are only part of an animal—as a deer's nose, the left or right side of a thing, the head, the hand, the hair, or the tail of an animal—is remarkable."<sup>2</sup> The suggestion which has been made<sup>3</sup> as to the reason for splitting a totem applies equally to the splitting of a guardian animal, whenever that animal is good to eat and the man desires to propitiate the creature by not devouring its flesh.

<sup>1</sup> Commander R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London, 1862), p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, "The Salish Tribes

of the Interior of British Columbia," *Annual Archeological Report, 1905* (Toronto, 1906), p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 536 *sq.*, and vol. iii. p. 100.

### § 8. *Guardian Spirits among the Thompson Indians*

Among the Salish-speaking tribes of the interior who claimed to have guardian spirits are the Thompson Indians, formerly known as the Couteau or Knife Indians. They inhabit a district of Southern British Columbia watered by the Fraser River and its tributaries, the Thompson and Nicola Rivers. A full and valuable account of their system of guardian spirits has been given us by Mr. James Teit, who is conversant with their language and by patient enquiry has made himself intimately acquainted with the people. From him we learn that among the Thompson Indians boys at puberty went through a long course of training, which varied with the career which the youth had proposed to himself. Those who wished to become great hunters practised hunting and shooting in a ceremonial way. Those who desired to become great warriors prayed to the Sun and fought mimic battles. Those whose ambition it was to be gamblers danced and played with gambling sticks. Only warriors prayed to the Sun; the rest prayed to the Dawn of the Day. If a lad wished to develop into an extraordinary man, the ceremonial isolation and practice extended over years, which he spent alone with his guardian spirit in the mountains, fasting, sweating, and praying until he gained the desired knowledge. Adolescent boys began their regular training when they dreamed for the first time of an arrow, a canoe, or a woman. This generally happened between the ages of twelve and sixteen years. They were then made to run races, with their bows and arrows in their hands, until they sweated, when they were sent to wash in cold water. This was repeated four times on each of four successive days. During these days the lad's face was painted red all over, and he wore a headband of cedar or other bark, or sometimes of deer or other skin with the hair on. He also wore deer-hoof ornaments round his ankles and knees, an apron painted with designs symbolising his future occupations, and he used a tube for drinking through and a bone to scratch his head with. On the first night he had to repair to a mountain-top,

Guardian  
spirits  
among the  
Thompson  
Indians.

Mr. James  
Teit's  
account.

Training  
of young  
men.

The fast  
and dream.

light a fire, and dance and sing there all night. The fire served to announce to all that he had attained to puberty. The next three nights were similarly spent, the boy dancing, singing, and praying to the Dawn of Day, and also shooting arrows at targets in the early morning. Afterwards he left his home at intervals to spend days together in some lonely place among the mountains. There he fasted, sometimes for many days, and cleansed himself by the use of purges, emetics, and the sweat-bath. In the sweat-bath he prayed to the spirit of sweat-bathing under the title of "Sweat-bathing Grandfather Chief," begging that he might be strong, brave, agile, lucky, rich, a good hunter, a skilful fisherman, and so forth. Also he would roll naked in the dew, or wash his body with branches covered with dew. Moreover, he practised a system of gymnastics, running, leaping, and shooting at marks.<sup>1</sup>

Use of the sweat-bath.

The animal of which the lad dreamed was his guardian spirit; he killed it and preserved its skin entire.

"The ceremonial rites continued until the lad dreamed of some animal or bird. These particular animals or birds then became his protectors or guardian spirits for life, and to them he afterward prayed. Besides helping him, and protecting him from danger, they also became mediums, imparting to him power and magic, also knowledge concerning the world of the living and that of the dead. They furnished him with a song, with which he called them up. Some Indians had only one protector, while others had many; but of these usually one was chief. After receiving a guardian spirit, they painted their faces with designs symbolic of this spirit, often suggested by their dreams. They also decorated their clothing in accordance with instructions received from the guardian spirit. The lads then set out with bows and arrows to hunt the subject of their dreams. Having shot it, they took off the skin, which they preserved entire.

Sometimes a boy dreamed of the same guardian spirit as his father.

"Sometimes a boy would have dreams similar to those of his father, or at least about the same guardian spirit. Sometimes his father would give him a piece of the skin or a feather of his own guardian spirit to take with him into the mountains. This was supposed to help him. Often the

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, pp. 317-320 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*,

*Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, April 1900).

boy dreamed about it, and it thus became one of his guardian spirits. Fathers would sometimes ask their sons about their dreams, would interpret them, and would give advice in regard to them.

“Many Indians carried about with them wherever they went a bag into which they put the skin of their guardian spirit. This bag was made of the entire skin of some bird or animal which was one of the guardian spirits of the person. Others preferred taking a part of the feathers or skin, and wearing it around their person, especially tied to their hair.”<sup>1</sup>

The Indians carried the skins of their guardian animals.

From this account we see that among the Thompson Indians in some cases the guardian spirits were hereditary, passing from father to son. However, Mr. Teit tells us that only a few shamans inherited their guardian spirits without passing through the usual ceremonies at puberty; to such favoured persons the guardian spirits of their parents presented themselves uncalled for in dreams and visions.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the guardian spirits were sometimes hereditary.

The guardian spirits of the Thompson Indians varied with the man's profession; some were appropriate to shamans, others to warriors, others to hunters, others to fishermen, and others to gamblers. Many, however, might be possessed by men of different occupations. For example, water was a guardian spirit of shamans, warriors, hunters, and fishers; the sun, the thunder or the thunder-bird, the tops of mountains, the grizzly bear, wolf, eagle, and raven were guardian spirits of shamans and warriors; the grizzly bear, wolf, coyote, owls of all kinds, and the raven were guardian spirits of shamans and hunters; the loon, all kinds of ducks, and all or almost all kinds of fish were guardian spirits of shamans and fishermen. On the other hand, each profession had certain guardian spirits which specially or even exclusively belonged to it. Among those which specially belonged to shamans were the moon, stars, the Milky Way, the Pleiades, the Morning Star, sunset, wind, rain, rainbow, snow, ice, lake, cascade, fire, cold, heat, snow-capped mountains, the otter, badger, dog, skunk, weasel, ermine, chicken-hawk, swan, crane, snakes, lizards

The guardian spirits of the Thompson Indians varied with a man's profession.

Guardian spirits of shamans.

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, pp. 320 sq.

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 354.

bird's down, the cedar, fir, yellow pine, burnt trees, stumps, tobacco, and pipe. The following were guardian spirits of shamans only :—night, fog, blue sky, east, west, woman, adolescent girl, child, hands of men, feet of men, privates of men, privates of women, the bat, the land of souls, ghosts, grave-poles, cairns at graves, dead men's hair, teeth, and bones. Amongst the guardian spirits which belonged specially or exclusively to warriors were blood and all kinds of weapons, including the arrow, bow, knife, tomahawk, gun, bullet, and arrow-head. Among the guardian spirits which belonged specially or exclusively to hunters were the black bear, wolverine, lynx, marten, mink, deer, elk, beaver, hoary marmot, crow, magpie, blue grouse, deer's tail, deer's nose, and hunting snares. Among the guardian spirits which belonged specially or exclusively to fishermen were paddles and fishing utensils, such as nets, spears, lines, hooks, weirs, and parts of weirs. On the other hand canoes were guardian spirits of hunters as well as fishermen. The guardian spirits of gamblers, runners, etc., included the following :—creek, spring, stone, dawn of day, horse, muskrat, common marmot, rock-rabbit, big-horn sheep, mountain-goat, buffalo, antelope, cariboo, porcupine, woodpeckers of all kinds, whip-poor-will, blue jay, willow grouse, ptarmigan, prairie-chicken, plover, goose, humming-bird, frog, some kinds of flies, horsefly, wasp, bee, mosquito, ant, spider, wood-worm, feathers, sweat-house, tools of various kinds, moccasins, red and black paint, dentalia shells, fir-branch, pine-cones, and fir-cones. Guardian spirits of women were the mountain goat, basket, kettle, root-digger, and packing-line.<sup>1</sup>

Guardian  
spirits of  
warriors.

Guardian  
spirits of  
hunters.

Guardian  
spirits of  
fishermen.

Guardian  
spirits of  
gamblers.

Some  
animals  
were not  
guardian  
spirits.

Animals which were not supposed to have any mysterious power did not become guardian spirits of men. Such were, for example, the mouse, chipmunk, squirrel, rat, fool-hen, and butterfly. Only few birds and hardly any trees or herbs could become guardian spirits.

Knowledge  
of the  
names of  
animals  
gave power  
over them.

The Thompson Indians believe that all animals have names of their own, which may be revealed by the guardian spirits. The knowledge of these names gave a person more power over the animals. Thus, if a man knew the name of

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, pp. 354 sq.

the grizzly bear and addressed him by it, the bear would at once become gentle and harmless. This knowledge was not imparted to others, except perhaps by a father to his son.<sup>1</sup>

Among the guardian spirits of the Thompson Indians two classes seem especially remarkable. One of them is the class of artificial objects, such as weapons, fishing tackle, tools, sweat-house, baskets, kettles, packing-lines, and so forth. The other is the class of guardian spirits which are only part of an animal or thing, such as a deer's nose, bird's down, blood, the nipple of a gun, the left or right side of anything, the head, the hand, the hair, and the tail of an animal. Some Indians had guardian spirits of an unusual colour or of some particular colour, such as a grey tree, a white stump, a white horse, a black dog, a spotted dog, a spotted fish, a black fox, a blue sky, a red cloud, a black fog, a red fish, and so on.

Some of the guardian spirits are artificial objects, others are parts of animals or of things.

"It is evident from the above list that each person partook of the qualities with which his guardian spirit was endowed. For this reason certain guardian spirits were also considered more powerful than others. Thus a man who had the grisly bear or thunder for his protector would become a much better and fiercer warrior than another who had a crow, a coyote, or a fox. . . . Only warriors whose guardian spirits gave them the mystery of the scalp would take or wear scalps. In order to obtain this mystery, or, as it is expressed, to 'know' scalps and become proof against them, some warriors washed themselves in water in which arrow-heads had been placed, or prayed to the weapons for knowledge. If they wore a scalp and did not know its mystery, evil might befall them. A few men wore as many as ten or twelve scalps attached to their 'horns,'<sup>2</sup> their hair, their belt, and their weapons. Scalps were looked upon as spirits by warriors who took them regularly.

Each person partook of the qualities of his guardian spirit.

. . . Warriors who had the arrow, knife, or other weapon as their chief guardian spirit, were protected against hostile weapons; for instance, if an arrow struck them, which was not often the case, the blood was vomited up, and the

Invulnerability conferred by certain guardian spirits.

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, p. 355.

which, stiffened with white clay, stood upright on the top of the head. See James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> The "horn" was a braid of hair

wound healed in a short time. They seldom wore armor, and generally took the most dangerous places in battle. . . . Some men committed suicide in the attempt to test the powers of their guardian spirits to bring them to life again. It has happened that a man who boasted of the powers of his guardian spirit was shot by some one desirous of testing the power of the guardian spirit of the boaster, or in order to find out if the man was bullet or arrow proof."<sup>1</sup>

Dance  
of the  
guardian  
spirits  
before war.

Before they started on the war-path, the Thompson Indians often took sweat-baths for several days and prayed to their guardian spirits for success and protection. They also used to dance a circular dance, against the sun's course, in which the dancers, arrayed in paint and feathers and fully armed, went through a mimic battle. In this dance each man imitated the sounds of the animal which was his guardian spirit, shouting, grunting, and whooping withal, while the drums beat an accompaniment.<sup>2</sup>

Shamans  
used their  
guardian  
spirits  
to work  
wonders.

Shamans accomplished their supernatural feats by the help of their guardian spirits, who instructed them by means of dreams or visions. Women as well as men could become shamans. Some shamans had staffs painted with symbols of their guardian spirits. They were thought both to cause and to cure such sickness as was the effect of witchcraft or of the loss of the soul. Shamans could shoot their enemies with their guardian spirits; the victim fell sick at once and complained of headache.<sup>3</sup>

### § 9. *Guardian Spirits among the Lillooets*

Guardian  
spirits  
among the  
Lillooets.

Another tribe of the Salish stock who have guardian spirits are the Lillooets. Their country is for the most part a long narrow valley in the south-west interior of British Columbia, beginning at Cayuse Creek, where it opens into the Fraser River, and extending through the mountains to Harrison Lake. Along the lakes and streams of this valley the greater part of the tribe have their homes.<sup>4</sup> As among

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, pp. 356 sq.

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians* (Leyden and New York, 1906), p. 195 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

the Thompson Indians, young men went through a course of training and obtained guardian spirits. The attainment of puberty was marked by many dreams. Then the youth began his training. He painted his face red the first four days and afterwards yellow. Also he painted his neck, chest, arms and legs yellow. He repaired to the mountains, where he built a sweat-house, sweated, fasted, and prayed. Thus he staid for a space of two, three, or four days or longer, if he could endure it without growing too weak. At home he sat most of the time apart from adults and women. Each evening he left the house, returning shortly after day-break. He retired to some lonely spot, where he slept or spent the night walking, running, shooting, and praying. Each morning he washed himself with fir-branches at a spring or in running water. On each of four nights he had to build a large fire on a mountain-top, and by its light he shot at small figures of deer made of bark or grass, praying that he might become an expert archer. At intervals also he repaired to the mountains and cleansed himself by sweating in a sweat-house, by purging himself with medicine, and by vomiting. During the intervals between their excursions to the mountains lads who were in training contended with each other by day in running and shooting. Also they burned and cut each other in the arms, chest and legs to prove their endurance of pain. The Indians said that this custom of cutting each other with knives till they bled freely served to let out the bad blood and would make the sufferer insensible to fatigue, able to sustain the loss of blood, and capable of seeing and smelling blood without fainting. Most lads also slashed the points of their fingers in order to become lucky in war, the chase, and other avocations. These customs of cutting themselves and one another were also practised by the Thompson Indians and by the Shuswap. The mode of obtaining the guardian spirit was the same as in the Thompson tribe. Until they obtained their spiritual guardian lads prayed both to the Dawn of Day and to the Dusk of Evening. The course of training usually lasted from one to four years; but such as wished to become shamans or to excel in certain kinds of work continued to train at intervals for many years.

The training of young men.

The sweat-bath and the fast.

The burning and cutting of each other.

The guardian spirit generally came to them in their first year.<sup>1</sup>

Animals  
and things  
which were  
guardian  
spirits  
to the  
Lillooets.

The classes of animals and things which served the Thompson Indians as guardian spirits served also the Lillooets in the same capacity. The raven was a common guardian spirit. Persons who had him for their spiritual patron enjoyed prophetic gifts, especially they could foretell death and the weather. Some of the Lower Lillooet Indians had the seal as a guardian spirit. The strongest guardian spirits for warriors were the knife, gun, ball, arrow, thunder, sun, red-winged flicker, and hawks of three kinds. For hunters the most powerful guardian spirits were the wolf, lynx, wolverine, grizzly bear, deer, and beaver. The most potent for shamans were the dead, the raven, the golden eagle, the mink, and the owl. Some men had the thunder-bolt or thunder arrow-head as their guardian. Men who had the spirit of the sweat-house for their guardian spirit made a sweat-house for themselves of elk-skin supported on wands, and inside it they placed four large stones, which were heated to make the steam for the bath. Men who had a particular kind of snake (the *lapilst*) for their guardian spirit always wore its tail, or the entire skin stuffed or blown out, attached to some part of their person.<sup>2</sup>

Guardian  
spirit  
dance.

Young men often performed a "guardian spirit dance" at the suggestion of their elders. Each of them in turn rose and sang his song in presence of all the people. They also danced and mimicked their guardian spirit by motion, gesture, and cry. Similar "guardian spirit dances" used to be in vogue also among the Thompson Indians and the Shuswap.<sup>3</sup>

Guardian  
spirits of  
Lillooet  
shamans.

Some powerful shamans of the Lower Lillooet Indians had the dead as their guardian spirits and obtained from them their knowledge. To this end they trained by sleeping in burial-grounds at intervals extending over several years. Shamans bewitched their enemies by shooting them with their guardian spirit. They sharpened a feather, stick, or stone and tied it to some hair taken from the head of their intended victim. Also they tied to it some hair or feathers

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, pp. 265-267.

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* pp. 285 sq.

from the animal that was their guardian spirit. Then they shot the magical object into their victim's body. Like an elfin-arrow it left no mark, but the person wounded by it fell sick at once and died, unless another shaman succeeded in discovering and extracting the fatal bolt before it was too late.<sup>1</sup>

§ 10. *Guardian Spirits among the Shuswap*

Another Indian tribe of the Salish stock who claimed to have guardian spirits are the Shuswap or Shushwap. Their country is in the interior of British Columbia, to the north-east of that of the Thompson tribe. Dr. Franz Boas has given us an account of their guardian spirits as follows:—

Guardian spirits of the Shuswap. Dr. F. Boas's account.

“The shaman is initiated by animals, who become his guardian spirits. The initiation ceremonies for warriors and shamans seem to be identical, the object of the initiation ceremonies being merely to obtain supernatural help for any object that appeared desirable. The young man, on reaching puberty, and before he had ever touched a woman, had to go out on the mountains and pass through a number of performances. He had to build a sweat-house, in which he stayed every night. In the morning he was allowed to return to the village. He had to clean himself in the sweat-house, to dance and to sing during the night. This was continued, sometimes for years, until he dreamt that the animal he desired for his guardian spirit appeared to him and promised him its help. As soon as it appeared the novice fell down in a swoon. ‘He feels as though he were drunk, and does not know whether it is day or night, nor what he is doing.’ The animal tells him to think of it if he should be in need of help, and gives him a certain song with which to summon him up. Therefore every shaman has his own song, which none else is allowed to sing, except when the attempt is made to discover a sorcerer. Sometimes the spirit comes down to the novice in the shape of a stroke of lightning. If an animal initiates the novice it teaches him its language. One shaman in Nicola Valley is said to

Use of the sweat-bath.

Appearance of the guardian spirit in a dream.

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, p. 287.

Invulner-  
ability con-  
ferred by  
guardian  
spirit.

speak the 'coyote language' in his incantations. . . . After a man has obtained a guardian spirit he is bullet and arrow proof. If an arrow or a bullet should strike him he does not bleed from the wound, but the blood all flows into his stomach. He spits it out, and is well again. 'Braves,' who have secured the help of spirits, are carried to the fighting ground. No woman must see them when on their way, as else they would lose their supernatural power. When an attack is going to be made on a village the guardian spirit of the warriors will warn them. In dreaming or in waking they see blood flying about, and this is a sign that some one will be murdered. Before going on a war expedition warriors would fast and abstain from sleep for a whole week, bathing frequently in streams. It was believed that this would make them nimble-footed.

Guardian  
spirits of  
shamans.  
Procedure  
of the  
shaman in  
healing the  
sick.

"Men could acquire more than one guardian spirit, and powerful shamans had always more than one helper. The principal duty of the shaman was to cure the sick." In doing so he wore a head-dress made of a mat about two yards long by one yard wide, so that the whole length of the mat hung down his back. "As soon as the shaman puts on the headdress he 'acts as though he was crazy,' *i.e.* he puts himself into a trance by singing the song he had obtained from his guardian spirit at the time of initiation. He dances until he perspires freely, and finally his spirit comes and speaks to him. Then he lies down next to the patient and sucks at the part of the body where the pain is. He is supposed to remove a thong or a feather from it, which was the cause of the disease. As soon as he has removed it he leaves the hut, takes off his mat, and blows upon the object he has removed from the body, which then disappears."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "The Shushwap," in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 93 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). Compare G. M. Dawson, "Notes on the Shushwap People of British Columbia," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1891*, ix. (Montreal, 1892) Transactions, section ii. p. 13: "Young men

on reaching manhood were accustomed to separate themselves and go away alone into some solitary part of the country, where they would sometimes remain for three or four months. They might hunt or trap, but must avoid contact with other people and keep away from habitations. . . . They also meditated and dreamed dreams till each discovered his particular guardian spirit."

Many more details as to the guardian spirits of the Shuswap are given by Mr. James Teit in his valuable monograph on the tribe.<sup>1</sup> From him we learn that boys began to train from the time that their voice changed or they first dreamed of women, arrows, and canoes. Most boys did not live apart from the people, but separated themselves at irregular intervals, extending from two or three days to upwards of as many weeks at a time. During their absence they trained themselves with the object of obtaining a guardian spirit and of acquiring the requisite knowledge for the profession they had chosen, such as that of the shaman, warrior, hunter, gambler, and so forth. Their training lasted from one to eight or ten years. During their first period of seclusion they fasted as long as they could, generally from four to ten days. Some lads built their sweat-house in a wild or lonely spot to which they repaired almost every evening, and after sweating and training all night they returned home at daybreak. Twins did not train to acquire guardian spirits, as they were supposed to possess them already. Young men prayed to the Dawn of Day, but some also prayed occasionally to the Earth, the Sun, and the Darkness (or Night). Among the western bands of the Shuswap many addressed themselves directly to animals, birds, weapons, and other material objects, rarely to the Dawn of Day, the Earth, the Sun, and the Darkness. The training consisted in running, jumping, shooting with arrows, and so forth. Some of the youths would set boulders rolling down the mountain-side and try to keep up with them as they bounded from crag to crag; also they climbed the mountains at evening, trying to overtake the shadow as it ascended the hillside when the sun went down.<sup>2</sup> The lads moreover purged themselves by drinking certain drugs, and they made themselves vomit by thrusting willow-twigs down their throats. They did not eat fat nor any fresh fish, except the tail; and almost all cut their bodies at some time during their period of training, for this cutting of the

Mr. James Teit on the guardian spirits of the Shuswap.

The training of boys.

Use of the sweat-bath.

Prayers to the Dawn, Darkness, animals, etc.

Use of purgatives and emetics.

The novices cut their bodies.

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Shuswap* (Leyden and New York, 1909), pp. 588-590, 601, 605-611. 612 sq. (*The Jesup North-Pacific Expedition, Memoir of*

*the American Museum of Natural History*).

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *The Shuswap*, pp. 588 sq.

body was an important part of the preparation of warriors, hunters, and runners. The novice ran till he was hot, then cut the points of his-eight fingers with a sharp arrow-stone, after which he sweat-bathed. Others usually cut four half-circles or four straight lines, not very deep, on the outside of each leg, between the ankle and the knee, with a stone knife or dagger, afterwards piercing the inside of each leg in four places between the ankle and the knee with the point of a dagger or, instead, cutting four dot-like cuts or four crosses. The novice made these cuts in very cold clear water, and afterwards sweat-bathed. Meanwhile he prayed that he might be able to bear pain well and that his wounds, if he received any, might quickly heal. The cutting of the finger-tips was supposed to let out all bad blood. Further, future warriors slashed their sides and breast, and future gamblers cut the tips of their tongues, some of them also swallowed the blood. This was supposed to make them lucky.<sup>1</sup>

Pictures of guardian spirits on rocks.

All boys and some girls at puberty painted pictures on rocks during the middle or toward the end of their training. Most of the pictures represented the things seen in their dreams, and the painting of them was supposed to hasten the attainment of a guardian spirit or of other desirable objects.<sup>2</sup>

Chastity required of boys and girls.

“Both girls and boys were carefully watched from childhood, and not allowed to smoke or have sexual connection until after their periods of training. To indulge in the latter during their training would have a disastrous effect on their future, would render of no avail the training they had undergone, and would make it impossible to obtain a *manitou* or become proficient in ‘mystery’ for a very long time. It would also make them heavy-footed, slow, and short-winded in after years.”<sup>3</sup>

Some guardian spirits were inherited by men from their fathers,

Among the Shuswap a few men inherited guardian spirits from their fathers, but spirits so inherited were deemed to be not so powerful as those which a man acquired for himself. For example, a man named Six-wilexken inherited from his father fire, water, the owl, and

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Shuswap*, pp. 589 sq.

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 590.

<sup>3</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 590.

the coyote as guardian spirits, and these spirits often appeared to him in dreams and advised him. "These protectors, however, were never of much value to Sixwilexken, for they did not really belong to him, and therefore he did not know the proper way to use them. Water, besides coming to him from his father, was also acquired by himself when training, and consequently he understood it perfectly, but the others he did not understand."<sup>1</sup>

but these were not so powerful as the personally acquired spirits.

"Most men had several guardians, but generally one was much more powerful than the others. Those of some men were wholly helpful, and could not be used to harm any person; while others had exactly the opposite properties. In some parts of the tribe the dog, coyote, and water were considered the most powerful of all guardian spirits. Other very powerful ones were the dead, cannibal, fox, tobacco, grisly bear, wolf, eagle, and pipe. The tobacco, pipe, and fox guardians were inseparable. A person obtaining the one also obtained the others. In the same way the coyote and the cannibal were associated. The scalp guardian was often associated with the cannibal. Guardian spirits generally thought to possess considerable power, and much used, were the thunder, loon, pinto horse, white horse, weapons of all kinds, hunger or famine, mountain-goat, otter, beaver, hare, owl, fire, rain, blood, woman, black bear, deer, scalp, man, boy. The woman guardian was sometimes called the 'singing woman.' She was not an ordinary woman, and was acquired in conjunction with the black bear or the deer."<sup>2</sup> Indeed the woman appears to have been a deer who changed into human form; for we read of a young man in training to whom a deer appeared and gave him advice. Afterwards he dreamed of a woman with her face painted with white and yellow stripes, who told him that she was the deer he had seen, and that she would help him and make him great; whenever he wanted her aid, he was to paint his face with white and yellow stripes like hers, and then she would appear to him and help him. Similarly the guardian spirit called the 'man' was a fox, who could assume the form of a man. He was often called the 'smoking man.'<sup>3</sup>

Most men had several guardian spirits, some of which were more powerful than others.

The woman guardian.

The man guardian.

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Shuswap*, p. 605.

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 606.

<sup>3</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* pp. 606 sq.

Some guardian spirits were especially powerful for shamans, others for warriors, and others for gamblers.

"Of the guardians, the thunder, weapons, blood, and scalp were most powerful for warriors. The dead and the wolf were powerful guardians of shamans, while for other people their assistance was of less value. The cannibal had power to assist particularly the shaman and the warrior. The loon, otter, pinto and white horse, were generally acquired by shamans. The woman, black bear, and deer were said to be powerful for gamblers. Some men acquired guardian spirits of a certain number, which seem to have possessed qualities of their own sufficiently different from that of the units of which they were composed to mark them as distinct. Among these were seven straws, seven trees, twins, two lakes, two boys, four plants, twenty coyotes. Guardians in the form of fish were very rare."<sup>1</sup> A boy and twins were very lucky guardians for gamblers.<sup>2</sup>

Men partook of the character of their guardian spirits.

"Persons partook largely of the character of their guardians; for instance, a man who had the goat for his guardian could travel on steep rocks better than other people. A man who had the swan for his guardian spirit could make snow fall by dancing with swan's down on his head, or by throwing swan's down on the water."<sup>3</sup> Similarly, a shaman who had the rain for his guardian spirit could procure rain. For that purpose he painted his face with red stripes or dots or with both, perhaps in imitation of the clouds and rain-drops; and having done so, he went out of the house and walked round in a circle with the sun, singing his rain-song and saying, "My guardian spirit will go around the world until it meets rain and will bring it here." Then he told the people, "If my guardian spirit finds it quickly, rain will fall soon, probably to-morrow; but if he cannot find it quickly, it may be two or three days before rain falls."<sup>4</sup>

Advice given by guardian spirits.

Guardian spirits advised men in sickness how to get well, and told them what to do in order to be successful in hunting and gambling.<sup>5</sup> Most men painted their faces and bodies as they were directed by their guardian spirits in dreams; many also arranged their clothes, ornaments, and hair in accordance with the directions of their spiritual

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Shuswap*, p. 607.

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 609.

<sup>3</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 607.

<sup>4</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 601.

<sup>5</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 607.

patrons. Some warriors painted their bodies the colour that their guardian's body was believed to be.<sup>1</sup>

"Parts of animals, such as the heart, hoof, bone, hair, tail, etc., were claimed as protectors by certain men, but generally they only represented the guardian in about the same way as a hawk's feather in a man's head-band represented the hawk as one of the man's guardians. A man was sometimes told by the guardian spirit to hold certain parts of animals sacred; and thus, according to the way some Indians look at it, these particular parts of the animal were of prime importance, for they represented the means by which the guardian power exercised its mysterious influence. Thus a deer's tail, although called a man's guardian, might, in the first place, be only a symbol, and have no special powers apart from the whole deer; or it might be the mystery part of the guardian power by which alone the latter could exercise its functions. In this case the part was more important than the whole, but still not altogether distinct nor independent of it; while, in the first case, the part was subordinate and formed an unimportant part of the whole, having no practical value excepting as a symbol. It seems, however, that there was a third class of things called guardians, which, although parts of a whole, were guardian spirits in the full sense of the word, and were looked upon as independent beings, with powers of their own, distinct from those of the whole object or animal of which they were part. Probably the best example of this class is blood. Only a very few warriors had the mystery of the scalp. They scalped their enemies, and wore the scalps or scalp-locks on their persons. On their return from war they held a scalp dance. . . . The men having the scalp as their guardian often had the cannibal as well. . . . Some people, besides their ordinary guardians, had other protectors which they impersonated in dances."<sup>2</sup>

Parts of animals held sacred as guardians.

The mystery of the scalp.

"Once at least, during the winter, the people gathered in the largest underground house, and each in turn sang his mystery-song,—either the most powerful song obtained from his guardians, or the one best adapted for the purpose of

In winter the people gathered together and sang their mystery-songs.

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Shuswap*, pp. 608 sq.

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* pp. 609 sq.

the ceremony. This is said to have been done for the purpose of discovering whether any sickness were approaching, whether any one had been bewitched, or if any other evil were threatening. As nearly all the men were possessed of some shamanistic power, their spirits watched; and if they saw or found any influence that would be harmful to the community, they reported it in their song. Thus the people were warned, and prepared to defend themselves. Each man, in his song, told whatever was wonderful or important that had happened to his spirit since last they sang the mystery-songs. A very few of the men danced when they sang. Another object in holding this ceremony was to train all the youths in the singing of their mystery-songs, to give them self-confidence, to find out how they were progressing in their training, what their guardians were, and who among them was likely to become greatest.”<sup>1</sup>

A shaman dies if his guardian spirit is destroyed or prevented from returning to him.

“A shaman will die if his guardian spirit is destroyed, or if it is imprisoned, so that he cannot get it back. A person could also be bewitched by taking possession of the soul and imprisoning it in a medicine-bag. Some men had ‘medicine-places’ where their guardian lived,—as, for instance, the place of sunrise, or the place of sunset; and when they bewitched a person by taking his soul, they sent it to these places, where it was kept captive by their guardian spirit. In such cases the shaman had to put on his mask, and, travelling in spirit to the place, attempted with the aid of his guardians, to take back the soul forcibly from its captors. If he failed in his task, he became sick himself, and felt like a man who had received a severe thrashing.”<sup>2</sup>

Such guardian spirits resemble external souls.

The belief that a shaman dies when his guardian spirit perishes is akin to the belief in the external soul, of which we have had examples in the bush-souls of West Africa,<sup>3</sup> and of which we shall find more instances in the *naguals* of Central America.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Shuswap*, p. 610.

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* pp. 612 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Above, vol. ii. pp. 552, 593 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Below, pp. 443 sqq.

§ 11. *Guardian Spirits among other Salish Tribes*

Other Indian tribes of the Salish stock who had guardian spirits were the Stseelis and Skaulits, which occupy reservations on the Harrison River, a tributary which flows into the Fraser River about a hundred miles from its mouth. The guardian spirits, which they called *sulias*, were apparently obtained as a rule in the usual way by dreams, which the young men dreamed during their course of training at puberty. At such times the Stseelis lads made much use of the sweat-house, lanced their bodies and limbs with knives "to let the bad blood out and make them strong," and forced long rods down their throats to oblige them to vomit.<sup>1</sup> With regard to these guardian spirits or *sulias* Mr. Charles Hill-Tout writes as follows:—

Guardian spirits (*sulias*) among the Stseelis and Skaulits.

"Those who had one or more of the animals commonly hunted for food as their *sulia* were always successful hunters of those animals. For example the man who had a deer *sulia* could always find and kill plenty of deer. And it was the same with respect to other animals, both birds and fish. The fisher whose *sulia* was a salmon never lacked for these fish. . . . A *sulia* whose material form was that of an edible object enabled the owner of it to be eminently successful in his quest for that object; but among the Stseelis success in hunting or fishing could be conferred upon the hunter or fisher by other *sulia* than those which inhabited or took the forms of the animals hunted; though it usually came in that way. Certain *sulia* of a mythological character also gave success to their *protégés* in their undertakings. The *protégé* of a certain one-legged being was noted for his success as a deer hunter. This man believed that his strange *sulia* used to drive the deer into the lake for him, where they were easily despatched. The bow and arrow *sulia* also conferred the

Mr. C. Hill-Tout's account of the *sulias*.

Men were always successful hunters of the animals which they had for their guardian spirits (*sulias*).

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Hill-Tout, "Ethnological Report on the Stseelis and Skaulits Tribes of the Halokmelem Division of the Salish of British Columbia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) pp. 311, 316, 323 *sqq.* The writer does not, so far as I see, explain how these tribes obtain their

guardian spirits; but by referring to the guardian spirit as a "dream totem," "dream *sulia*," etc., he leaves us to infer, as I have done in the text, that the guardian spirit was the being or thing of which the lad dreamed at puberty.

When a man's *sulia* was a material inanimate thing and it broke, his life was in danger.

power upon its owner to kill whatever he shot at ; but this kind of *sulia* had one serious drawback. If an arrow broke, the owner's life was in danger. It would appear that this disability belongs to all *sulia* having the outward or material form of an inanimate object that was fracturable, such as spears, paddles and the like. There is deep significance in this. It seems to suggest that the life of the owner of such a *sulia* was bound up, or intimately connected, with the well-being or existence of those objects under which his *sulia* manifested itself ; and one seems to catch here an echo of the 'soul-box' belief. I sought to learn as much as possible concerning the relation which existed, or was supposed to exist, between the individual and his protective *sulia*, but could gather little beyond what I have recorded, and the following story : Once a man who had a she-bear for his *sulia* went out hunting bear. He followed one to its den in a cave. As he sought to enter the cave after the bear, the latter, who was really his *sulia*, caught hold of him and wanted him to stay and live with her as her husband. This the man refused to do, whereupon she said to him that when he died he should come and live with her, and be her husband.

Men did not pray to their *sulias*. The *sulia* was a spirit, though it might appear in the form of an animal.

"According to François a man paid regard to his *sulia* by following his instructions, but did not pray to him in the sense in which we employ that word, nor feel under any special obligation to him for his help and protection. Anything that the man could do would be a small matter in the eyes of such a mystery being as his *sulia*. Nor, as far as I could learn, did the hunter pay any regard or show respect to his prey because his *sulia* appeared to him in his visions in that form. The real *sulia* was a 'spirit' or 'mystery being' ; and though it might take the form of a deer, or a bear, or any other animal, it could not be hurt or killed, even if the animal were slain. . . . He also stated that not everybody acquired a *sulia*, only those who excelled in their special lines, such as great hunters, fishers, warriors, runners and the like ; and that women as a rule never acquired *sulia* unless they were *seurwa* or witches."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. Hill-Tout, "Ethnological Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) pp. 324 sq.

According to this account, a Stseelis man not only did not respect the animals in which his guardian spirit was embodied, but actually hunted and killed them more successfully than did other men who had not these animals for their guardians. In this respect the attitude of the Stseelis to their guardian spirits differed from that of most other American Indians and resembled the attitude of the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes to their clan totems; for among these Central Australian tribes, as we have seen, the right and power to hunt and kill certain animals appear to be the special privilege of men who have these particular animals for their totems.<sup>1</sup> Akin to this is another belief of the Salish tribes which Mr. Hill-Tout has recorded. He tells us that many of the Indians believe themselves to be descended from certain mythical creatures, half animals, half men, "and claim in consequence power over the animal descendants of them to-day whom they look upon as related to themselves. Thus the people of the Mountain-goat or Sturgeon ancestry believe they can secure animals of these species more readily than other people can, because of the supposed relationship existing between them; and they had esoteric formulas and ceremonies which they employed when they wished to capture them and which were thought to cause the fish or animals to yield themselves readily to their human kinsmen."<sup>2</sup>

Thus the attitude of the Stseelis to his guardian animal (*sulia*) was like that of a Central Australian to his totem; he had special power to hunt and kill it.

Among the Salish tribes of the coast, as well as of the interior, of British Columbia, the belief in guardian spirits would seem to have been universal; but on this subject we have little exact information, probably because the tribes on the coast have been more modified by civilisation and have therefore retained less of their ancient customs and traditions than the more secluded tribes of the interior. On this subject Mr. C. Hill-Tout, who has investigated the relics of savagery among the coast Salish, writes as follows:—

Among the coast Salish also the belief in guardian spirits appears to have been universal, according to Mr. C. Hill-Tout.

"Belief in protecting spirits constitutes the chief feature of the religion of the Salish. Such beliefs were

The François referred to in the text was one of Mr. Hill-Tout's Indian informants.

<sup>2</sup> C. Hill-Tout, "The Salish Tribes of the Coast and Lower Fraser Delta," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto, 1906), p. 230.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 104-112, 214-242.

The Salish believed that nature was peopled with spirits and they felt the need of acquiring a spiritual protector.

not confined to this stock; they were held in one form or another by practically all the aboriginal tribes of the New World when we first came in contact with them. It has its source, of course, in those animistic, anthropomorphic conceptions common to primitive man the world over. The Salish in common with other tribes in the same plane of culture as themselves, peopled their environment with mysterious beings and sentient agencies of beneficent and maleficent character, mostly of the latter. The land, water and air teem with mysteries; they are surrounded on all sides with capricious beings that have power to harm or destroy them. They are at any moment of their lives liable to come under the influence of these—to be made their victims or their prey; consequently they felt a vital need of some protecting, guiding influence in their lives; and hence arose the practice of seeking and acquiring tutelary spirits.

The guardian spirit was obtained in a dream, which came through fasting, bathing, and purgation.

"The general method of acquiring these guardian spirits was by means of dreams and visions. These were not the ordinary dream or vision but others of a mystic order, which came to the novice or person seeking the spirits, only after long and special preparation. The seeker goes apart by himself into the forest or mountains in some solitary spot close to a lake or some other body of water, and imposes upon himself a rigorous course of training, which is called *kwakwaiyisit* by the Delta and some of the Island tribes and by other names in other divisions. This training consists of prolonged fasts, frequent bathings, forced vomitings and other exhausting bodily exercises. With the body thus enervated the mind becomes abnormally active and expectant and dreams and visions and hallucinations are as natural to the novice in such a state as breathing; and we can readily understand how real must seem to him the visions of his looked-for spirit helper.

The guardian spirit may be anything in nature, animate or inanimate; anything

"Whatever object appears to him on these occasions, or rather what he conceives to be the spirit of the object, becomes his totem or tutelary spirit. It may be anything almost in nature—plant, bird, beast, fish, a tool, weapon or any other inanimate object, or natural phenomena. As, under the view he takes, everything in nature is possessed

of a spirit and has mystery power, the spirit of a stick or stone can protect and lend him aid as well as the spirit of living things. Usually, however, he recognizes some kind of hierarchical order among these ghostly helpers. Some things or objects were more 'powerful' to aid than others, and some aided along special lines in one direction and others in another. Some conferred great hunting powers, others great running or fighting powers. Others again assisted the 'medicine' men in their cures. If therefore the seeker after mystery powers was not satisfied with the first 'spirit' that came to him, or rather with the powers it bestowed, he would enter upon a second course of training and await the coming or vision of a second helper, or even of a third or a fourth, spending years perhaps in his seeking.

may be endowed with mystery power.

But some guardian spirits are more powerful than others.

"Between the individual and his protecting spirit or spirits a very close and mysterious relationship is supposed to exist. He does not pray to his totem in the sense in which we use this word, but expects and looks for its aid and protection when needed. The totem is supposed to warn him by dreams and visions of impending danger and to assist him in difficult undertakings, and indeed in all the issues of his life."<sup>1</sup>

Close relationship between a man and his guardian spirit.

### § 12. *Guardian Spirits among the Kwakiutl*

North of the great bulk of the Salish tribes are the Kwakiutl on the coast of British Columbia, and among them also we find a system of guardian spirits, with this

Guardian spirits among the Kwakiutl.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Hill-Tout, "The Salish Tribes of the Coast and Lower Fraser Delta," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto, 1906), pp. 229 sq. Mr. Hill-Tout calls the guardian spirit a "personal totem." The Siciatl of Sechart Peninsula, in British Columbia, may serve as an example of the changes which have come over the Indians of the coast. They are devout Catholics, with an imposing church which they built at their own expense and now maintain generously; they have a commodious town-hall, a handsome band-stand facing the bay, and a

convenient system of water-works. Each house has its own garden, in which European fruits and vegetables are grown. The men engage in fishing or timber-cutting throughout the year. Some of them are expert hunters and export much venison to the Vancouver market. Yet even among these civilised Indians reminiscences of guardian spirits have been detected. See C. Hill-Tout, "Report on the Ethnology of the Siciatl of British Columbia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) pp. 20 sq., 26 sqq.

difference, however, that though a lad still acquires his guardian spirit by fasting and washing, his choice among the spirits is not unlimited; he can only obtain as his patron one or more of a certain limited number of spirits which are hereditary in his clan. On this subject our authority is Dr. Franz Boas, who writes as follows:—

Dr.  
F. Boas  
on the  
guardian  
spirits  
of the  
Kwakiutl.

“We have now to deal with another class of legends which relate entirely to spirits that are still in constant contact with the Indians, whom they endow with supernatural powers. In order to gain their help, the youth must prepare himself by fasting and washing, because only the pure find favor with them, while they kill the impure. Every young man endeavors to find a protector of this kind. It is clear that this idea corresponds exactly to the *manitou* of the Algonquin Indians, and that we have to deal here with the elementary idea of the acquisition of a guardian spirit, which has attained its strongest development in America. Its specific character on the North Pacific Coast lies in the fact that the guardian spirit has become hereditary. This is the case among the northern tribes of British Columbia. It is also the case among the Kwakiutl and among the Chinook. When the youth prepares to meet a guardian spirit, he does not expect to find any but those of his clan. This is probably the reason for the relatively small number of such spirits—for among the Indians of the plains, among whom each man has his individual spirit, their number is unlimited—and it has also given occasion for the development of a more elaborate mythology relating to these spirits.”<sup>1</sup>

Analogy  
to the  
Algonkin  
*manitou*.  
But on the  
North  
Pacific  
coast the  
spirits have  
become  
hereditary;  
a young  
man can  
get only  
one of the  
spirits of  
his clan.

The clan  
legend and  
the gift of  
the spirit.

“Owing to the fact that these spirits are hereditary, their gifts are always contained in the legend detailing their acquisition by the ancestor of a clan. The principal gifts in these tales are the magical harpoon which ensures success in sea-otter hunting; the death bringer which, when pointed against enemies, kills them; the water of life which resuscitates the dead; the burning fire which, when pointed against an object, burns it; and a dance, a song,

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, “The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians,” *Report of the*

*United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 393 sq.

and cries which are peculiar to the spirit. The gift of this dance means that the *protégé* of the spirit is to perform the same dances which have been shown to him. In these dances he personates the spirit. He wears his mask and his ornaments. Thus the dance must be considered a dramatic performance of the myth relating to the acquisition of the spirit, and shows to the people that the performer by his visit to the spirit has obtained his powers and desires. When nowadays a spirit appears to a young Indian, he gives him the same dance, and the youth also returns from the initiation filled with the powers and desires of the spirit. He authenticates his initiation by his dance in the same way as his mythical ancestor did.

The dance of the spirit. The dancer wears the mask and ornaments of the spirit and personates it.

"The obtaining of the magical gifts from these spirits is called *tlokoala*, while the person who has obtained them becomes *naualaku*, supernatural, which is also the quality of the spirit himself. The ornaments of all these spirits are described as made of cedar bark, which is dyed red in the juice of alder bark. They appear to their devotees only in winter, and therefore the dances are also performed only in winter. For this reason they may conveniently be called the winter ceremonial."<sup>1</sup>

Ornaments of red cedar bark. The dances only performed in winter.

Among the spirits which thus appear to Kwakiutl young men and endow them with supernatural powers four principal ones may be distinguished, namely (1) *Winalagilis* ("making war all over the earth"), (2) *Baxbakualanu Xsiwae* ("the first one to eat man at the mouth of the river"), (3) *Matem*, who lives on the top of steep mountains, and (4) the Ghosts. Of these the first (*Winalagilis*) confers various supernatural powers; he can make his votaries invulnerable, or at least insensible to the pain of wounds so that they cannot be killed however much they may be hacked and slashed; or again he can give his devotees power to catch the invisible spirit of disease, which is constantly flying about in the air in the form of a worm, and when they have caught it they can throw it at their enemies, who die of its effects instantaneously. The second of the spirits

Four principal guardian spirits of the Kwakiutl.

The gifts of the spirits are invulnerability, swallowing fire, flying, reviving from the dead, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the*

*United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 396.

(*Baxbakualanu Xsiwae*) makes his disciples into cannibals (*Hamatsas*) by instilling into them a craving for human flesh; or he enables them to handle and swallow fire without being burned; or he gives them the knack of smashing people's skulls; and there are other gifts and graces of similar sorts with which he endows them. The third spirit (*Matem*) is a bird, and he gives the youths the power of flying. The fourth class of spirits (the Ghosts) bestow on their votaries the useful gift of resurrection or the power of returning to life after they have been killed.<sup>1</sup>

### § 13. Guardian Spirits among the Haidas and Tlingits

No regular system of guardian spirits among the Haidas and Tlingits.

Patron deities among the Haidas.

Spirits which inspire the members of secret societies among the Haidas.

There is little or no evidence that a regular system of guardian spirits, such as we have described, prevails among the Haidas and Tlingits, both of whom have or had a system of clan totemism. Among the Haidas, it is true, we hear of "patron deities" such as Property-Woman, Master Carpenter, He-who-jumps-about-on-One-Leg, or Master Hopper, Death-by-Violence, the Slave Powers, the Spirit of Mourning, the Spirit of Theft, the Strength-Spirit, and the Medicine-Spirit; but these do not appear to have been guardian spirits of individuals in the strict sense of the word; though a man by eating certain medicines, especially a plant called *xat*, could sometimes see Property-Woman passing by and thereby grow rich.<sup>2</sup> Again, members of a secret society among the Haidas were believed to be inspired by a particular spirit such as the Dog-eating Spirit, the Grizzly-bear Spirit, the Wolf Spirit, the Fire-throwing Spirit, the Gambling Spirit, and so forth. But these spirits also appear to have differed from the guardian spirits of individuals such as we have found them in other Indian tribes.<sup>3</sup> Much more analogous to the personal guardians or *manitoos* of individuals were the spirits which

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 394 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida* (Leyden

and New York, 1905), pp. 29 sqq. (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* pp. 160 sqq.

were supposed to animate Haida shamans. As to the mode in which the shaman acquired the spirit or spirits Dr. G. M. Dawson writes thus: "The office of *ska-ga*, shaman or medicine-man, is not, like the chieftaincy, hereditary, but is either chosen or accepted in consequence of some tendency to dream or see visions, or owing to some omen. The would-be doctor must go through a severe course of initiation. He must abstain from connexion with women, and eat very little ordinary food, and that only once a day, in the evening. He goes into the woods and eats 'medicine,' of which the *Moneses uniflora* was pointed out to me as one of the chief constituents. This plant is hot and bitter to the taste. A course of this character continued for some months, or even for a year, causes the body to become thin, and the mind may eventually be somewhat deranged, or at least the *ska-ga* pretends to see strange things. He speaks mysteriously, and soon takes an acknowledged place in the tribe."<sup>1</sup> This mode of acquiring a spirit through a vision brought about by fasts and maceration of the body is identical with the mode in which among so many tribes a youth at puberty obtains his guardian spirit or *manitoo*. Personal cleanliness was an essential condition to obtaining a spirit. Indeed, "whether a man were a shaman or not, he could increase his physical power, or obtain property, success in hunting, fishing, war, etc., by rigid abstinence from food and drink, by remaining away from his wife, bathing in the sea, taking sweat-baths, etc. He would drink warmed salt water often, and take fresh water afterwards, when all the contents of his stomach were ejected, leaving him so much the 'cleaner.'"<sup>2</sup>

A Haida medicine-man acquires his spirit or spirits by a course of fasting and chastity.

Personal cleanliness essential to the acquisition of a guardian spirit.

Every Tlingit, it is said, has his own guardian spirit called *tu kinajek*, but how he acquires it we are not told. If he is a bad or unclean man, the spirit may leave or even kill him.<sup>3</sup> However, among the Tlingits, as among the Haidas, the way in which a shaman acquires the spirits essential to the exercise of his profession closely resembles

Guardian spirits among the Tlingits.

Mode in which a Tlingit shaman

<sup>1</sup> G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878* (Montreal, 1880), p. 122 B (*Geological Survey of Canada*).

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (Jena, 1885), p. 292.

acquires  
the spirits  
of his  
profession.

The  
mystery of  
the otter's  
tongue.

The spirit-  
mask.

Spirits love  
cleanliness  
and the  
sound of  
rattles and  
drums.

the way in which ordinary men elsewhere obtain their guardian spirits or *manitoos*. When a Tlingit wishes to become a shaman or medicine-man, he betakes himself to a forest or a mountain far from the haunts of men. There he stays for two, three, or four weeks, living on the root of the *Panax horridum*. The length of his stay depends on the speed or tardiness with which the spirits manifest themselves to him. When at last they come, the chief spirit sends to the novice a river-otter in whose tongue the whole mystery and power of the medicine-man's craft are believed to be embodied. When the otter meets the man, the two stand still, and the man utters the single syllable O! O! O! O! four times in different notes; whereupon the otter falls down on its back, obligingly stretching out its tongue, which the future shaman snips off and deposits in a basket specially made for the purpose. This precious talisman he carefully conceals, for were an uninitiated person to find it he would go mad on the spot. The skin of the otter is stripped off and kept by the shaman as a badge of office, but the flesh is buried in the ground. If, however, after a long stay in the wilderness the would-be shaman cannot summon up spirits, he repairs, still fasting, to the grave of a dead medicine-man, spends the night with the corpse, and takes one of its teeth or a little finger in his mouth, in order to be able to conjure the spirits and so gain possession of the magic otter's tongue. After that, lean and famished, he returns home to give proof of his newly acquired skill in conjuring. His rank and reputation depend on the number of spirits whom he has at his bidding. For every one of them he has a special name, a special song, and a special wooden mask, which he puts on when he personates the being so represented. The words which he utters while he wears a spirit-mask are believed to be inspired by the spirit. It is only in the winter and at the time of the new or the full moon that these revelations of the spirit take place.<sup>1</sup> All spirits love cleanliness and the sound of the rattle and the drum. Therefore the shaman who is to summon them up must

<sup>1</sup> H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*, iv.

(Helsingfors, 1856), pp. 348-353; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 284 sqq.

have practised abstinence for months beforehand: the hut in which the invocation is to take place must be carefully cleaned; and the songs must be sung and the dances danced with great precision to the beat of the drum.<sup>1</sup>

§ 14. *Guardian Spirits among the Tinnehs or Dénés*

The Tinnehs or Dénés of Alaska and of North-West British America had, like so many Indian tribes, their guardian spirits. Thus with regard to the eastern Tinnehs we are told that "an inferior species of 'totemism' obtains among them. Each hunter selects, as a species of familiar spirit, some animal, and invariably a carnivorous one. According to their custom, the man can then neither eat nor skin, and if avoidable, not even kill the object of his choice. The taking of the 'totem' is not, so far as I am aware, the occasion of any religious ceremony, as is the case among some of the plain tribes. Pictures of various animals used in the olden day to be distributed among the natives by the traders, each individual receiving that of his totem. When a hunter had been unsuccessful he pulled this picture out of his medicine bag, laid it before him, and taking some tobacco from the same receptacle, paid adoration to the spirit by smoking and making it a speech. After this proceeding he returned with renewed ardor to the chase, and generally with success."<sup>2</sup>

Guardian spirits among the Tinnehs or Dénés.

Pictures of guardian spirits to which adoration was paid.

Again, the Catholic missionary Father Petitot tells us that the Tinnehs have "what is called *nagualism* or *todemism* or worship of the beast, a form of fetishism the most abject and the most material that could be found, since it makes of the animal a god or an instrument of the divinity, while it makes of God an animal or a brutal incarnation. They call their fetishes *elkiusi*, *ellone*, *allon on*, according to their dialects. . . . The Slave Indians give the name of *ellone* to the elan, the Hareskins to the reindeer, and the Montagnards to the

Father Petitot on the guardian spirits of the Tinnehs.

<sup>1</sup> A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 292.

*of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1866* (Washington, 1867), p. 307. In this article the notes on the Eastern Tinnehs are by Mr. Bernard R. Ross, of the Hudson's Bay Company.

<sup>2</sup> "Notes on the Tinneh or Chepe-wyan Indians of British and Russian America," *Annual Report of the Board*

beaver, all, therefore, to the animal on which they principally subsist and which thus becomes the efficient cause of their life.) The worship called *nagualism*, if the name of worship can be applied to certain vain practices, consists, (1) in wearing on the person a relic of the animal-genius which has revealed itself to an Indian in a dream; (2) in resorting to a certain secret practice for the purpose of pleasing the animal, because the animal itself has prescribed in a dream the practice to the person whom it is good enough to take possession of; (3) in abstaining with the greatest care from injuring, tracking, killing, and especially eating the flesh of the *nagual*, which is then called *été, ata, ay, a, ey* according to the dialects. It is simply the taboo of the Polynesians. Almost all the savages, even after baptism, have retained a repugnance for their old taboo. They no longer venerate it, they even consider it evil, but they continue to refrain from it for that reason, and we do not put any constraint on them. Time will efface these childish fears."<sup>1</sup>

Another Catholic missionary, Father A. G. Morice, has given us an account of the guardian spirits of the Western Tinnehs or Dénés. He says: "They also attached to dreams the same importance as did most people of antiquity. It was while dreaming that they pretended to communicate with the supernatural world, that their shamans were invested with their wonderful power over nature, and that every individual was assigned his particular *nagwal* or tutelary animal genius. Oftentimes they painted this genius with vermilion on prominent rocks in the most frequented places, and these rough inscriptions are about the only monuments the immediate ancestors of the Dénés have left us."<sup>2</sup> Again, Father Morice writes: "The individual or personal totem is well known as being some material object or being, most generally some animal, ordinarily revealed in dreams to a person who is bound thereafter to look upon it as sacred and to be especially revered and protected. In return for this reverence on the part of the person, the totem is

Father Morice on the guardian spirits of the Western Tinnehs or Dénés.

<sup>1</sup> Le R. P. E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dènè-Dindjé* (Paris, 1876), p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés, their Manners and

Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, Toronto*, Third Series, vol. vii. Fasciculus I (Toronto, 1889), p. 161.

believed to particularly help and powerfully protect its human relative, as the individual is supposed to be.”<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere Father Morice has explained the belief and custom more fully as follows:—

“Alongside of these, however, was another class of spirits, which had on earth, in the animate or inanimate world, representatives wherein were embodied, as it were, some of their own marvellous powers over nature. In the estimation of the Dénés, and I think I may say practically of all the North American Indians, all the present entities in nature were at one time endowed with human-like faculties. Even trees spoke and worked and fought, and the fowls of the air and the animals of the earth were then men like ourselves, though possessed of potent virtues which are not ours. This magic, though now somewhat reduced in strength, has remained in the brute creation, and is the means whereby man can communicate with the spirit world, and by whose aid he is enabled to succeed in his quest after happiness and the necessaries of life. . . .

Belief of the Indians that all things in nature are endowed with human-like faculties.

“Now, those spirits, which are personified by the representatives of the vegetable or animal kingdoms, occasionally manifest themselves to man, and give evidence of their friendly dispositions by adopting individuals and protecting them through life, in return for some consideration shown their present concrete forms or symbols. In a word, they are the link which connects man with the invisible world, and the only means of communing with the unseen: *these are the personal totems* of the Dénés, and, I cannot help thinking, of most of the American aborigines as well.

The spirits of animals and plants sometimes adopt men and protect them through life.

“It has been said that totemism is a purely social institution. I feel absolutely no hesitation in denying this, in so far at least as the Dénés are concerned. Totemism among them is essentially and exclusively connected with their religious system, and I am inclined to believe that the gentile totem is nothing else than an extension to the entire clan of an institution which was originally restricted to the individual.

Totemism essentially religious.

<sup>1</sup> Father A. G. Morice, “Notes, Archaeological, Industrial, and Sociological, on the Western Dénés,”

*Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) p. 203.

The guardian spirit revealed in a dream.

"The personal totem revealed itself usually in dreams, when it appeared to its future *protégé* under the shape of an animal, etc., which was to be thenceforth his tutelary genius. Sometimes the totem animal was met in the woods under striking circumstances, and even at times went so far as to speak to the Indian.

Intimate connection between a man and his guardian spirit.

"Thenceforth the most intimate connection existed between the two. The native would be careful to carry on his person and publicly expose in his lodge the spoils of that animal, its entire skin or part of it, which he would not suffer to be treated lightly. Occasionally he would even carve a rough representation of the totem. He would treasure any object—such as a stone or a vegetable excrescence,—between which and his totem he fancied he saw a striking resemblance. He would paint its form or symbol in bright vermilion on conspicuous rocks along lakes or rivers, etc. Under no circumstance would anything induce him wilfully to kill, or at least to eat the flesh of the being the prototype of which had become, as it were, sacred to him. In times of need he would secretly invoke its assistance, saying: 'May you do this or that to me!' Before an assault on his enemies or previous to his chase of large game, he would daub its symbol on his bow and arrows, and if success attended his efforts, he would sometimes thank it by destroying in its honor any piece of property on hand, food or clothing, or in later times tobacco, which he would throw into the water or cast into the fire as a sacrifice."<sup>1</sup>

No man will kill or eat his guardian animal.

Sacrifices to the guardian spirits.

### § 15. *Guardian Spirits among the Eskimo*

Guardian spirits among the Eskimo. Mr. W. H. Dall's account.

Further, the system of guardian spirits is found at the extreme north-west of America among the Eskimo or Innuít of the Yukon district in Alaska. On this subject Mr. W. H. Dall, one of our best authorities on Alaska, writes thus:—

"The totemic system is not found among the Innuít. Each boy, when arrived at the age of puberty, selects an

<sup>1</sup> Rev. A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto, 1906), pp. 204 *sq.*

animal, fish, or bird, which he adopts as a patron. The spirit which looks after the animals of that species is supposed to act henceforth as his guardian. Sometimes the animal is selected in early childhood by the parents. If he has long-continued want of success in his pursuits, he will sometimes change his patron. They do not abstain from eating or using the flesh and skin of the animal which they have chosen, as do some tribes of Indians. They always wear a piece of the skin or a bone of that animal, which they regard as an amulet, and use every precaution against its loss, which would be regarded as a grave calamity. When desiring assistance or advice they do not themselves seek it, but employ a shaman to address their patron spirit. These customs do not extend to females.”<sup>1</sup>

§ 16. *Guardian Spirits among the Central American Indians*

The Indians of Central America seem also to have had very commonly their guardian spirits, which amongst them are best known under the name of *naguals*. The earliest account of the custom is given by the Spanish historian Herrera. It applies to the Indians of the province of Cerquin in Honduras, and apparently refers to the state of things in the year 1530. The account runs thus:—

“The Devil deluded them, appearing in the shape of a lion, or a tiger, or a coyote, a beast like a wolf, or in the shape of an alligator, a snake, or a bird, that province abounding in creatures of prey, which they called *naguales*, signifying keepers or guardians; and when the bird died, the Indian that was in league with him died also, which often happened and was looked upon as infallible. The manner of contracting this alliance was thus: the Indian repaired to the river, wood, hill, or most obscure place, where he called upon the devils by such names as he thought fit, talked to the rivers, rocks, or woods, said he went to weep, that he might have the same his predecessors had, carrying a cock or a dog to sacrifice. In that melancholy fit he fell asleep, and either in a dream or waking saw some one of

Guardian spirits (*naguals*) among the Central American Indians.

Herrera's account. The *nagual* was an animal whose life was thought to be so bound up with the life of a man that when one of the two died the other died also.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (London, 1870), p. 145.

the aforesaid birds or other creatures, whom he entreated to grant him profit in salt, cacao, or any other commodity, drawing blood from his own tongue, ears, and other parts of his body, making his contract at the same time with the said creature, the which, either in a dream or waking told him, 'Such a day you shall go abroad a-sporting, and I will be the first bird or other animal you shall meet, and will be your *nagual* and companion at all times.' Whereupon such friendship was contracted between them, that when one of them died, the other did not survive, and they fancied that he who had no *nagual* could not be rich."<sup>1</sup>

The Indians believed that the death of their *nagual* would entail their own. Legend has it that in the first battles with the Spaniards on the tablelands of Quetzaltenango the *naguals* of the Indian chiefs fought in the shape of serpents. The *nagual* of the head chief was especially conspicuous because it had the form of a great bird resplendent in green plumage. The Spanish general, Pedro de Alvarado, killed the bird with his lance, and in the same moment the Indian chief sank dead to the ground.<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Gage's account of these animal doubles.

Nor did this superstition perish with the Spanish conquest and the nominal conversion of the Indians to Christianity. In the seventeenth century the Englishman Thomas Gage, who was curate of a parish among the Pokonchis of Guatemala about 1630,<sup>3</sup> has told us that many of these Indians "are deluded by the devil to believe that their life dependeth upon the life of such and such a beast (which they take unto them as their familiar spirit), and think that when that beast dieth they must die; when he is chased, their hearts pant; when he is faint, they are faint; nay, it happeneth that by the devil's delusion they appear in the shape of that beast (which commonly by their choice is a buck, or doe, a lion, a tiger, or dog, or eagle), and in that

<sup>1</sup> Antonia de Herrera, *General History of the Continent and Islands of America*, translated into English by Capt. John Stevens, iv. (London, 1726) pp. 138 sq. I have modernised the translator's spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals.

<sup>2</sup> Otto Stoll, *Die Ethnologie der Indianerstämme von Guatemala* (Ley-

den, 1889), p. 58, citing as his authorities Fuentes, i. p. 50; Milla, *Historia*, p. 17. I have not seen the works of Fuentes and Milla.

<sup>3</sup> D. G. Brinton, "Nagualism, a Study in Native American Folk-lore and History," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxiii. (Philadelphia, 1894) p. 32.

shape have been shot at and wounded.”<sup>1</sup> The credulous curate relates at great length how a certain Indian was said to be able to turn himself into a lion or rather a puma, and how once, when a puma had been shot, the man appeared with a bruised face and accused the shooter of having wounded him ; the writer also waxes eloquent on a terrific battle fought between two rival chiefs in the likeness of a puma and a jaguar respectively.<sup>2</sup>

Towards the end of the seventeenth century Francisco Nuñez de la Vega, Bishop of Chiapas and Soconusco, found the same superstition still rampant among his flock and fulminated against it as a work of the Devil. From his long denunciations, which have been collected and translated by D. G. Brinton, I will extract a few passages :—

“ There are certain bad Christians of both sexes who do not hesitate to follow the school of the Devil, and to occupy themselves with evil arts, divinations, sorceries, conjuring, enchantments, fortune-telling, and other means to forecast the future. These are those who in all the provinces of New Spain are known by the name of *Nagualists*. They pretend that the birth of men is regulated by the course and movements of stars and planets, and by observing the time of day and the month in which a child is born, they prognosticate its condition and the events, prosperous or otherwise, of its life ; and the worst of it is that these perverse men have written down their signs and rules, and thus deceive the erring and ignorant.

“ These *Nagualists* practise their arts by means of Repertories and superstitious Calendars, where are represented under their proper names all the *naguals* of stars, elements, birds, fishes, brute beasts and dumb animals ; with a vain note of days and months, so that they can announce which corresponds to the day of birth of the infant. This is preceded by some diabolical ceremonies, after which they designate the field or other spot, where, after seven years will have elapsed, the *nagual* will appear to ratify the bargain. As the time approaches, they instruct the child to

Nuñez de la Vega's account of *naguals*.

A child's *nagual* was discovered by means of a calendar, in which the names of all the *naguals* of beasts, birds, fish, stars, etc., were recorded.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Gage, *A New Survey of the West Indies*, third edition (London, 1677), p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Gage, *op. cit.* pp. 383-389.

deny God and His Blessed Mother, and warn him to have no fear, and not to make the sign of the cross. He is told to embrace his *nagual* tenderly, which, by some diabolical art, presents itself in an affectionate manner even though it be a ferocious beast, like a lion or a tiger. Thus, with infernal cunning they persuade him that this *nagual* is an angel of God, who will look after him and protect him in his after life. To such diabolical masters the intelligent Indians apply, to learn from these superstitious Calendars, dictated by the Devil, their own fortunes, and the *naguals* which will be assigned to their children, even before they are baptized. . . .

Trans-  
formation  
of men into  
animals,  
etc.

“At present, all are not so subject to the promptings of the Devil as formerly, but there are still some so closely allied to him that they transform themselves into tigers, lions, bulls, flashes of light and globes of fire. We can say from the declaration and solemn confession of some penitents that it is proved that the Devil had carnal relations with them, both as *incubus* and *succubus*, approaching them in the form of their *nagual*; and there was one woman who remained in the forest a week with the demon in the form of her *nagual*, acting toward him as does an infatuated woman toward her lover. As a punishment for such horrible crimes our Lord has permitted that they lose their life as soon as their *nagual* is killed; and that they bear on their own bodies the wound or mark of the blow which killed it; as the curas of Chamula, Copainala, and other places have assured me.”<sup>1</sup>

A man's  
life bound  
up with  
that of his  
*nagual*.

The native  
Reper-  
tories or  
Calendars,  
by which  
the Indians  
discovered  
their  
*naguals*.

With regard to the Repertories or Calendars by means of which the Indians determined their children's *naguals*, Bishop Nuñez de la Vega says: “The Indians of New Spain retain all the errors of their time of heathenism preserved in certain writings in their own languages, explaining by abbreviated characters and by figures painted in a secret cypher the places, provinces, and names of their early rulers, the animals, stars, and elements which they

<sup>1</sup> Francisco Nuñez de la Vega, *Constituciones diocesanas del Obispado de Chiappa*, Ninth Pastoral Letter, quoted and translated by D. G. Brinton, in his “Nagualism, a Study in Native

American Folk-lore and History,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxiii. (Philadelphia, 1894) pp. 26 sq., 29.

worshipped, the ceremonies and sacrifices which they observed, and the years, months, and days by which they predicted the fortunes of children at birth, and assign them that which they call the *naguals*. These writings are known as Repertories or Calendars, and they are also used to discover articles lost or stolen, and to effect cures of diseases. Some have a wheel painted in them, like that of Pythagoras, described by the Venerable Bede ; others portray a lake surrounded by the *naguals* in the form of various animals."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, whereas according to Herrera the Indian found his own *nagual* or guardian spirit by dreaming, according to Nuñez de la Vega it was determined for him at birth by his parents, who cast his horoscope by means of a sacred Calendar or Almanack. It is obvious that the former method, which agrees with the mode adopted by the North American Indians in procuring their *manitoos* or guardian spirits, is the more primitive of the two, since the casting of a horoscope by an astrological calculation based on a written document implies a considerable advance in culture. However it was acquired, it is plain that the animal *nagual* with whose life the life of a man was thought to be bound up partook of the nature of an external soul, and was identical in principle with the animal doubles or bush souls, of which we have met with many examples in West Africa.<sup>2</sup>

Relics of *nagualism* seem to have lingered among the Central American Indians down to the middle of the nineteenth century ; for the German traveller K. Scherzer reported at that time that the Indians of Santa Catalina Istlavacan, in Guatemala, still received at birth the name of some animal, which was commonly regarded as their guardian spirit for the rest of their life. The name was bestowed by the heathen priest, who usually heard of a birth in the village sooner than his Catholic brother.<sup>3</sup>

Different accounts of the way in which the *nagual* was obtained.

Relics of *nagualism* in the nineteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by D. G. Brinton, in his "Nagualism, a Study in Native American Folk-lore and History," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxiii. (1894) p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 552, 593 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> K. Scherzer, "Die Indianer von

Santa Catalina Istlavacana (Frauenfuss), ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte der Urbewohner Central-Amerikas," *Sitzungsberichte der philosoph.-histor. Classe der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), xviii. (1856) p. 235. Much more evidence bearing

### § 17. *Guardian Spirits among the South American Indians*

Guardian spirits among the Roocooyen Indians of French Guiana.

The Roocooyen Indians of French Guiana, in South America, have also their guardian spirits. They believe that every species of animal, plant, and thing has its medicine-spirit or mystery-spirit; the term used by them to express medicine or mystery is *piay*, and like other Indian tribes of Guiana they apply the same word to a medicine-man or sorcerer. Thus, for example, there is a medicine-spirit of the species of birds known as *hoccos* or crested curassows (*Crax tomentosa*); there is a medicine-spirit of ravens; there is a medicine-spirit of peccaries; there is a medicine-spirit of tapirs; and there is a medicine-spirit of manioc. Every Indian chooses a medicine-spirit for himself, only one; it becomes his protector, his guardian angel, and he will never eat of the flesh of the corresponding animal; for example, if he has the medicine-spirit of tapirs for his guardian, he will not eat tapirs. The medicine-spirits communicate only with the medicine-men. Common people have, indeed, their medicine-spirits; they invoke them, they believe in them, and they abstain from eating their representatives, but the spirits do not communicate with them. On the other hand the medicine-spirits keep the medicine-men informed on many subjects; it is from them that the medicine-men get all their power and through them that they perform all their operations. The more powerful the medicine-spirit, the more powerful is the medicine-man who has it for his patron; for example, the medicine-spirit of ravens is more powerful than the medicine-spirit of manioc, and a medicine-man who had the manioc spirit for his guardian has been known to change it for the raven-spirit. The medicine-spirits live in the sky after the fashion of Indians; they have a large house and a chief called Cooloon, who sends down the water of which he has no need above, and the water so sent down is the rain.<sup>1</sup>

The Indians will not eat the flesh of their guardian animals. But the medicine-spirits only communicate with the medicine-men.

more or less on the subject has been collected, mostly from Spanish sources, by D. G. Brinton in the memoir to which reference has already been made (*Proceedings of the American Philo-*

*sophical Society*, xxxiii. (Philadelphia 1894) pp. 11-73).

<sup>1</sup> Henri Coudreau, *Chez nos Indiens, quatre années dans la Guayane française* (Paris, 1895), pp. 204 sq.,

Further, it would seem that the Indians of Cundinamarca, an old province now comprised in the State of Colombia, had also their guardian spirits. For concerning them we read that "besides the divinities of whom we have spoken, each Indian had a lake, a mountain, a rock, or some other object, which had revealed itself to him by the trembling with which he had been seized in passing near it; when he wished to implore its help, he fasted for a certain number of days. The strictest of them abstained from flesh and fish and ate only herbs without any seasoning. During the whole time that this fast (which they called *zaga*) lasted, they lived in the most complete retirement, did not wash, and did not go near their wife. They then applied to some priest (*chque*) who had observed the same fast, and they sent him their offering, which was usually the figure of some animal in gold. The priest repaired to the spot which had been indicated, and after having removed his garments and wrapped the offering in cotton, he addressed a prayer to the divinity, then cast the offering into the water or buried it, according to the nature of the spot; then he went away backwards till he came to the place where he had left his garments. He who had sent him gave him for his trouble two pieces of cotton cloth and a little gold. After that he assembled his relations and friends, with whom he celebrated an orgy."<sup>1</sup>

Guardian spirits among the Indians of Cundinamarca.

### § 18. Observations on American Guardian Spirits

The foregoing account of guardian spirits among the American Indians suggests several observations. In regard to geographical diffusion, the system of guardian spirits is found among tribes which have not, or at least which are not reported to have, the system of clan totemism. Tribes with guardian spirits but without clan totems are the Blackfeet, Dacotas, the Californian Indians of San Juan Capistrano, the Salish of British Columbia, the Central

The diffusion of guardian spirits compared with the diffusion of clan totems.

209. That the *hocco* is the *Crax tomentosa* is mentioned by R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch. Guiana* (Leipsic, 1847-1848), ii. 47. As to the curassows, see Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of Birds* (London, 1893-96), pp. 126 sq.

<sup>1</sup> H. Ternaux-Compans, *Essai sur l'ancien Cundinamarca* (Paris, n.d.), pp. 44 sq. The writer refers to the Spanish historian P. Simon, the greater part of whose work was still in manuscript when Ternaux-Compans wrote in the first half of the nineteenth century.

American Indians of Honduras and Guatemala, and some South American tribes, particularly the Roocooyens of French Guiana. To the American aborigines who have guardian spirits but not clan totems are probably to be added the Innuited or Eskimo of the Yukon district in Alaska.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand some tribes which have clan totems are not reported to have guardian spirits of the kind here dealt with. Such are the Pueblo Indians, the Haidas, and perhaps the Tlingits. It is quite possible that these apparent discrepancies between the range of guardian spirits and the range of clan totems are due simply to defects in our information; still, taking the evidence as it stands, we must conclude that the two systems do not coincide with each other throughout, but that, while they do coincide to a great extent, they also overlap. These facts point both to a connection and to a difference between clan totems and guardian spirits, and the indication is confirmed by a comparison of the things themselves.

When the guardian spirit is an animal, the votary will not eat its flesh. In this respect the guardian spirit resembles a clan totem.

1. For in the first place, when the guardian spirit appears in the form of an animal, the man often, perhaps generally, abstains from injuring animals of that species and from eating their flesh.<sup>2</sup> In this respect, therefore, the guardian spirit closely resembles the clan totem. It is true that the rule does not universally hold good; one very remarkable exception is the custom of killing the animal of which a man has dreamed at puberty and thereafter preserving its skin or some other part of its body as a talisman.<sup>3</sup> Again, according to Mr. C. Hill-Tout, the guardian spirit (*sulia*) of a Stseelis Indian is precisely the animal which he kills with the greatest facility. Thus, if his guardian spirit (*sulia*) is a deer, he kills plenty of deer; if it is a salmon, he catches plenty of salmon; and so with respect to other animals, birds and fish.<sup>4</sup> However, few guardian spirits are quite so long-suffering and complaisant; most of them even appear to entertain a strong, though perhaps unreasonable, objection to be killed and eaten

<sup>1</sup> For reported traces of clan totems among the Eskimo see above, pp. 368 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 52, 379, 393, 439, 440, 442, 448.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 375, 382, 399,

411, 414.

<sup>4</sup> C. Hill-Tout, "Ethnological Report on the Stseelis and Skaulits Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904), p. 324. See above, pp. 429-431.

by their votaries, and far from aiding in the quest for themselves and their brethren they visit the rash hunter who has shot or wounded them with their severe displeasure. It would seem, therefore, that the self-sacrificing guardian spirits of the Ststeelis stand somewhat by themselves. Leaving them out of account, we may say that in general, whenever the guardian spirit takes the form of an animal, the conduct of the votary towards his patron strongly resembles the conduct of a man towards his clan totem.

2. Some of the guardian spirits consist not of whole animals but of parts of animals; and in such cases the votary is only bound to abstain from eating a particular part of the creature, while he is free to partake of all the rest.<sup>1</sup> This is a point of resemblance between guardian spirits and those clan totems which I have called split totems; and it seems not improbable that the same motive which has led men to split their animal totem has led them also to split their animal guardian spirit, whenever the animal was good to eat.<sup>2</sup>

3. In many cases a man is believed to acquire the qualities of his guardian spirit. For example, if it runs or flies quickly, so can he; if it is far-sighted, so is he; if it is impenetrable, he is invulnerable; if it is fierce and warlike, he is the same.<sup>3</sup> We have seen that among some peoples men are supposed to be endowed with the physical and mental qualities of their clan totems.<sup>4</sup> In this respect, therefore, the guardian spirit again resembles the clan totem.

4. Amongst the Central American Indians and to some extent among the Shuswaps the guardian spirit appears to partake of the nature of an external soul, the man and his guardian being united by such a bond of sympathy that the death of the one entails the death of the other.<sup>5</sup> Traces of similar beliefs with regard to clan totems have met us among the tribes of Central Australia and the Siena of the Ivory Coast.<sup>6</sup> This is another link between the guardian spirit and the clan totem.

The guardian spirit, like the clan totem, is sometimes a part of an animal.

A man acquires the qualities of his guardian spirit just as he does those of his totem.

In some cases the guardian spirit, like the totem, partakes of the nature of an external soul.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 376, 412, 417, 427.

<sup>2</sup> As to split totems see above, pp. 57, 100; vol. i. pp. 10, 11, 14; vol. ii. pp. 536 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 385, 386 *sq.*, 400, 417, 426.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 55 *sq.*; vol. ii. pp. 8 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 428, 443 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 124-130, vol. ii. pp. 551 *sqq.*

5. Amongst several tribes of North-West America the guardian spirit which has been acquired by a father is transmitted by him to his children; in other words, it has become hereditary in the male line.<sup>1</sup> Now when guardian spirits in the form of animals have become hereditary, it is difficult to distinguish them from the totems of families or clans.

6. But while there are many points of resemblance between the guardian spirit and the clan totem, there are also some points of difference. Apart from the important and obvious difference in the modes of acquisition, the one being usually obtained by the person in a dream, the other inherited from his father or mother, we can hardly fail to note the much more deeply religious character of the guardian spirit. Putting aside differences of detail, such as necessarily occur in an institution spread over so very wide an area, we gather that on the whole the guardian spirit is more or less clearly distinguished from its material embodiment, whether that is an animal, a plant, a stone, a weapon, or what not; and that to this spirit the man turns with confidence in time of trouble, praying to it to help him and sacrificing his property and even his own flesh and blood to it in order to secure its favour. This is very different from totemism in the strict sense of the word. In spite of the loose modes of speech in which many writers indulge on this subject totemism is not properly a religion at all;<sup>2</sup> totems are not viewed as higher powers whose favour has to be wooed by prayer and sacrifice. On the contrary they are regarded as material, not spiritual; as the brothers or sisters, not the lords and masters, of men and women; and far from supplicating their good graces, men sometimes compel them by magic ceremonies to multiply and be killed for the support of the community. Thus a wide gulf divides the guardian spirit from the clan totem: with the guardian spirit we have passed from magic to religion.

Both the mode and the time of acquiring a guardian

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 408, 412, 414 *sq.*, 424 *sq.*, 434.

<sup>2</sup> When I first published *Totemism* in 1887 I made the mistake of regarding totemism, in one of its aspects, as a system of religion. See above, vol. i. pp. 4 *sqq.* Moreover, I failed to discern

the fundamental difference of principle between magic and religion. It was the epoch-making researches of Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia which first revealed the important part played by magic in totemism. Compare vol. i. pp. 105, 116-118.

But on the other hand the guardian spirit has a more truly religious character than the totem. It is apparently regarded as a real spirit, distinct from its material embodiment, and prayers and sacrifices are offered to it.

spirit are remarkable. The mode is usually the vision of a fancy distempered by hunger, solitude, and exposure, the product of a sick mind in a sick body. The time is commonly the arrival of puberty, that mysterious season big with so many far-reaching consequences, when the vital principle in the individual is for the first time ripe for reproducing itself, when the glimmering light of life, the smouldering torch, is fanned into a glow, ready to be handed on to the next in that long chain of runners which stretches back into the darkness of an immeasurable past and forward into the darkness of an immeasurable future. No wonder that to the savage, whose ignorance on this profound subject is hardly deeper than our own, the attainment of manhood and womanhood should be fraught with a strange significance; no wonder that he should deem it to be encompassed by snares and pitfalls innumerable, and should seek in his simple fashion to keep his feet from falling into them by means of many quaint rites and curious observances, of which we have not as yet succeeded in fathoming the meaning. Among these rites and observances not the least quaint and curious is the acquisition of a guardian spirit in dreams.

The guardian spirit is commonly acquired by a dream at puberty.

It is scarcely necessary to point out what an immense source of confidence and strength this faith in guardian spirits must be to its votaries.<sup>1</sup> To take a simple example, it seems to be a common article of belief that by the acquisition of a guardian spirit a man becomes invulnerable.<sup>2</sup> Consider how such a belief, firmly held, must animate men in battle, how it might nerve even a coward to deeds of heroism. We may surmise that this superstition accounts for part at least of the dauntless courage with which many savages have faced European troops armed with the most deadly weapons of precision. It is possible that thousands of the dervishes who within our own lifetime have hurled themselves with magnificent bravery on the serried fire-vomiting British squares in Africa and India have gone to their death, not merely with visions of Paradise opening to their eyes above the bayonets and the smoke, but

Faith in guardian spirits is a great source of confidence and strength. The belief in invulnerability, for example, which it creates may be of the highest value to a fighting race.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Dr. A. C. Haddon, in *Report of the British Association*, Belfast, 1902, p. 743.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 385, 386 *sq.*, 417 *sq.*, 422, 435.

in the firm persuasion that they were in possession of infallible talismans which rendered their bodies impenetrable to lead and steel. To a fighting race such a creed may be of priceless value ; it may convert them into a nation of conquerors. Yet superstition is a two-edged weapon which as often cuts the hand that wields it as the head against which it is swung. The blind courage with which it inspires its partisans may lead them to death as easily as to victory ; instead of destroying others they may themselves be destroyed.

The dis-integrating influence of individualism, which such a faith promotes, may be counter-acted by religious associations or secret societies.

But while the faith in personal guardian spirits is unquestionably a spring of confidence and courage to the individual, it has its inconveniences and even dangers to society. For it tends to make each man a tower of strength to himself and therefore independent of his fellows ; it loosens the social bonds and dissolves the community into its elements. The disintegrating tendency of a religion which exalted the salvation of the individual above the welfare of the state was one of the main forces which brought about the disruption of the Roman empire.<sup>1</sup> Yet some of the savages with whom we are concerned have to a certain extent ingeniously contrived to obviate the danger arising from the selfish nature of personal guardian spirits ; for they have united all persons who have the same guardian spirit in a sacred league or association, thus combining the advantages of individualism with the benefits of society. These sacred associations or secret societies will be considered in the following chapters.

Similarity of the processes of acquiring a guardian spirit and becoming a shaman.

Another observation suggested by our review of guardian spirits among the American Indians is that in many tribes the process by which a man becomes a shaman or medicine-man is practically the same as that by which common people acquire their guardian spirits. From this it seems to follow that in some communities shamans or medicine-men differed originally rather in degree than in kind from their fellows ; they did not form a separate class or profession, but merely claimed to possess in a fuller measure than others that spiritual power to which every adult fancied himself capable of attaining.

<sup>1</sup> I have explained this more fully elsewhere (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, pp. 250 *sqq.*).

Further, it is worth while remarking that the implicit faith which savages repose in the alleged dreams of others as well as in their own must place an instrument of incalculable power in the hands, not only of crack-brained visionaries, but also of cool-headed, ambitious, and unscrupulous schemers. Such men have only to disguise their own artful machinations under the specious form of revelations received in visions to have them accepted and put into practice by their simple-minded fellows. We can scarcely doubt that in savage communities many men have risen to the highest positions of influence and authority by adroitly playing on the superstitious faith of the multitude in the truth of dreams.

If, reviewing all the facts, we ask how totemism and the faith in guardian spirits are related to each other, the answer will largely depend on the view we take of the origin of both. If the origin of totemism is to be sought, as I incline to believe, in a crude attempt to explain the mystery of conception and childbirth, and if the origin of the faith in guardian spirits is to be sought in dreams and the vagaries of a disordered fancy, it might seem at first sight that the two things, to wit, totems and guardian spirits, are distinct, and that, however much their fully developed forms resemble each other, they ought not to be confounded. Yet it deserves to be borne in mind that conceptional totemism itself, like the system of guardian spirits, may be in large measure a product of dreams; or, to be more explicit, we may suppose that a pregnant woman often judges of the nature of the creature which has entered into her womb, not merely by what she has seen or heard in her waking hours, but also by the visions of sleep, and that she may determine her child's totem accordingly; in short, under a system of conceptional totemism a child's totem may frequently be the thing of which its mother dreamed at the time when she first felt her womb quickened. If that were so, it would clearly forge another and a strong link in the chain of evidence which binds the totem to the guardian spirit, since a man's guardian spirit is commonly the thing of which he dreamed at puberty. In point of fact, it would seem that women often give the rein to superstitious fancies

The implicit faith which savages repose in the alleged dreams of others gives a powerful handle to imposture and ambition.

The question of the relation between guardian spirits and totems turns largely on the view we take of the origin of both. It is possible that totems as well as guardian spirits have often originated in dreams.

about their offspring in consequence of dreams which they had during their pregnancy.<sup>1</sup> Whatever may be thought of this hypothesis, the resemblances between totems and guardian spirits are unquestionably both many and close; and when guardian spirits are hereditary in a family, it becomes difficult to distinguish them from totems.

But so long as the relation between totems and guardian spirits is doubtful, it seems best not to call them both by a common name.

Nevertheless, so long as the relation between totems and guardian spirits is still to some extent obscure, as it admittedly is, we shall do better not to prejudge the question of their affinity by applying to both of them the generic name of totem. As I am responsible, I believe, for that application, it is incumbent on me provisionally to withdraw the expression "individual totem" as a term for the guardian spirits of individuals, and to express the regret which I feel at having too hastily assumed the two things to be different species of a common genus. If future research should establish the link, at present doubtful, between the two, it will be easy to reinstate the expression "individual totem" or "personal totem" as an alternative name for the guardian spirits of individuals.

For a similar reason it is desirable to find another name for the so-called "sex totem."

For a similar reason it is desirable to find another name for what I have called the "sex totem"; because the connection between the "sex totem" and the clan totem is still more obscure than the connection between the clan totem and the guardian spirit. Dr. A. C. Haddon has proposed to substitute the expression "animal brethren" for "sex totem."<sup>2</sup> But the proposed term would not be distinctive, because it would apply equally to the clan totems in all the cases where the totems are animals. Until a better term has been found, the expression "sex totem" may be allowed to pass muster, and no very serious harm is likely to follow from its temporary retention, since the customs and beliefs to which it applies are apparently restricted to a comparatively small area in South-East Australia. Perhaps the phrase "sex patron" might be preferable.

<sup>1</sup> See some evidence in my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, pp. 71 sqq. No doubt it would be easy to col-

lect many more instances of such fancies.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1902, pp. 744 sq.

## CHAPTER XIX

### SECRET SOCIETIES AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES

#### § 1. *Secret Societies in General*

IN many tribes of North American Indians there exist certain religious associations, dancing bands, or secret societies, as they may be variously called, which present some points of resemblance to totemic clans, though they differ from them in at least one fundamental respect, in as much as they are not necessarily, like totemic clans, groups of kinsfolk, each member of which is born into his respective group, but corporations composed of members who have voluntarily joined their respective bodies at some time in their life, and who need not be blood relations one to the other. I have already called attention to these sacred associations in America and have briefly characterised them.<sup>1</sup> They belong to a class of secret or religious societies which meet us among many savage races in many parts of the world, and which are especially prevalent in Melanesia and West Africa. The whole subject of these associations has lately been discussed by Professor Hutton Webster in an able and erudite treatise.<sup>2</sup> From a comprehensive survey of the institution he infers that such societies, with the sacred dances or dramas which form the main part of their ritual, have been developed out of those rites of initiation, which in many savage communities young people of both sexes

Religious associations, dancing bands, or secret societies among the North American Indians.

Theory that such societies have been developed out of totemic clans.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. pp. 46 sq.

Hutton Webster, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology and Anthropology in the University of Nebraska (New York, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> *Primitive Secret Societies, a Study in Early Politics and Religion*, by

are obliged to submit to before they are allowed to marry; and these rites of initiation themselves he would deduce from the structure and functions of totemic clans. However rites of initiation on the one hand and secret societies on the other may have originated, and however they may be related to each other, certain it is that both are found flourishing among totemic peoples, rites of initiation conspicuously among the totemic tribes of Australia, secret societies among the totemic tribes of North America. The coincidence suggests a natural, though not a necessary, inference that both institutions are intimately connected with totemism. The exact nature of these connections has not yet been fully explained; and while the researches of Professor Webster have certainly thrown light on the relation of totemism to secret societies, the more fundamental question of the relation of totemism to rites of initiation remains very obscure. I have not attempted to deal with it in this work. A separate treatise would be required to discuss it. Indeed so long as we are still in the dark as to the exact meaning of most of these initiatory rites, for example the rite of circumcision and kindred mutilations,<sup>1</sup> it would obviously be vain to expect that we should understand how they are related to totemism. A comprehensive investigation of the ceremonies observed by both sexes, especially the males, at puberty is needed to supply a large gap in the science of primitive man.

Religious associations or secret societies appear to be more closely related to totemism in North America than elsewhere.

If, after passing over in silence the secret societies of Melanesia and West Africa, I now propose to give some account of the similar societies in North America, it is because the relation of the institution to totemism in that continent is, or seems to be, a good deal clearer than in Melanesia and Africa. Indeed it might speciously be held that in America we possess in the system of guardian spirits a connecting link between totemism and secret societies which is either absent or not so conspicuous elsewhere. Whether such a view will ultimately prove to be well founded or not, it has, in the present state of our knowledge, a sufficient degree of

<sup>1</sup> I have hazarded a suggestion on this subject elsewhere ("The Origin of Circumcision," *The Independent Re-*

*view*, November 1904, pp. 204-218), but I attach little weight to my conjecture.

plausibility to warrant me in taking some notice of the sacred associations, dancing bands, or secret societies of the North American Indians. But as the relation of these bodies to totemism is admittedly problematical and at best indirect, I shall not attempt a complete survey of them, but shall content myself with illustrating their nature by typical examples. The prevalence of secret societies or dancing bands is well attested among tribes of the great Siouan and Algonkin stocks in the heart of North America, among the Pueblo Indians of the South-West, and again among the tribes of the North-West Pacific coast. Further, they exist among some of the Californian Indians, who lack the organisation in totemic clans. I have already given some account of the sacred associations of the Pueblo Indians;<sup>1</sup> it remains to do the same for the other tribes. As it is desirable to adopt a uniform terminology, I shall call these bodies secret societies, though the description is not so strictly applicable to them as to the similar associations in Melanesia and Africa, where a much greater degree of mystery shrouds their doings than in North America. Indeed among the American Indians no secret is made of the society to which a man belongs, and the mummeries of the members are often, perhaps generally, a public pageant at which the whole tribe may assist as spectators. Sacred or religious associations might be a more exact description of these corporations in North America. Yet for the sake of recalling their essential relation to similar, though more secret, bodies elsewhere, the general designation of secret societies may be retained.

Such societies exist among the tribes of the Siouan and Algonkin stocks, the Pueblo Indians, some Indians of California, and the tribes of the North-West Pacific coast.

## § 2. *Secret Societies among the Siouan or Dacotan Indians*

“Among the Siouan family of Indians,” says Miss Alice C. Fletcher, “there are societies, religious in character, which are distinguished by the name of some animal. Each society has a ritual composed of chants and songs to be sung during different parts of the ceremonies, having words describing in simple and direct terms the act which accompanies the music. These musical rituals, it is often

Miss A. C. Fletcher on the Secret Societies of the Siouan Indians.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 229 *sqq.*

claimed, have been received in a mysterious or supernatural manner, and are therefore regarded as possessing a religious power. . . . Some societies admit women to membership, through their own visions, or occasionally by those of their husbands, but more generally by means of the visions of male relatives. . . . Membership in these societies is not confined to any particular gens, or grouping of gentes, but depends upon supernatural indications over which the individual has no control. The animal which appears to a man in a vision during his religious fasting determines to which society he must belong."<sup>1</sup> And elsewhere Miss Fletcher tells us that the structure of these religious societies "was based upon the grouping together of men who had received similar visions. Those who had seen the Bear made up the Bear society; those to whom the Thunder or Water beings had come formed the Thunder or the Pebble society. The membership came from every kinship group in the tribe, blood relationship was ignored, the bond of union being a common right in a common vision. These brotherhoods gradually developed a classified membership with initiatory rites, rituals, and officials set apart to conduct the ceremonials."<sup>2</sup>

Member-  
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Of these two accounts the second implicitly corrects a somewhat too sweeping statement made in the first. The secret societies of the American Indians are commonly, but not always, designated by the names of animals; for being based on visions or hallucinations and named after the things which have appeared, or are alleged to have appeared, to visionaries in an abnormal state of mind, their names and their mysteries may be just as varied as the fancies of a famished and superstitious savage. In this respect the mysteries of the societies resemble the guardian spirits of individuals, and the reason for the resemblance is manifest; both are figments of dreams.

For example, among the Dacotas there is a Society of

<sup>1</sup> Miss Alice C. Fletcher, "Elk Mystery of the Ogallala Sioux," in *Ann. Rept. Peabody Museum, 1884*, pp. 276, 277, quoted by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the*

*Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 497.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Alice C. Fletcher, *The Import of the Totem, a Study from the Omaha Tribe* (Salem, Mass., 1897), p. 7.

Those who have Visions or Revelations from Ghosts; the members of the society can draw pictures of ghosts with impunity and they, or some of them, have the features of their faces drawn awry by ghosts. Again, there is a Dacotan Society of Those who have Revelations from the Buffalo. A member of the society has been known to have visions of buffaloes and to decorate himself accordingly, putting cockleburs in his hair or a little red hoop on his head, just as he saw the buffalo in his dream adorned with cockleburs or a little red hoop. Again, there is a Dacotan Society of Those who have Revelations from Goats. Goats are very mysterious, because they walk on cliffs and other high places without falling down. Hence people who dream of goats or have revelations from them imitate the actions of the animals, scrambling up and down steep places where other people would break their necks, and leaving no mark behind them.<sup>1</sup>

The Ghost Society and the Goat Society among the Dacotas.

The Omahas, a tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock, had also their Society of Those who have Supernatural Communications with Ghosts. The persons so favoured called themselves Ghosts, and when they danced they painted their bodies grey, no doubt in imitation of ghosts.<sup>2</sup> There is another Omaha Society of Those who have Supernatural Communications with Wolves. Members of this society in dancing wear wolf skins and mimick the actions of wolves.<sup>3</sup> Similarly members of the Society of Those who have Supernatural Communications with Grizzly Bears dance in imitation of grizzly bears and wear skins of grizzly bears or necklaces of their claws.<sup>4</sup> So members of the Omaha Society of Those who have Supernatural Communications with Horses mimick the gait and actions of horses in their dance, and they wear horses' mains round their necks and horses' tails sticking out stiffly behind.<sup>5</sup> Similarly members of the Omaha Society of Those who have Supernatural Communications with Buffaloes pranced about in the character of buffaloes with the skin and horns of the animal's head on

Societies of the Ghosts, Wolves, Grizzly Bears, Horses, Buffaloes, Thunder, etc., among the Omahas.

The Grizzly Bear dance

The Horse dance.

The Buffalo dance.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 497 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* "Omaha Sociology," *Third*

*Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.* pp. 348 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.* p. 349.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.* p. 348.

their own heads and the tails fastened to their belts. According to one account, when the corn was withering through long drought the members of the Buffalo Society used to come to the rescue by making rain. This they did by dancing round a vessel full of water and spurting the water into the air in imitation of rain; then they upset the vessel, spilt the water on the ground, and falling down lapped it up, bemiring their faces in the act.<sup>1</sup> Again, the Omahas had an order or society of Thunder shamans composed of such as had dreams or visions of the Thunder-being, the Sun, Moon, or other celestial phenomena.<sup>2</sup> But the principal society of the Omahas bore the name of *Wacicka*, the meaning of which appears to be uncertain. Under other names the society seems to have existed in other tribes, including the Dacotas, the Winnebagoes, and the Ojibways or Chippewas. The society danced in the spring of the year, beginning on a fine day when the grass was about six inches high. It is said, though it is also denied, that lewd rites formed part of this vernal dance, and our informant, the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, thought that the report was confirmed by the Ponka phrase, "My little sister (or my female friend), grass abounds. Let us delight in each other." If he is right in this view, we may conjecture that the rites, like those of the King and Queen of May among ourselves, were originally intended to promote the growth of vegetation by sympathetic magic. In the dance the dancers carried bags made of the skins of otters or other animals, and some of them mimicked the cry of the otter or that of the flying squirrel by means of a whistle. With these bags they pretended to shoot at each other.<sup>3</sup>

This pretence of shooting at each other introduces us to

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 347 *sq.* I do not know whether the American buffalo (bison), like the Indian buffalo, loved to wallow in mud; if it did, we could understand why members of the Buffalo Society grovelled in the mire at this ceremony. The same habit of the animal might also explain why the duty of making rain fell to the lot of the

Buffalo Society; to the Indian fancy the buffalo rolling in the wet mud might seem to be calling for rain.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 395.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 342-346.

Rain-making ceremony of the Buffalo Society.

The *Wacicka* Society.

Its dance in spring.

a very remarkable feature in this society, namely, the power of death and of resurrection claimed by the members. On this subject I will quote the testimony of an experienced missionary, Dr. S. R. Riggs, who laboured long among the Dakotas and has bequeathed to us valuable works on these Indians. The *Wakan Wacipi* or Mystery Dance of the Dakotas is the equivalent of the *Wacicka* Society of the Omahas. On this subject Dr. Riggs says: "This is a secret organization, which is entered through mysterious death and mysterious resurrection. As it appears to have been confined mainly to the eastern portion of the Dakota Nation, it is supposed to have been derived from some other Indians at no very remote date. The Dakota themselves, however, claim that it was communicated to them by the great Unktehi or god of the waters. It is a form of religion which has doubtless largely supplanted older forms of worship. The badge of the order is the *wakan* sack, or sack of mystery. The great water god ordained that this should be the skin of the otter, raccoon, weasel, squirrel, loon, or a species of fish and of snakes. It should contain four kinds of medicine and represent fowls, quadrupeds, herbs, and trees. Thus grass roots, the bark of tree roots, swan's down, and buffalo hair are the symbols which are carefully preserved in the medicine sack. . . . After the proper instruction in the mysteries, the neophyte practiced watchings and fastings and was purified for four successive days by the vapor bath. Then came the great day of initiation. The ceremonies were public. A great deal of cooked provisions was prepared. At the sacred dance which I witnessed four decades ago, there were half a dozen large kettles of meat. The arrangements for the dance consisted of a large tent at one end, whose open front was extended by other tents stretched along the sides, making an oblong with the outer end open. Along the sides of this inclosure sat the members, perhaps a hundred in number, each one having his or her 'sack of mystery.' At a given signal from the officiating old men, all arose and danced inward until they became a solid mass, when the process was reversed and all returned to their seats. Near the close of the performance those who were to be initiated were shot by

Power of death and resurrection claimed by members of the *Wakan Wacipi* Society.

Dr. Riggs's evidence.

The badge of the Society is the medicine-bag or mystery-sack.

The initiation ceremony.

The dance of the medicine-bag.

the 'sacks of mystery,' and falling down they were covered with blankets. Then the mysterious bean or shell which they claimed had produced death, was extracted by the same mysterious power of the sack of mystery, and the persons were restored to a new life. But this new life came only after the throes and the bitterness of death. Then he has a 'sack' given him, and is thenceforth a member of the order of the sacred mysteries."<sup>1</sup>

Carver's  
account of  
the dance  
of the  
medicine-  
bag.

Com-  
munication  
of a spirit  
which kills  
and brings  
to life  
again.

Simulated  
death of  
the novice.

The re-  
suscitation  
of the  
novice.

The earliest account of a ceremony of this kind with which I am acquainted is that of Captain J. Carver, who travelled in the region of the great lakes between 1766 and 1768. Amongst the Naudowessies, a Siouan or Dacotan tribe, he witnessed the initiation of a candidate into the *Wakon-Kitchewah* or Friendly Society of the Spirit, which apparently answered to the *Wacicka* of the Omahas and the *Wakan Wacipi* of the Dacotas. At the ceremony the officiating priest told the candidate "that he himself was now agitated by the same spirit which he should in a few moments communicate to him; that it would strike him dead, but that he would instantly be restored again to life; to this he added, that the communication, however terrifying, was a necessary introduction to the advantages enjoyed by the community into which he was on the point of being admitted. As he spoke this, he appeared to be greatly agitated; till at last his emotions became so violent, that his countenance was distorted, and his whole frame convulsed. At this juncture he threw something that appeared both in shape and colour like a small bean, at the young man, which seemed to enter his mouth, and he instantly fell as motionless as if he had been shot. The chief that was placed behind him received him in his arms, and, by the assistance of the other two, laid him on the ground to all appearance bereft of life.

"Having done this, they immediately began to rub his limbs, and to strike him on the back, giving him such blows, as seemed more calculated to still the quick, than to raise

<sup>1</sup> S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Washington, 1893), pp. 227-229. For a fuller account see G. H. Pond, "Dakota Superstitions," *Collections of the Min-*

*nesota Historical Society for the year 1867* (Saint Paul, 1867), pp. 35, 37-40 (quoted by me in *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 432 sq.); also below, pp. 468 sq.

the dead. During these extraordinary applications, the speaker continued his harangue, desiring the spectators not to be surprized, or to despair of the young man's recovery, as his present inanimate situation proceeded only from the forcible operation of the spirit, on faculties that had hitherto been unused to inspirations of this kind. The candidate lay several minutes without sense or motion; but at length, after receiving many violent blows, he began to discover some symptoms of returning life. These, however, were attended with strong convulsions, and an apparent obstruction in his throat. But they were soon at an end; for having discharged from his mouth the bean, or whatever it was that the chief had thrown at him, but which on the closest inspection I had not perceived to enter it, he soon after appeared to be tolerably recovered.

"This part of the ceremony being happily effected, the officiating chiefs disrobed him of the clothes he had usually worn, and put on him a set of apparel entirely new. When he was dressed, the speaker once more took him by the hand, and presented him to the society as a regular and thoroughly initiated member, exhorting them, at the same time, to give him such necessary assistance as, being a young member, he might stand in need of. He then also charged the newly elected brother to receive with humility, and to follow with punctuality the advice of his elder brethren. All those who had been admitted within the rails, now formed a circle around their new brother, and the music striking up, the great chief sung a song, celebrating as usual their martial exploits. . . .

"The whole assembly were by this time united, and the dance began; several singers assisted the music with their voices, and the women joining in the chorus at certain intervals, they produced together a not unpleasing but savage harmony. This was one of the most agreeable entertainments I saw whilst I was among them. I could not help laughing at a singular childish custom I observed they introduced into this dance, and which was the only one that had the least appearance of conjuration. Most of the members carried in their hands an otter or martin's skin, which being taken whole from the body, and filled with

The novice clothed in new garments.

The dance of the medicine-bag; pretence of killing people by presenting the medicine-bag at them.

wind, on being compressed made a squeaking noise through a small piece of wood organically formed and fixed in its mouth. When this instrument was presented to the face of any of the company, and the sound emitted, the person receiving it instantly fell down to appearance dead. Sometimes two or three, both men and women, were on the ground together; but immediately recovering, they rose up and joined again in the dance. This seemed to afford even the chiefs themselves infinite diversion. I afterwards learned that these were their *Dei Penates* or Household Gods. After some hours spent in this manner the feast began; the dishes being brought near me, I perceived that they consisted of dog's flesh; and I was informed that at all their public grand feasts they never made use of any other kind of food." <sup>1</sup>

Power of the medicine-bag to kill and to make alive again.

In the ceremonies here described by Carver the presentation of a squeaking skin at the dancers and their consequent simulation of death were clearly intended to illustrate the magical power of the medicine-bag to kill and to make alive again. If there could be any doubt as to this interpretation of the rite, it would be removed by the following account of a medicine feast held among the Winnebagoes, another Indian tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock. The informant, Mr. J. E. Fletcher, was Indian Sub-agent at Turkey River. He says:—

Medicine feast and dance among the Winnebagoes. The Medicine Society.

"This feast is an ancient custom or ceremony; it is accompanied with dancing, and is sometimes called the medicine dance. The members or communicants of this feast constitute a society having secrets known only to the initiated. . . . They have no regular or stated times for holding this feast; and all the members do not attend at the same time, but only such as are invited by the master of the feast. Persons desirous of joining this society will, in some cases, use the most rigid economy for years, to enable them to lay up goods to pay the initiating fee. This fee is not fixed at any stipulated amount; those who join pay according to their ability. . . . When one or more persons make application to join the society, preparations

<sup>1</sup> J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, Third Edition (London, 1781), pp. 271-278.

are made for a feast and dance, which is held in an arched lodge, or bower, constructed of poles, and covered with tent-cloth and other materials. The size of the bower is made to conform to the number of persons to be invited, and this number depends much on the ability of the person who makes the feast. The width of a bower is about sixteen feet, the length varying from ten to seventy-five yards. The members of the society sit on each side of the bower, the centre being reserved for dancing. Candidates for admission into this society are required to fast three days previous to being initiated. At some period during this fast they are taken by the old medicine men to some secluded secret spot, and instructed in the doctrines and mysteries of the society; and it is said that the candidates are during this fast subjected to a severe sweating process, by covering them with blankets, and steaming them with herbs; the truth of this saying is not here vouched for, but the appearance of the candidate, when brought forward to be initiated in public, corroborates it.

Preparations for initiation to the Society.

Fasting and sweating of the candidates.

"The public ceremony of initiation usually takes place about 11 o'clock, A.M. The public exercises of dancing, singing, praying, and exhorting, which precede the initiations, commence the previous morning. Before the candidates are brought forward, the ground through the centre of the bower is carpeted with blankets and broadcloth laid over the blankets. The candidates are then led forward and placed on their knees upon the carpet, near one end of the bower, and facing the opposite end. Some eight or ten medicine men then march in single file round the bower with their medical bags in their hands. Each time they perform the circuit they halt, and one of them makes a short address: this is repeated until all have spoken. They then form a circle and lay their medicine bags on the carpet before them. Then they commence retching and making efforts to vomit; bending over until their heads come nearly in contact with their medicine bags, on which they vomit, or deposit from their mouth a small white sea-shell about the size of a bean; this they call the medicine-stone, and claim that it is carried in the stomach and vomited up on these occasions. These stones they put in the mouth of their

Public ceremony of initiation.

Preterence of vomiting the medicine-stone over the medicine-bag.

Pretence of killing the novices by thrusting the medicine-bags at them.

medicine bags, and take up their position at the end of the bower opposite to and facing the candidates. They then advance in line, as many abreast as there are candidates ; holding their medicine bags before them with both hands, they dance forward slowly at first, and uttering low guttural sounds as they approach the candidates, their step and voice increasing in energy, until with a violent 'Ough!' they thrust their medicine bags at their breasts. Instantly, as if struck with an electric shock, the candidates fall prostrate on their faces—their limbs extended—their muscles rigid and quivering in every fibre. Blankets are now thrown over them, and they are suffered to lie thus a few moments : as soon as they show signs of recovering from the shock, they are assisted to their feet and led forward. Medicine bags are then put in their hands, and medicine stones in their mouths ; they are now medicine men or women, as the case may be, in full communion and fellowship. The new members, in company with the old, now go round the bower in single file, knocking down members promiscuously by thrusting their medicine bags at them.”<sup>1</sup>

The instrument of death and resurrection seems to be a small white shell, which the initiated are thought to have in their bodies, and which, being projected into the body of another, first kills him and then restores him to life.

From these accounts it would seem that the instrument of death and resurrection is a small white shell, which initiated men are supposed to have in their bodies, and which being projected into the body of another person first kills him and then restores him to life. This is confirmed by the Dacotan legend of the origin of the medicine-bag ; for it is said that Onktehi, the great spirit of the waters, “produced myriads of little shells, whose virtue is to restore life to those who have been slain by the medicine-bag. Having taken this precaution, the god chose four other candidates and repeated the experiment of initiation with success, for after killing them with the bag he immediately resuscitated them by throwing one of the shells into their vital parts, while he chanted certain words assuring them that it was only sport and bidding them rise to their feet. That is why to this day every initiated Dacota has one of these shells in his body.” Hence at the initiation ceremony, after feigning to be killed by the medicine-bag and to come

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Fletcher, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iii. (Philadelphia, 1853), pp. 286 sq.

to life again, the candidate "convulsed, strangling, struggling, and agonizing, heaves up the shell which falls from his mouth on a sack placed in readiness to receive it."<sup>1</sup> To the same effect we are told that in the Otter Dancing Society of the Winnebagoes, which appears to be only another name for their Medicine Society as described by Mr. J. E. Fletcher, "the members of this order shot at one another with their otter-skin bags, as has been the custom in the *Wacicka* dancing society of the Omaha. Some have said that they waved their otter-skin bags around in order to infuse the spirit of the otter into a bead in its mouth, and that it was by the spirit of the otter that they knocked one another down. Each one who practised this dance professed to keep some small round object in his breast to cough it up before or during the dance, and to use it for shooting one of his companions in the neck. He who was thus shot did in turn cough up the mysterious object, and at the end of the dance each member swallowed his own shell or pebble."<sup>2</sup>

In the following account of the Dakota "clans," it seems clear that the so-called "clans" are religious associations or secret societies of the kind with which we are here concerned. The writer was a Mr. Philander Prescott, formerly United States Interpreter at St. Peters. He says:—

"As for clans, there are many, and there are secret badges. All that can be noticed, as to clans, is, that all those that use the same roots for medicines constitute a clan. These clans are secretly formed. It is through the great medicine-dance, that a man or a woman gets initiated into these clans. Although they all join in one general dance, still the use, properties, etc., of the medicine that each clan uses is kept entirely secret from each other. They use many roots of which they know not the properties themselves; and many of them have little if any medicinal properties in them. These clans keep up constant feuds with each other; for each clan supposes that the other possesses supernatural powers, and can cause the death of

Philander Prescott's account of "clans" or rather religious societies among the Dakotas.

<sup>1</sup> G. H. Pond, "Dakota Superstitions," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society for the year 1867* (Saint Paul, 1867), quoted in *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 429.

any person, although he may be living at a remote distance from it. These clans have been kept up from time immemorial, and are the cause of most of the bloodshed among the Sioux. If a person dies, it is laid on some one of a different clan; and from that time, revenge is sought by the relations of the deceased, and all the supernatural powers are set to work to destroy the supposed offender. If this fails, then medicine is tried; and if that does not succeed, then the more destructive weapons, such as the knife, axe, or gun, are made use of, and often prove effectual.”<sup>1</sup> “The men, when initiated into the great medicine-dance and clan, have some animate object of veneration, which they hold to as sacred through life. Whatever it may be, they cannot or dare not kill it, or eat any part of the flesh thereof. Some fix on a wolf, some a bear, some a deer, a buffalo, an otter; others different kinds of birds, or different parts of animals; some will not eat the tail or rump-piece, others the head, the liver, and so on. Some will not eat the right wing, some the left, of a bird; the women also are prohibited from eating many of the parts of the animal that are forbidden. When they enter into the clan, any person that breaks any of these rules, by eating anything forbidden, brings upon himself trouble of some kind. The offence is the same, even if accidentally committed. If an Indian has bad luck in hunting, he at once says some one has been breaking their laws, either by eating some parts of the animal forbidden, or they have stepped over it, or on it, particularly a woman; if she steps over any of the things held sacred, a great trouble is soon expected in the family; therefore precaution is taken, as soon as possible to appease the animal held in veneration, for they think that diseases arise from some animal entering in spirit into their system, which kills them.”<sup>2</sup>

Men initiated into the medicine-dance and society have a sacred animal which they will not kill nor eat. If they do so, trouble will befall them.

Amongst the Mandans, another Indian tribe of the

<sup>1</sup> Philander Prescott, “Contributions to the History, Customs, and Opinions of the Dakota Tribe,” in H. R. Schoolcraft’s *Indian Tribes of the*

*United States*, ii. (Philadelphia, 1853), p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Philander Prescott, *op. cit.* p. 175.

Siouan or Dacotan stock, all the men were divided according to their age into six classes or societies, each distinguished from the other by badges and by the code of rules which they observed. Each society had its dance and accompanying song, and though the dances were on the whole similar in all the classes, the songs differed. The six societies or classes, according to the Prince of Wied, were these :—

1. *The Mad Dogs*, or *The Dogs whose Name is Unknown*. These consisted of lads from the age of ten to fifteen years. They wore a war-pipe (*ihkoschka*) made of the wing-bone of the wild goose. In dancing, three of them had a long and broad piece of red cloth hanging down behind them from the neck to the ground. When boys wished to join the society in order to become men, they applied to members of the society, addressed them as "Fathers," and purchased the privilege of joining the society by presents of blankets, powder, lead, horses, or other property, which their fathers paid for them.

2. *The Crows or Ravens*.—These were young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Members of this society wore raven feathers on their heads and a double war-pipe, composed of two wing-bones of a wild goose fastened together. Entrance into this society was also obtained by purchase. The purchasers had to give a feast lasting forty nights in the medicine-hut, and during all that time they had to place their wives at the disposal of the members of the society.

3. *The Soldiers*.—These were the most distinguished warriors. They wore a large pipe made of the wing-bone of a crane, and in the dance they painted the upper part of their faces red and the lower part black. They formed a kind of police, and the conduct of all important affairs, such as migrations, buffalo-hunting, and so forth, was entrusted to them.

4. *The Dogs*.—These wore in the dance a great hat of various colours, with many feathers of the raven, magpie, and horn-owl attached to it; also they carried a great war-pipe made of the wing-bone of a swan. Three of them had red strips of cloth hanging down their backs. Any man might throw a piece of flesh into the ashes of the fire or on

All the males among the Mandans were divided according to their ages into six societies, each with its badge and dance. The Mad Dogs.

The Crow: or Ravens.

The Soldiers.

The Dogs

the ground for these three and say, "There, dog! eat it up!" and the three men were then obliged to fall upon the flesh and devour it raw like dogs or beasts of prey.

The  
Buffaloes.

5. *The Buffaloes*.—In the dance they wore the skin of the head and the long mane of a buffalo with its horns on their heads; at their backs they had imitations of buffalo tails. Two chosen members of the society wore on their heads complete masks representing buffalo heads with horns. These two might never flee before the enemy; and in dancing they always kept on the outside of the band and mimicked all the movements and sounds of the buffalo.

The Stags.

6. *The Black-tailed Stags*.—This consisted of all men over fifty years of age. They all wore a chaplet of grizzly bear's claws.

Sexual  
licence at  
initiation.

Membership of all these societies was bought and sold. The buyer had always to place his wife at the disposal of the seller during the festival which celebrated his initiation. If he was unmarried, he had to borrow a friend's wife for the purpose. A man would often come with three or four women, who granted their favours to the members of the society on the evening of the dance.<sup>1</sup> This custom may possibly be a relic of sexual communism, such as was kept up in some Australian tribes at marriage or puberty and in Fiji at the rite of circumcision.<sup>2</sup>

Societies  
among the  
Hidatsas  
or Minne-  
tarees.

The Hidatsas or Minnetarees, another Siouan or Dacotan tribe of the Missouri valley, were divided into bands or societies, which differed for men and women. Each society had its own songs, dances, and ceremonies, which were to a certain extent secret. Amongst the men's societies were the Foxes, the Dogs, and the Little Dogs; amongst the women's societies were the Fox-Women and the Geese. The members of the Fox-Women's society were usually from fifteen to twenty years old. Each society held ceremonial processions, in which the performers followed one another in a circle, tripping along with very short steps and singing as they

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-1841), ii. 138-143. The writer does not mention the ages of the men of the third, fourth, and fifth societies;

presumably they ranged from twenty-five to fifty.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. pp. 311-313, 419, 484, 545, vol. ii. 145 *sqq.*

moved. These processions were commonly called "medicine-dances" by the whites.<sup>1</sup>

Lists of the Minnetaree bands or societies, together with their characteristic badges, have been recorded by the Prince of Wied. The societies of the men were as follows:—

Societies of the Minnetarees.

1. *The Stone Society* or *The Society of the Little Rock*.—The It consisted of boys from ten to eleven years of age, who wore feathers on their heads. The Stones.

2. *The Society of the Great Swords*.—The members were lads of fourteen or fifteen years of age. In the dance they carried swords. As swords were rare among the Indians and were procured only from traders, this society was probably of modern origin. The Great Swords.

3. *The Society of the Ravens*.—The members were youths of seventeen or eighteen years of age. The Ravens.

4. *The Society of the Little Prairie Foxes*.—They wore skins of otters and wolves. The Prairie Foxes.

5. *The Society of the Little Dogs*.—They wore feathers on their heads and strips of red or blue cloth across their shoulders. The Little Dogs.

6. *The Society of the Old Dogs*.—They were equipped like the preceding with the addition of a wolf's skin, a rattle (*shishikue*), and a war-pipe. The Old Dogs.

7. *The Society of the Bow-lances*.<sup>2</sup>—They carried feathers on their heads and bow-lances in their hands. The Bow-lances.

8. *The Society of the Foes*.—They carried muskets. The Foes.

9. *The Society of the Buffaloes*.—They wore on their heads the skin of a buffalo's head, with the horns; round their bodies they had bands of cloth with bells fastened to them and to their legs; and as weapons they carried spears, guns, and shields. The Buffaloes.

10. *The Society of the Ravens*.—These were the oldest men. Each carried a long spear wrapt in red cloth with raven feathers hanging from it. They wore feathers on their heads and finely decorated garments. The Ravens.

<sup>1</sup> Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, 1877), pp. 46 sq., 153, 155 sq., 189, 192, 197.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the American Indians carried spears bent into the form of bows by means of string tied to the

two ends of the weapon. These unserviceable implements were apparently more for ceremony than for use. See G. A. Dorsey, *The Cheyenne, I. Ceremonial Organization* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 20, 24 sq.

The Hot  
Water.

11. *The Society of the Hot Water.*—This was identical with the first society. The members danced naked among glowing coals and took meat out of a pot of boiling water. Their hands, part of the forearms, and the feet were painted red.

Women's  
Societies.

Among the Minnetarees the societies of the women were as follows:—

The Wild  
Geese.

1. *The Society of the Wild Geese.*—This consisted of the oldest women. In dancing they carried wormwood and a cob of maize.

The Foes.

2. *The Society of the Foes.*—They wore long pendants of shells and beads on their temples and a feather across the front of the head.

The  
Skunks.

3. *The Society of the Skunks.*—Their faces were painted black with a white stripe down the nose in imitation of the skunk.<sup>1</sup>

Societies  
among the  
Crows.

The same authority, Prince Maximilian of Wied, tells us that bands or societies existed also among the Crows, "as among all the Indians of the Missouri." The Crows belong to the Siouan or Dacotan stock. Their societies were named as follows: 1. the Buffalo Bulls; 2. The Prairie Foxes; 3. The Ravens; 4. The Shorn Heads; 5. The *Padachische*; 6. The Stone Tomahawks; 7. The Little Dogs; 8. The Great Dogs. Each society had its own dance. Admission to a society was by purchase, and the buyers on this occasion gave up their wives to the sellers, as among the Mandans.<sup>2</sup>

Sexual  
licence at  
initiation.

Societies  
among the  
Assiniboins.

The Assiniboins, another Siouan or Dacotan tribe, were divided into eight societies, none of which, curiously enough, took its name from an animal. The societies were:—1. The People of the Girls; 2. The People of the Rocks or Stones; 3. The People of the Open Water (*Les gens du large*); 4. The People of the Canoes; 5. The People of the Woods; 6. The People of the Age; 7. The People of the Bones; and 8. The People of the Mountains.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-1841), ii. 217-219. It will be noticed that there are two Societies of Ravens among the men. The writer calls both of them *Die Rabenbande*, *La*

*Bande des Corbeaux*, but the native names which he gives are different for the two societies.

<sup>2</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 401.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.* i. 440 sq.

§ 3. *Secret Societies among the Algonkin Indians*

The custom of religious associations, dancing bands, or secret societies was found also among the Indian tribes of the great Algonkin stock ; indeed, according to the Prince of Wied it was common to all the Indian nations of North America. These associations, bands, or societies had each their own name and code of rules, their own dance and song, and served in part like police to maintain order in the camp, on the march, in hunting, and so forth.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Blackfeet, an Algonkin tribe, the Prince of Wied heard of seven such bands or societies, namely :—

Religious association or secret societies among the Algonkins.

Societies among the Blackfeet.  
E.

1. *The Mosquitoes*.—These were boys, many of them not more than eight or ten years old. Some young men, and occasionally even one or two old men, belonged to this society. The members had no police duties. Their business was to play youthful pranks ; when the fancy took them they would run about the camp pinching and scratching men, women, and children, just like mosquitoes. They had no respect for persons, but would tweak a grave and reverend senior by the nose as fast as look at him. For these outrages there was no redress. Resistance was useless ; it only brought the whole swarm, like hornets, upon the sufferer. With this society the young began their career in life, rising to the higher orders as they grew older. The little imps wore as a badge of their order an eagle's claw fastened by a leathern strap to the wrist ; and they had a special way of painting themselves, as indeed had the members of all the societies.

The Mosquitoes.

2. *The Dogs*.—These consisted of young married men. Their special badge was not known to the Prince.

The Dogs.

3. *The Prairie Foxes* or *Prairie Dogs*.<sup>2</sup>—This was a police society composed of married men. The badge of their order was a baton like a shepherd's crook, wrapt in otter's skin and adorned at intervals with eagle feathers.

The Prairie Foxes.

4. *Those who Carry the Raven*.—Their badge was a long pole covered with red cloth and decorated with a long row

The Raven Carriers.

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in Innere Nord-America*, i. 576.

<sup>2</sup> "Die Prairie-Füchse, Les Chiens de prairie."

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of close-set raven feathers. They discharged police duties, looking to the maintenance of order.

The Bulls  
with Thin  
Horns.

5. *The Bulls with the Thin Horns.*—In dancing they wore horns on their caps. Their tents were pitched in the middle of the tribal circle. In case of tumults arising it was their duty to help the Soldiers to restore order.

The  
Soldiers.

6. *The Soldiers.*—These were the most esteemed warriors. They acted as police in camp and on the march. In public councils they gave the casting vote on questions of peace and war, of shifting the camp, of migrating after the game, and so forth. Their badge was a wooden tomahawk with hoofs of the buffalo cow fastened to the handle.

The  
Buffalo  
Bulls.

7. *The Buffalo Bulls.*—This was the highest in rank of all the societies. In their medicine-dance the members wore a cap from which hung down the long front hair and mane of a buffalo. Also they carried a rattle of buffalo hoofs, which they rattled in the dance. They were too old to do police duties; for they had passed through all the other societies and were looked upon as living in retirement.

Admission  
to the  
societies  
was by  
purchase.

To all these societies new members were elected and had to pay their footing. Medicine-men and other distinguished persons had to pay more than common folk. If the wife of one of the members committed adultery, the society would assemble, and after smoking in one of their tents would drag the woman from her tent at night, abuse her at their pleasure, and cut off her nose. The husband could not protect her even if he wished. He was compelled to divorce his erring spouse.<sup>1</sup>

Medicine-  
dance  
of the  
Blackfeet  
women :  
imitation  
of buffalo  
cows.

The medicine-dance of the Blackfeet women was peculiar. It was not held annually. Some men danced in it with the women. A great wooden hut was built, and all the women who were to dance arrayed themselves in their gayest finery. The rest of the women and the men looked on, the men beating drums and rattling rattles to the steps of the dancers. On the last day, when the dance was over, an imitation of a buffalo park was given. Men, women, and children arranged themselves in two lines which diverged at an acute angle from the medicine-hut. Then out of the hut came women crawling on all fours and

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 575-579.

imitating the gait and action of buffalo cows. Some men mimicked buffalo bulls, but were at first repelled by the women. Then fires were lit to windward, as used to be done in buffalo hunts, and the women, still playing the part of buffalo cows, snuffed the smoke and retreated into the hut. That ended the festival. This dance was sometimes danced in summer, whenever the fancy took them.<sup>1</sup>

A later account of the Blackfeet societies has been given us by Mr. G. B. Grinnell, who knows the tribe well. Before he wrote in 1893 many or all of the societies had united in a sort of federation known as All Comrades (*I-kun-uh-kah-tsi*). "This association of the All Comrades consisted of a dozen or more secret societies, graded according to age, the whole constituting an association which was in part benevolent and helpful, and in part military, but whose main function was to punish offences against society at large. All these societies were really law and order associations. The *Mit-siks*, or Braves, was the chief society, but the others helped the Braves."<sup>2</sup>

By the year 1893 many of the societies of the Blackfeet had, with the changed conditions of life, ceased to exist or had even been forgotten. They were a part of the old wild free life of the Indians; and when the buffaloes disappeared, and the Blackfeet, instead of roving over the prairies after the herds, had settled about a government agency and tried to pick up a living in a humdrum way by regular work, they no longer cared to maintain the societies. However, in the Pi-kun-i tribe Mr. Grinnell was able to obtain the following list of societies composing the association or federation of the All Comrades (*I-kun-uh-kah-tsi*). In this list the societies are arranged in the order from boyhood to old age:—<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 575 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (London, 1893), pp. 220 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. B. Grinnell, *op. cit.* p. 221.

Mr. G. B. Grinnell's account of the Blackfeet societies. The Association of All Comrades.

List of societies composing the Association of All Comrades.

## SOCIETIES OF THE ALL COMRADES

Society.	Composed of
Little Birds . . . . .	Boys from fifteen to twenty years old.
Pigeons . . . . .	Men who have been to war several times.
Mosquitoes . . . . .	Men who are constantly going to war.
Braves . . . . .	Tried warriors.
All Crazy Dogs . . . . .	Men about forty years old.
Raven Bearers . . . . .	{ Old men. Dogs and Tails are different societies, but they dress alike and dance together and alike.
Dogs . . . . .	
Tails . . . . .	
Horns (among the Blood Blackfeet)	{ Obsolete among the Piegans, but still exists among the Bloods.
Kit-foxes (among the Piegan Blackfeet)	
Catchers or Soldiers . . . . .	In 1893 this society had been obsolete for 25 or 30 years, perhaps more.
Bulls . . . . .	In 1893 this society had been obsolete for 50 years.

“The societies known as Little Birds, Mosquitoes, and Doves are not really bands of the All Comrades, but are societies among the boys and young men in imitation of the *I-kun-uh-kah-tsi*, but of comparatively recent origin. Men not more than fifty years old can remember when these societies came into existence. Of all the societies of the *I-kun-uh-kah-tsi*, the *Sin-o-pah*, or Kit-fox band, has the strongest medicine. This corresponds to the Horns society among the Bloods. They are the same band with different names. They have certain peculiar secret and sacred ceremonies, not to be described here. The society of the *Stum-iks*, or Bulls, became obsolete more than fifty years ago. Their dress was very fine,—bulls’ heads and robes.

“The members of the younger society purchased individually, from the next older one, its rights and privileges, paying horses for them. For example, each member of the Mosquitoes would purchase from some member of the Braves his right of membership in the latter society. The man who has sold his rights is then a member of no society, and if he wishes to belong to one, must buy

Admission to the societies was by purchase.

into the one next higher. Each of these societies kept some old men as members, and these old men acted as messengers, orators, and so on. The change of membership from one society to another was made in the spring, after the grass had started. Two, three, or more lodge coverings were stretched over poles, making one very large lodge, and in this the ceremonies accompanying the changes took place.

“In later times, the Braves were the most important and best known of any of the All Comrades societies. The members of this band were soldiers or police. They were the constables of the camp, and it was their duty to preserve order, and to punish offenders.”<sup>1</sup> Among the property of the Brave society were two stone-headed arrows, one rattle, and one shield called “shield you don’t sit down with.” The man who carried the rattle was called Brave Dog; and the man who carried the shield was forbidden to sit down for four days and four nights after he received it; during the whole of that time he had to run about the camp or the prairie whistling like a rabbit. Why he did so, we are not told.<sup>2</sup>

Corresponding to the All Comrades association of the Blackfeet was the association called the Warriors’ Association (Beninena) of the Arapahoes, another Algonkin tribe. It consisted of eight degrees or orders, including nearly all the men of the tribe above the age of seventeen or thereabout. Those who were not enrolled in one of the orders were little respected and might not take part in public ceremonies or go on the war-path with the rest. Each of the first six orders had its own peculiar dance, and the members of the principal orders had also their peculiar staff or badge of rank. The six orders were these:—

1. *The Fox men.*—This was the lowest order. It consisted of young men up to the age of about twenty-five years. They had no special duties or privileges, but they danced the Fox dance.

2. *The Star men.*—These were young warriors about thirty years old. They danced the Star dance.

<sup>1</sup> G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (London, 1893), p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> G. B. Grinnell, *op. cit.* p. 223.

The Club  
men.

3. *The Club men.*—These were all men in the prime of life and formed an important part of the Warriors. The four leaders carried wooden clubs and in an attack it was their duty to gallop ahead, strike the enemy with the clubs, then ride back and lead the charge. The post was one of great danger, but also of great honour, and there were always candidates for a vacancy. The rest of the order carried sticks with a horse's head rudely carved on one end. In desperate battles they were expected to plant these sticks in front of the line and fight there to the death.

The Spear  
men.

4. *The Spear men.*—They acted as policemen in the camp, on the march, and on the hunt. They saw to it that the tribal customs were observed and the chief's orders obeyed. They were regarded as the representatives of the law and were never resisted in the discharge of their duties and the infliction of punishment.

The Crazy  
men.

5. *The Crazy men.*—These were men over fifty years of age. They were not expected to go to war. Their duties were religious and ceremonial. They danced the Crazy dance, which well deserved its name. Their insignia consisted of a bow and a bundle of blunt arrows.

The Dog  
men.

6. *The Dog men.*—The four leaders of this society were the generals and directors of battle. In forming the line of cavalry for the charge they dismounted, anchored themselves to the ground by means of their lances, and stayed there till the battle was won or lost. No man might retreat without their orders; and even after they had given the order to retire, they might not themselves budge till some of their own order had ridden up to them, dragged their lances out of the ground, and scourged them away. If in the confusion of the retreat they were forgotten by their comrades, they were expected to die at their posts. They took little part in the fight, but the mere sight of these men driving their lances into the ground wound up the warriors to a pitch of desperate bravery.

The Nuna-  
hawu.

7. *The Nunahawu.*—The meaning of this word is unknown. This was a secret order. The members had no dance, and none but themselves witnessed their ceremonies. They did not fight, but accompanied the war parties, and every night in secret performed rites and offered prayers for victory.

8. *The Water-pouring men.*—This was the highest order, and numbered only seven men, among whom were the oldest warriors of the tribe. They poured water over the hot stones in the sweat-house to make the steam for the sweat-bath; hence their name. Their ceremonies were performed in a large sweat-lodge, which, when the whole tribe camped together, stood in the centre of the tribal circle between the entrance and the lodge in which the sacred medicine-pipe was kept.<sup>1</sup>

The water-pouring men.

With reference to the Crazy dance, which was danced by the Cheyennes as well as by the Arapahoes, a Cheyenne poet in a moment of fine frenzy composed a song, of which the following is a literal translation:—

The Crazy Dance of the Arapahoes and Cheyennes.

*The buffalo head—Ya-ha-ya!*  
*The half buffalo—*  
 (repeat *ad libitum*).

This beautiful composition alludes in a graceful manner to the costume of some of the dancers in the dance.<sup>2</sup> The Crazy dance is described as follows by Mr. James Mooney:—

“Men, women, and children took part in the ceremony dressed in skins or other costume to represent various animals, as buffalos, panthers, deer, and birds, with one bear, two foxes, and seven wolves, besides two ‘medicine wolves.’ Each strove to imitate the animal personated in action as well as in appearance. It was the business of the two foxes to be continually running and stumbling over the others in their efforts to escape from the crowd. The dance, whose essential feature was the doing of everything by contraries, had its parallel among many eastern tribes, particularly among the old Huron and Iroquois. It was considered the most picturesque and amusing dance among the prairie tribes. The ‘half buffalo’ of the song refers to the robe worn by certain of the dancers, which consisted of the upper half of a buffalo skin, the head portion, with the horns attached, coming over the head of the dancers. The dance was an exhibition of deliberate craziness in which the performers strove to outdo one another in nonsensical and

Mr. J. Mooney's description of the Crazy Dance.

<sup>1</sup> James Mooney, “The Ghost-Dance Religion,” *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part ii.

(Washington, 1896) pp. 986-989.

<sup>2</sup> James Mooney, *op. cit.* pp. 1032 sq.

frenzied actions, particularly in constantly doing the exact opposite of what they were told to do. It was performed only in obedience to a vow made by some person for the recovery of a sick child, for a successful war expedition, or for some other Indian blessing. It lasted four days, the performers dancing naked the first three days and in full dance costume on the fourth. The leaders in the absurdities were two performers whose bodies and cheeks were painted with white clay, and whose ears were filled with hair shed by the buffalo, which was believed to confer strong 'medicine' powers. They carried whistles, and shot at the spectators with blunt arrows. Almost every license was permitted to those two, who in consequence were really held in dread by the others. Among other things the crazy dancers were accustomed to dance through a fire until they extinguished it by their tramping. This was done in imitation of the fire-moth, called *ahakää*, 'crazy,' by the Arapaho, which hovers about a flame or fire and finally flies into it. They also handled poisonous snakes, and sometimes, it is said, would even surround and kill a buffalo by their unaided physical strength. The Cheyenne dance differed somewhat from that of the Arapaho. It was last performed in the south about ten years ago."<sup>1</sup>

The  
Festival of  
Dreams or  
the Mad  
Festival  
celebrated  
by the  
Canadian  
Indians  
towards the  
end of  
winter.

This Crazy Dance was apparently akin to the Festival of Dreams or the Mad Festival, which the Canadian Indians celebrated towards the end of winter. It might be proclaimed in the last days of February and might last three or four weeks. The whole population of the village seemed to go mad. Men, women, and children would rush about almost naked and apparently insensible to the cold; sometimes they would disguise themselves with masks and paint. In a state of frenzy they ran from hut to hut smashing and upsetting everything, and pouring cold water or hot ashes on the inmates. Each of these maniacs had dreamed, or pretended to dream, of something, and he would not leave a house till one of the inmates had guessed his dream and carried it out in practice; and if this was not done at once, the dreamer redoubled his fury and threatened to burn and destroy

<sup>1</sup> James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part ii. Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report* (Washington, 1896) p. 1033.

everything. The dream might be that the dreamer was to receive a present, and in that case the person who guessed it was bound to present the dreamer with the thing dreamed of, cost him what it might; for it was believed that the dreamer's life depended on his getting what he had dreamed of. But he would not say in plain words what the thing was which he had seen in sleep; he would only hint at it in dark enigmatic language or perhaps only by means of gestures. At the end of the festival the Indians said that they cast madness out of the village. The early Jesuit missionaries who described this strange festival compared it very justly both to the Saturnalia of ancient and to the Carnival of modern times; they noted that it fell at the same time of the year as the Carnival.<sup>1</sup> The resemblance between the three festivals was probably more than superficial.<sup>2</sup>

Corresponding to the Warriors' Association of the Arapahoes was the Warriors' Association (*Nütqiu*) of the Cheyennes, another Algonkin tribe of the great prairies. The association comprised six societies, which were named as follows: 1. Dog men; 2. Fox men or Flint men; 3. Pointed-lance men or Coyote warriors; 4. Red Shield or Buffalo Bull warriors; 5. Bowstring men; 6. Crazy Dogs.<sup>3</sup> These societies were not graduated according to age and rank. A man of any age might become a member of any society. Each society was ruled by a chief and four assistants, and had its own paints, costumes, songs, and dances. Four of the societies admitted four maidens to their lodge; these maidens were generally daughters of chiefs. The warriors called the maidens of their own society "sisters" and might not marry them; but they were free to marry the maidens of another society. These maidens

The Warriors' Association of the Cheyennes, comprising six societies.

The four maidens of the societies.

<sup>1</sup> *Relations des Jésuites*, 1656, pp. 26-29 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), i. 367-369; Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), vi. 82 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> I have collected and discussed examples of such Saturnalia in *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 70 sqq., 138 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> James Mooney, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 256. The names of the Cheyenne societies are given somewhat differently by Mr. G. A. Dorsey, who substitutes Hoof-Rattle Warriors and Wolf Warriors for Fox Men and Crazy Dogs. See G. A. Dorsey, *The Cheyenne, I. Ceremonial Organization* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 3, 15-29 (*Field Columbian Museum, Publication 99*).

occupied prominent places in all dances and they sat in the midst of the circle in front of the chiefs at all councils.

The Coyote  
Warriors.

Apparently they were expected to remain chaste.<sup>1</sup> The Coyote Warriors were so called because the head chief carried a sacred hide of the coyote with the hair left on, and because, moreover, the Coyote Warriors imitated the coyote in speed, cunning, and endurance. They could outstrip their fellow-tribesmen in running long distances.

The Red  
Shield  
Warriors.

The Red Shield Warriors took their name from a large red shield of buffalo hide with the tail of the buffalo hanging from it. And because they wore the scalp of a buffalo as a head-dress they were sometimes called the Buffalo Warriors.

The Dog  
Men.

The Dog men told a story how their society originated with the help of dogs. The dog is the emblem of the society, and the members hold the animal sacred. The Bowstring

The  
Bowstring  
Warriors.

Warriors were unmarried and used an inverted mode of speech. They fought desperately, their bodies painted red, and they carried stuffed screech-owls on their heads. Every one of these warriors took with him into battle a curiously constructed bow-spear, the emblem of their society, which none but members of the society might touch. The implement was a combination of a spear and a bow, and to all appearance was equally ill adapted to serve as the one and the other. The Wolf society, as the most recent of the six societies is called by one of our authorities, is said to have been founded by an Owl-man, who fell in with wolves which had the power of transforming themselves into men.<sup>2</sup>

The Wolf  
Society.

The  
*Midewiwin*  
or Great  
Medicine  
Society  
of the  
Ojibways.

The great Algonkin tribe of the Ojibways had a celebrated society called the *Midewiwin*, that is, the Society of the Shamans (*Mides*), which was popularly known as the Grand Medicine Society. It had its equivalent in the Medicine or Mystery Societies of other tribes, such as the *Wacicka* Society of the Omahas and the *Wakan Wacipi* Society of the Dacotas.<sup>3</sup> Membership of the society was supposed to confer on the initiated a high degree of spiritual power; and the ceremony of initiation, as in the case of the

<sup>1</sup> G. A. Dorsey, *The Cheyenne, I. Ceremonial Organization*, pp. 16, 53-55.

18, 19, 20 *sqq.*, 24 *sq.*, 26 *sqq.*, 54 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Dorsey, *op. cit.* pp. 16-

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 462 *sqq.*

other Medicine Societies which have been referred to, consisted essentially in a pretence of death and resurrection, the candidate feigning to be killed by the powerful "medicine" or charms of the society and afterwards to be restored to life by the same means.<sup>1</sup>

It is believed that the society was instituted by a powerful and benign spirit named *Dzhe Manido* or *Minabozho*, who is only second to *Kitshi Manido*, the Great Spirit. It was he who interceded with the Great Spirit that the Indians might learn how to provide themselves with the good things of the earth, and how to ward off disease and death, and it was he who taught them the medicinal virtues of plants. The method which he followed in his instructions is dramatically rehearsed at the initiation of a candidate into the society, and amongst the members are handed down the traditions as to the origin of the world and of mankind. The members of the society, called *Midē*, are of both sexes and unlimited in number. The idea of joining the society may be suggested to a lad during the fast at puberty, when he obtains his guardian spirit. But it need not be so suggested. In any case a candidate applies to one of the priests of the society for admission, and if the application is granted he receives an instructor, who informs him as to the course of training and the entrance fees which have to be paid. The course of instruction preparatory to admission to the society may last for several years; many men have impoverished themselves by the payment of fees and the preparations for the feast to which the priests are invited. The sacred symbol of the society is a small white shell.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 420-441; J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami* (Bremen, 1859), i. 59-76; W. J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 143-300. Compare W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society* (Saint Paul, Minn., 1885), pp. 65 sqq. Mr. Hoffman's elaborate account of the society and its

rites is based on his personal investigations among the Ojibways in the years 1887, 1888, and 1889, when he obtained his information from the chief *Midē* priests, living at Red Lake and White Earth reservations, as well as from other members of the tribe (*op. cit.* p. 155).

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 163 sq.; *id.* "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual*

The initiation ceremony comprised a pretence of death and resurrection.

The society is said to have been instituted by a powerful spirit called *Minabozho*.

Application for admission.

Course of instruction.

The sacred white shell.

Four orders  
or degrees  
in the  
Society.

There are four orders or degrees among the members of the society, and a member may rise through them from the lowest to the highest. The higher his order or degree, the greater is his supernatural or magical power supposed to be.<sup>1</sup> "The amount of influence wielded by *Midē* generally, and particularly such as have received four degrees, is beyond belief. The rite of the *Midewiwin* is deemed equivalent to a religion—as that term is commonly understood by intelligent people—and is believed to elevate such a *Midē* to the nearest possible approach to the reputed character of *Minabozho*, and to place within his reach the supernatural power of invoking and communing with *Kitschi Manido* himself."<sup>2</sup>

Training  
of the  
candidate.

During his training the candidate is taught by his preceptor the songs or rather incantations which form part of his stock in trade, and he learns the magical or medicinal uses of herbs, plants, and trees.<sup>3</sup> For four days before the ceremony of initiation he purifies himself in the sweat-house.

Purifica-  
tion by the  
vapour-  
bath.

This purification is absolutely essential.<sup>4</sup> "In all ceremonies, prophetic or medico-magical, great reliance is placed on the vapor-bath. This bath consists of a tight lodge, which

Sanctity of  
the vapour-  
bath.

is filled with vapor by casting water on heated stones. It is entered with sacred feelings, and is deemed a great means of purification. Secret arts are here often disclosed between *Medais* of high power, which could not be imparted in other places, or positions, believed to be less subject to the influence of sanctifying power. They are called *Madodiswon*—their use, a consecrated practice, in order to ask something which is wished not to be made public, some private request. Vapor-baths are not a matter of luxury or sensuality among the Indians of North America; their use belongs to the Medicine rite. They are prohibited to the vulgar, and not authorised, and are used in consecrated cases, and according to prescribed forms, which must not be departed from."<sup>5</sup>

*Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) pp. 66 sq. From J. G. Kohl's account (*Kitschi-Gami*, i. 59 sqq.) we learn that even an infant in the cradle might, on the application of its father, be initiated into the society. Perhaps this was a later development.

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin

of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 164, 225 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* pp. 191-201.

<sup>4</sup> W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. (Philadelphia, 1856) pp. 423 sq.

The ceremony of initiation takes place in a temporary structure erected for the purpose; it is a large oblong enclosure, the walls of which consist of poles wattled with branches and leafy twigs. It is only partially roofed. The structure is called the *Midawin* or *Midewigan*; amongst the whites it goes by the name of the Grand Medicine Lodge. The ceremonies are public and may be attended by women as well as by men, but the ritual is unintelligible to the uninitiated.<sup>1</sup> The essential part is the pretence of killing the candidate and bringing him to life again. One after another the priests present their medicine-bags at him as if to shoot him. These bags are made each of the skin of a particular animal, which may be any of a great variety of species, such as the otter, the raccoon, the weasel, the wolf, the red fox, the grey fox, a snake, the great owl, and so forth; and they often retain the shape of the animal, with its head, tail, and even the feet still attached. In the bag are kept the owner's sacred possessions, such as the magic red powder used in the preparation of the hunter's incantations, also amulets and fetishes of various sorts. Above all they contain the *migis*, the sacred white shell, the symbol of the society; and when the bags are presented at the candidate, they are supposed to project the shell into his body. At the last discharge he falls forward apparently lifeless to the ground. Then the priests lay their medicine-bags on his back, and after a few moments one of the sacred shells drops from his mouth. The seemingly dead man now shews signs of life, but when the chief priest replaces the shell in his mouth, he instantly falls to the ground as before. But the priests bring him back to life again by marching round him and touching his body in various places with their medicine-bags. When the candidate has quite revived, he receives a new medicine-bag made of an otter-skin, or perhaps the skin of a mink or weasel. In it he places his sacred white shell (*migis*), and immediately puts its magical virtue to the proof by pretending

The Grand Medicine Lodge.

Initiation ceremonies.

The medicine-bags.

The sacred white shell (*migis*), the symbol of the society.

Pretence of killing the candidate and bringing him to life again.

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 187 sq.; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the*

*United States*, v. (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 428, with Plate 32; J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami* (Bremen, 1859), i. 60 sq., 66 sq.

to shoot every person present in the lodge with it. Each person so menaced obligingly falls forward as if shot dead by the magic power of the shell. Formerly the person so shot was expected to lie motionless and apparently lifeless till one of the initiated members of the society brought him or her to life again by presenting his medicine-bag at his or her body; but in modern times, apparently, the rigour of this rule has been relaxed, and after lying still for a few minutes each of the slain is permitted to effect his own resurrection without the help of the magical bag. When they all have been shot and all have revived, they make a pretence of swallowing and spitting out their shells, after which they replace them in their medicine-bags. A feast at the expense of the new members immediately follows.<sup>1</sup> The ceremonies of admission to the three higher orders or degrees of the society are very similar; they all repeat the rite of the mimic death and resurrection.<sup>2</sup>

In this ritual the sacred white shell seems to be an instrument both of life and of death, like the mistletoe of Balder.

In this ritual the part played by the sacred white shell is somewhat ambiguous. Its entrance into the body seems to kill, and the person killed by it appears to revive as soon as he has succeeded in disgorging it. Hence J. G. Kohl was informed "that these shells signify the sickness, the evil which is inherent in man, but which by zealous effort and by common religious worship he is able to discharge and put away from himself."<sup>3</sup> On the other hand Mr. Hoffman appears to regard the shell (*migis*) as an implement of life rather than of death; for he speaks of "shooting the sacred *migis*—life—into the right breast of the candidate."<sup>4</sup> We may perhaps suppose that the shell is charged with the double virtue of life and of death, and that in this respect it resembles the sacred mistletoe which, though it was said to

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 213-218, 220; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. (Philadelphia, 1856) pp. 428-433; J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami*, i. 64-68, 69, 71. As to the sacred shell (*migis*), Mr. Hoffman says: "The *migis* referred to in this description of the initiation consists of a small white shell, of almost any

species, but the one believed to resemble the form of the mythical *migis* is similar to the cowrie, *Cypraea moneta*, L." (*op. cit.* p. 220).

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* pp. 224 sqq., especially pp. 225 sq., 234 sq., 248, 265.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami*, i. 71.

<sup>4</sup> W. J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 215.

contain Balder's life, yet proved the instrument of his death when it was discharged full at his body.<sup>1</sup>

The Menominees, an Algonkin tribe of Wisconsin, have or had a Grand Mystery Society called *Mitawit*, which appears to have been substantially identical with the *Midewiwin* society of the Ojibways. It is said to have been founded by the mythical being *Manabush* or Great Rabbit, who is clearly identical with the Ojibway *Minabozho*, the founder of the *Midewiwin* society. The members were shamans, and consisted of men and women, and also a few young boys and girls, who had been initiated into the mysteries either directly or by proxy. Formerly, the society comprised four orders or degrees, which differed from each other in rank; and the members of each order had a distinctive mode of painting their faces. Admission to the society had to be paid for. The ceremonies of initiation resembled those of the Ojibways; the candidate had to go through a pretence of being killed and brought to life again. The magical instrument of death and resurrection was the medicine-bag. It was made of the skin of an animal, such as the mink, beaver, otter, or weasel, and contained various mysterious objects, particularly the sacred shell (*konapamik*) with which the candidate was shot at initiation. The initiatory rites were performed in a medicine lodge called *mitawikomik*, a temporary structure erected by medicine-women. It was sixty or seventy feet long by twenty feet wide. The framework consisted of poles bent and fastened together at the top so as to form a series of arches, and the whole was covered with rush-mats. At initiation the medicine-men pretended to shoot the candidate with their medicine-bags, and at the last shot the young man fell forward apparently lifeless. Afterwards a shell dropped from his mouth, whereupon he gradually revived. A

The Grand  
Mystery  
Society  
(*Mitawit*)  
of the  
Meno-  
minees.

Four orders  
of the  
society.

Ceremonies  
of initiation:  
pretence of  
killing the  
candidate  
and bring-  
ing him to  
life.

Power  
of the  
medicine-  
bag and of  
the sacred  
shell.

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Kauffmann, *Balder, Mythus und Sage* (Strasburg, 1902), pp. 19-24, 45-48. Compare *The Golden Bough*,<sup>2</sup> iii. 236 sqq., where in treating of this legend I was prevented from using the full force of the evidence in favour of my hypothesis by reason of a mistake, as it now appears to be, in the German

translation of the Edda which I consulted. I only inferred that Balder's life was hidden for safety in the mistletoe (*op. cit.* iii. 349 sq., 446 sqq.); but if Professor Kauffmann is right, what I merely inferred is expressly stated in our most ancient authority for the Balder legend, namely the *Voluspa*.

medicine-bag was then presented to him, and armed with it he went about the lodge shooting at people with the bag, just as the medicine-men had shot at him. The persons aimed at by him moaned and sank to the ground, but soon recovered themselves. The Menominees believed that on swallowing his sacred shell a medicine-man gained the power of transferring its mysterious virtue to his medicine-bag merely by breathing upon it. This pretence of swallowing the shells was carried out by the medicine-men at the initiatory rites.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 4. *Secret Societies among the Arickarees*

The six societies of the Arickarees.

The Arickarees or Arikaras, a tribe of the Caddoan family, speaking a language closely akin to that of the Pawnees,<sup>2</sup> had also their dancing-bands or secret societies. When the Prince of Wied visited the tribe in 1833 he found six such societies among them, as follows:—<sup>3</sup>

1. *The Bears*.—These were old people, who in dancing wore as badges some parts of a bear, such as pieces of the skin or a necklace of claws.

2. *The Mad Wolves*.—They wore a wolf-skin down their back with a slit through which they thrust their head and an arm.

3. *The Foxes*.—They wore fox-skins on various parts of their bodies.

4. *The Mad Dogs*.—In dancing they carried rattles in their hands.

5. *The Mad Bulls*.—These were the most distinguished

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Hoffmann, M.D., "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) pp. 66-138, especially pp. 68, 71 sq., 75 sq., 83 sq., 99-102. As to the meaning of the name *Manabush* ("Great Rabbit"), see *ibid.* p. 114 note <sup>2</sup>. With regard to the mythical being whom the Algonkins called *Menibozho*, *Manibozha*, *Manabosho*, *Manabush*, *Michabo*, etc., the Great Hare, see *Relations des Jésuites*, 1670, p. 93 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); Charlevoix, *Histoire*

*de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), vi. 64; W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (St. Paul, Minn., 1885) pp. 56, 79; P. Jones, *History of the Ojebways*, pp. 32 sqq.; D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World* (New York, 1876), pp. 175 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 83. See also above, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-1841), ii. 240 sq.

men. In the dance they wore a buffalo's scalp with the horns.

6. *The Soldiers*.—They discharged the same duties as the Soldiers among the Mandans.

### § 5. *Secret Society among the Maidus of California*

The Maidu tribe of Central California have or had a secret society called *Ku-meh*, literally "the assembly-house" or "dance-house." Boys were initiated into it at the age of twelve or a little younger. Not all the youths joined it, though the older members tried to persuade them to do so, telling them that if they did not they would be devoured by wild beasts, or would fall over precipices, or be drowned, and that they would go the left-hand way into darkness. After a novice had been initiated the old men laid their right hands in turn on his left shoulder; and a new name, the name of his manhood, which was generally the name of his father or of some other near relative, was added to his baby name. For ten days after the ceremony he must refrain from all flesh meat, and might eat nothing but acorn-porridge.<sup>1</sup>

The secret society of the Maidus of California.

Fuller information as to the society has been collected and published by Mr. Roland B. Dixon.<sup>2</sup> From him we learn that among the Maidus of the Sacramento Valley the Secret Society was a very important institution. Its leaders were the leaders of the tribe or community, and regulated the dance organisation. When the old men of the order decided that certain boys or young men should be initiated, they went to their houses, dragged them out, and carried them to the dance-house, a large circular, semi-subterranean and earth-covered structure, which played a great part in the life of the community. The choice of the boys or men to be initiated was supposed to be made by the spirits, who communicated their wishes to the old men. When the boys or men to be initiated were brought into the dance-house, a

Importance of the society.

The dance-house.

Initiation ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup> S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), pp. 305 sq. (*Contributions to North-American Ethnology*, vol. iii.).

<sup>2</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu* (New York, 1905), pp. 322-333 (*Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xvii. Part iii.).

shaman gave each of them a wand, which was hung up in the dance-house until the end of the initiation ceremonies. After that the shaman rubbed sacred meal, compounded of acorns and birch-seed, into the hair of the candidates, and having made them lie down he ran round them several times with a lighted brand in his hand. For some time after the ceremony the novices might not eat flesh, and they must use a scratching-stick for their heads. They remained in seclusion in the dance-house; and if they were obliged to quit it for any occasion they covered their heads with blankets or skins till their return. They were taught the various dances, and when they had learned them all they received new names, which were supposed to have been imparted to the shaman by the spirits. With his new name the novice received the badges of the society, which were a netted cap and a plume-stick. For several weeks after initiation the head of the newly initiated member might not be washed nor the sacred meal removed which was clotted among his hair.<sup>1</sup>

The novices received new names.

Each Maidu village had its branch of the secret society and its Grand Master, who was generally a shaman.

Each Maidu village or group of villages had its branch of the Secret Society, and each branch was presided over by a leader or Grand Master, as we may call him. His functions were to some extent judicial, for he was expected to settle all such disputes as could not be settled in other ways; he also took a prominent part in warlike expeditions and often led them in person. As a rule the Grand Master was a powerful shaman, and in that capacity was greatly feared, for his magical powers were believed to exceed those of common shamans.<sup>2</sup> Indeed we are told that "the shaman was, and still is, perhaps the most important individual among the Maidu. In the absence of any definite system of government, the word of the shaman has great weight: as a class they are regarded with much awe, and as a rule are obeyed much more than the chief."<sup>3</sup> The Grand Master of the Secret Society, who is also a shaman, possesses charms which kill a man merely by touching his bare skin;<sup>4</sup> indeed he can inflict disease and death

The Grand Master of the Secret Society is thought to

<sup>1</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, pp. 322-327. As to the dance-houses, see *ibid.* pp. 168 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* pp. 272

327 *sq.*, 332.

<sup>3</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 272.

on whole villages. He possesses a sacred cape made of feathers, shells, and bits of stone with a small stone mortar in the middle of it. This cape was used by him in the secret incantations by which he brought sickness and death on hostile villages; for taking the cape and certain roots with him he would go to windward of the doomed village, and laying the cape on the ground would put the roots under the mortar and ignite them. Then as the smoke blew towards the houses of the enemy, he would say, "Over there, over there, not here! Do not come back this way. We are good. Make those people sick. Kill them, they are bad people." If the people in the village got wind of the spells thus cast upon them, they took elaborate precautions to annul their deadly influence by fumigating all the houses, dancing, singing, shaking cocoon rattles, and other approved methods of counteracting an enemy's magic. When the magical cape was not in use, the Grand Master kept it hidden in a mat or bag far away from the village; for it was certain death for any one but himself to touch the mysterious object. At his death it was always buried or burned with him. But the Grand Master worked magic for the good of his own people as well as for the injury of his enemies. He was believed to make rain when it was needed, and to ensure a good supply of salmon and a plentiful crop of acorns, which formed the staple food of the tribe. Indeed he took to himself all the credit for good crops and fine seasons. Every day at dawn he was supposed to stand on the roof of the dance-house and to sing songs in imitation of the matutinal chorus of the earliest birds.<sup>1</sup>

be able to inflict disease and death on whole villages by his incantations.

The magical cape.

The Grand Master also made rain and ensured a supply of salmon and acorns.

The Maidu Indians used to dance many elaborate ceremonial dances in their dance-houses, and though we are not told that the dances belonged specially to the members of the Secret Society, we may, on the analogy of other Indian tribes, reasonably infer that some of them did so. Certainly the date of the principal dance was settled by the Grand Master of the society.<sup>2</sup> Some of these dances have a special interest for us, because like

The ceremonial dances of the Maidu.

<sup>1</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, pp. 328, 331 sq. As to the acorn food of the Maidus and other Californian Indians, see below, pp. 494 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 288.

Some of these dances were magical rites intended to increase the food-supply: the dancers wore the skins and mimicked the action of the animals which they wished to multiply.

The Acorn Dance to increase the supply of acorns.

In the Acorn Dance the dancers imitate the knocking down of acorns from the trees.

the *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australians they aimed at increasing the supply of food by means of sympathetic magic, the dancers mimicking the animals which they desired to multiply. On this subject Mr. R. B. Dixon tells us that "where animals are represented, particularly in the region of the North-western Maidu, the dancers wear either the skin of the animal in whole or in part (as in the Bear, Deer, and Coyote dances), or ornaments which in some way symbolize the animal or bird in question. In none are any masks worn. In these dances, the personators of the animals endeavor to imitate the actions of the animal, and to utter its characteristic cries. The purpose of these animal dances (confined very largely to the Sacramento Valley area) is said to be varied. Some—like the Deer, Duck, and Turtle dances—have for their purpose the increase of the animals in question, that food may be plenty, and seem to have as an important feature a prayer or address in which the animal is besought to multiply and increase. Other dances, such as the Bear dance, are to soothe and pacify the animal, and render it less likely to attack hunters. Other dances still, like the Coyote dance, seem to refer to the Coyote myths at times, and the part the Coyote played in the creation and during the time of the 'first people.' One of the dances of the Sacramento Valley people, although not an animal dance, seems to have for its purpose the one which was referred to in the first class of animal dances; namely, the increase of the food-supply of the people, acorns here being desired instead of game."<sup>1</sup>

The last of these dances, which we may perhaps call the Acorn dance, is held about April when the leaves are well out on the trees. In the course of the dance acorn-flour is sprinkled at the foot of the main central post of the dance-house, and one of the dancers four times expresses a wish that the chief may have plenty of acorn-flour. Then all the spectators, both men and women, take long poles in their hands and dance round the main post, after which they strike the post with their poles.<sup>2</sup> This last part

<sup>1</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, pp. 285 sq.

304-306. The native name for the dance is *āki*.

<sup>2</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* pp.

of the ceremony is interpreted by Mr. Dixon with much probability "as symbolical of the striking of the branches of the oaks in the autumn in the process of gathering acorns."<sup>1</sup> For "the collection and preparation of acorns for food were among the most important industries of the Maidu, in common with most of the Central Californian tribes. At the time in the autumn when the acorns are ripe, every one is busy. The men and larger boys climb the trees, and, by the aid of long poles, beat the branches, knocking off the acorns. The women and smaller children gather these in burden-baskets, and carry them to the village, storing them in the granaries or in the large storage-baskets in the houses."<sup>2</sup> Indeed "the chief dependence of the Maidu, in common with most of the Indians of the central part of the State, was upon the acorn. The Maidu recognize about a dozen different varieties of these. In the creation myth it is declared that the Creator's first act, after forming the dry land, was to cause a great oak-tree to spring up, on which grew all the twelve varieties of acorns."<sup>3</sup> One who knew the Californian Indians well in the days when they were still but little contaminated by contact with the whites has estimated that more than half of the food of the tribes which lived in oak forests consisted of acorns.<sup>4</sup> Of one tribe he says that "like all their brethren they are also very fond of acorns, and the old Indians cling tenaciously to them in preference to the finest wheaten bread."<sup>5</sup> The acorns were pounded into meal, which was then baked into bread; and a characteristic sound which greeted the ears of a traveller as he approached an Indian village in an oak forest used to be the monotonous thump, thump of the pestles wielded by the patient women as they prepared the daily bread for the household.<sup>6</sup> In antiquity

Importance of acorns as an article of diet to the Californian Indians.

Acorn-meal and acorn-bread.

<sup>1</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), pp. 415 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> S. Powers, *op. cit.* pp. 187 *sq.*

<sup>6</sup> S. Powers, *op. cit.* p. 49. As to the preparation of the acorns for food, see *ibid.* p. 188; Roland B.

Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, pp. 184 *sqq.* As to the kinds of acorns which are used as food Mr. R. B. Dixon says (*op. cit.* p. 181): "Although the acorns of all species of oaks growing in the region are eaten, some varieties are distinctly preferred to others. In general *Quercus Kelloggii*, Newberry, *Quercus chrysolepis*, Liebmann, and *Quercus Wislizeni*, A. D. C.,

the mountaineers of Lusitania, the modern Portugal, lived for two thirds of the year on acorns, which they dried, ground, baked into bread, and stored up for future use.<sup>1</sup>

We need not wonder, therefore, that acorns, as the staple food of many tribes, should have played a part in their religion, and that religious or magical rites should have been performed to secure a plentiful crop of them. Some Californian tribes held an acorn dance in autumn. Thus the Tatus danced soon after the acorns were ripe, men and women, decked with feathers and white owls' down, tripping it together at evening within a circle of fires, while a rude barbaric music gave the time to their steps. Such acorn dances, we are told, were common in all these parts.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Hololupai Maidus the acorn dance was one of the most important of their many dances. They called it "the all-eating dance" and danced it "in autumn, soon after the winter rains set in, to insure a bountiful crop of acorns the following year." Men and women, adorned in all their finery, danced standing in two circles, the men in one circle and the women in the other. In the intervals of the dance two priests, wearing gorgeous head-dresses and long mantles of black eagle feathers, took their stations on opposite sides of one of the pillars which supported the roof, and there chanted solemn prayers to the spirits. From time to time the dancers refreshed themselves with acorn-porridge.<sup>3</sup>

The dances of the Maidus in the Sacramento Valley were the most numerous and elaborate. They had a regular dance-season, beginning in October and continuing through the winter till April or May.<sup>4</sup> Their country is a level park-like land with miles and miles of waving grass and flowers and magnificent open groves of oak,<sup>5</sup>

were the favorite species." Mr. A. S. Powers mentions the chestnut-oak (*Quercus densiflora*) as the species of which the acorns were made into bread (*Tribes of California*, p. 49).

<sup>1</sup> Strabo iii. 3. 7, p. 155. The ancient Greeks, especially the Arcadians, also ate acorns. See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 230 sq.; Herodotus i. 66; Neumann and Partsch, *Physik-*

*alische Geographie von Griechenland* (Breslau, 1885), pp. 381 sq.

<sup>2</sup> S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, pp. 143 sq.; compare *ib.* pp. 155, 224, 325, 354 sq.

<sup>3</sup> S. Powers, *op. cit.* pp. 285 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, pp. 287, 288.

<sup>5</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 126.

The  
autumn  
Acorn  
Dance of  
the Cali-  
fornian  
Indians.

Elaborate  
dances of  
the Maidus  
of the  
Sacramento  
Valley.

where the Indians gathered the acorns and danced the acorn-dance.

But while the Maidus thus aimed at increasing the supply of food, both animal and vegetable, by sympathetic or imitative magic, mimicking the appearance and gait of animals and simulating the gathering of acorns, it is to be remembered that these magical rites were not, like the analogous magical rites of the Central Australians, performed by members of totemic clans who had acorns or the particular kinds of animals for their totems; for in common, apparently, with all the Californian tribes the Maidus were without totems and totemic clans. Their example may, therefore, serve to remind us that such ceremonies may be performed by non-totemic just as well as by totemic peoples, and that accordingly their occurrence in any particular tribe is not of itself a proof of totemism.

Amongst the north-eastern Maidus men become shamans by dreaming of spirits, just as in so many Indian tribes men acquire guardian spirits by their fasting visions. All the great Maidu shamans have many spirits, some of which are animals, while other spirits live in rocks, lakes, and so on. Shamans who dream of thunder become weather-prophets. Every shaman must do exactly what the spirits tell him, or they will kill him. While any man can become a shaman who has had the necessary dreams, the profession is hereditary; all the children of a male or a female shaman without exception are bound to become shamans too, though generally not until the death of the father or mother. But while they inherit the profession from their parent, they must also see the spirits in their dreams; only the spirits which thus appear to them are those which formerly appeared in dreams to their father or mother. Thus the same spirits remain in the family for generations. Such hereditary patrons, especially when they take the form of animals, bear a close resemblance to totems; and this resemblance is much increased by the rule that "whatever animal a man dreams of during his first set of dreams when he is just beginning to be a shaman, that animal he may never eat or kill. Should he do so, he would die. 'If he

But these magical ceremonies were not, as among the Central Australians, performed by members of totemic clans.

Among the Maidus men become shamans by dreaming of spirits. The children of shamans are also shamans and dream of the same spirits as their father or mother.

Such hereditary spirits resemble totems. When a shaman first

dreams of an animal, he may never eat or kill the creature. kills his dream, he kills himself.”<sup>1</sup> Thus it would seem that the shaman’s life was believed to be bound up with that of the animal of which he had dreamed; it was what the Central American Indians would call his *nagual*;<sup>2</sup> it was the vehicle in which his soul was deposited. However, many men did not dream of animals at all; indeed mountains, rocks, and lakes appeared oftener to the visionary.<sup>3</sup>

Marriage customs of the Maidus.

While the Maidus, like the rest of the Californian Indians, appear not to have been organised in totemic and exogamous clans,<sup>4</sup> they observed some of the marriage customs which we have found practised by totemic tribes of Indians. Thus, a man had a right to marry his wife’s sisters; and if he did not exercise his right, it passed to his brother.<sup>5</sup> Such a right points to a former custom of marriage between a group of brothers on one side and a group of sisters on the other. Again, the law of the levirate used to be generally, though not invariably, observed;<sup>6</sup> that is, a man usually married the widow of his deceased brother.

Right to marry a wife’s sisters.

The Levirate.

Avoidance of the wife’s mother.

Finally, a man and his wife’s mother neither looked at nor spoke to each other; a woman always covered her head when she met her daughter’s husband.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, pp. 274-283 (the passage quoted in the text is on p. 277).

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 443 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, p. 277.

<sup>4</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 223.

<sup>5</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 241 : “If one of two brothers marries one

of two or more sisters, the other brother has the right to marry the remaining sister, or sisters, if the first brother does not.”

<sup>6</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* pp. 239, 241.

<sup>7</sup> Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* pp. 239 *sq.*

## CHAPTER XX

### SECRET SOCIETIES AMONG THE INDIANS OF NORTH- WEST AMERICA

#### § 1. *General Features of these Societies*

AMONG some of the Indian tribes of North-West America, especially those which dwell on the coast, secret societies played a great part in the social life of the people, and the members gave elaborate dramatic performances, in which they personated their guardian spirits. As these guardian spirits commonly, though by no means always, took the shape of animals, the actors in the sacred dramas often dressed in the skins and feathers of the beasts and birds and mimicked the actions and cries of the creatures with considerable fidelity. In the opinion of Dr. Boas, who has studied the subject with care and to whose researches among the Indians of the North-West Pacific Coast we owe much valuable information, the secret societies in their present form have spread from the Kwakiutl to the other tribes of this region. He thinks, if I apprehend him aright, that the guardian spirit or *manitoo* is the source both of the hereditary clans and of the secret societies: when men or women transmitted their guardian spirit to their descendants, these descendants became a clan with the hereditary guardian spirit for its totem; when the guardian spirit acquired by individuals was not transmitted by them to their descendants, it became, not the totem of a clan, but the patron of a secret society, the members of which consisted of all those who had acquired that particular spirit for their guardian.<sup>1</sup> The theory, which has the merit

Secret Societies on the north-west coast of America.

According to Dr. Boas, the guardian spirit is the source both of the hereditary clans and of the secret societies.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for*

of clearness and simplicity, will be considered later on. Here, without entering into the questions of the origin and diffusion of the secret societies, I shall describe some typical examples of them in a roughly geographical order, proceeding from south to north. But before doing so it may be well to quote an account of these societies which sets forth their main general features. The writer is Mr. J. Adrian Jacobsen, who travelled repeatedly among the Indians of the North-West Pacific coast, and whose brother Mr. Philipp Jacobsen lived amongst them for years, knew their languages (or one of them), and studied their customs. The account runs thus :—

Mr. J. A. Jacobsen's account of the secret societies of N.W. America.

Belief that gods appear in the form of animals and shew themselves to men at festivals.

“ However diverse the gods and the hero-tales of savages may appear in the different continents, they have almost all this feature in common, that besides the gods and men the animals also play a very important part, and the thought that the gods or spirits assume by preference animal forms may be found amongst nearly every people of the earth. Nowhere perhaps does this thought appear more sharply expressed than among the inhabitants of the north-west coast of America. There, according to the belief of the Indians, the various deities come down to earth at different times and in many forms, shew themselves to men, and take part in the festivals celebrated in their honour. Most of these gods are well-disposed to men ; indeed almost every family claims to be descended from some god or other, so that an intimate intercourse thereby exists to a certain extent between gods and men. Besides the tribal gods they believe also in evil spirits, which can visit mankind with misfortune ; but their power is inferior and they can pretty easily be banished and rendered innocuous by the medicine-man and the mighty spirits of all sorts who are in league with him.

The gods are represented by masked and inspired

“ The task of representing the gods is undertaken in every tribe by some intelligent and, according to their own account, inspired men ; they form the Secret Societies, in order that their secret arts and doctrines, their mummeries

1895 (Washington, 1897), pp. 660-662 ; compare pp. 336, 393 ; *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on*

*the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 674-677 (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898).

and masquerades may not be revealed to the uninitiated and to the public. The intention of these exhibitions is to confirm the faith of the young people and the women in the ancient traditions as to the intercourse of the gods with men and as to their own intimate relations to the gods. In order to convince possible doubters, the members of the Secret Societies have had recourse to all kinds of mysterious means, which to a civilised man must appear the height of savagery; for example, they mutilate their bodies, rend corpses in pieces and devour them, tear pieces out of the bodies of living men, and so on. Further, the almost morbid vanity of the North-Western Indians and their desire to win fame, respect, and distinction may have served as a motive for joining the Secret Societies; since every member of them enjoys great respect.

“There were and still are hundreds of masks in use, every one of which represents a spirit who occurs in their legends. In the exhibitions they appear singly or in groups, according as the legend to be represented requires, and the masked men are then looked upon by the astonished crowd, not merely as actors representing the gods, but as the very gods themselves who have come down from heaven to earth. Hence every such representative must do exactly what legend says the spirit did. If the representative wears no mask, as often happens with the *Hametzses* (the Cannibals or Biters) or the *Pakwalla* (Medicine-men), then the spirit whom he represents has passed into his body, and accordingly the man possessed by the spirit is not responsible for what he does amiss in this condition. As the use of masks throws a sort of mysterious glamour over the performance and at the same time allows the actor to remain unknown, the peculiarly sacred festivals are much oftener celebrated with masks than without them. In every Secret Society there are definite rules as to how often and how long a mask may be used. Amongst the Quakiutl the masks may not, under the heaviest penalties, be disposed of for four winters, the season when such festivals are usually celebrated. After that time they may be destroyed or hidden in the forest, that no uninitiated person may find them, or they may be finally sold. The masks are made

men, the members of the Secret Societies.

Extravagances perpetrated by these representatives of the gods.

The masks are thought to convert the wearers into gods.

Hence the actors in the most sacred festivals are generally masked.

The masks are made in secret ; no uninitiated person may witness the process.

only in secret, generally in the deep solitude of the woods, in order that no uninitiated person may detect the maker at work. How strictly the mystery is guarded may be seen from the following example. In the village of Nouette, in north-west Vancouver, an Indian was once busy carving a mask, when his half-grown son, who had noticed that his father often went into the wood, one day sought him out in his retreat. Thereupon the father fell into such a rage that he killed his own son on the spot, lest he should betray the sacred affair.

New songs and dances are constantly invented.

“The dance is accompanied by a song which celebrates in boastful words the power of the gods and the mighty deeds represented in the performance. At the main part of the performance all present join in the song, for it is generally known to everybody and is repeated in recitative again and again. It seems that new songs and new performances are constantly springing up in one or other of the villages through the agency of some intelligent young man, hitherto without a song of his own, who treats in a poetical fashion some legend which has been handed down orally from their forefathers. For every man who takes part in the performances and festivals must make his *début* with a song composed by himself. In this way new songs and dances are constantly originating, the material for them being, of course, always taken from the tribal deities of the particular singer and poet.

The badges.

“Besides the masks other badges of the Secret Societies are worn, which I will discuss later.<sup>1</sup>

The Great Dance of the Spirits in late autumn.

“Of the dances which do not, so far as I know, belong to the four Secret Societies I may mention the *Navalock* or *Nawalok*, that is, the Great Dance of the Spirits. This dance usually takes place in late autumn. Several Indians disguised with masks take post behind a curtain. The type of mask used in this dance generally portrays *Mismissallami* (the God of the Sun)—a mask in the shape of the sun with half-shut eyes and a revolving wheel, which represents the motion of the sun. Most of the other masks portray the sun in the form of an eagle, as he loves to visit the earth. Whereas most of the dances can only be per-

The mask of the Sun.

<sup>1</sup> As to the badges of red cedar bark, see below, p. 504.

formed in winter, this dance can also exceptionally be performed in July. For example, I visited the Quakiutl village of Nakortok in July 1885. When the Indians learned that I particularly wished to have the mask pertaining to the *Nawalok* dance, they began that dance; for several masks had served their time that season and could therefore be sold. The festival began with a number of men blowing on wooden flutes sometimes in the houses, sometimes in the woods, from morning to night, to the great terror of the young people. I was told that the sun-god was now leaving the sun in the shape of a great eagle and approaching the village. Then followed the dance, and at its close I procured the masks, which in accordance with custom had been used for four winters.

"The time when the young Indian can be admitted to the Society is usually the attainment of puberty. Amongst the Ahts of West Vancouver the youth at that time of life is taken into the wood, where half the inhabitants of the village, disguised in wolf-skins and wolf-masks and provided with the aforesaid flutes, blow on them continually and dance the so-called Wolf dance. Then the children say that the youth has been carried off by the wolf in order to give him a *skokom tantam*, that is, a strong heart or faith. This performance is in an altered shape the *Naualok* of the Bella Coolas. The Catholic missionaries there call it 'the boy's Indian baptism,' while the Indians themselves call it *Klokwalla*. It is naturally very difficult for a foreigner to obtain a thorough knowledge of the various customs observed in the Secret Societies; for few even of the Indians themselves who are concerned in them understand what goes on in their midst. Only the members of a Secret Society can give information as to the procedure in it, but they are loth to betray anything, because otherwise their secrets would cease to be secrets, and also because the betrayal may be visited with heavy penalties or even with death."<sup>1</sup>

To the same effect Dr. Boas tells us that in the belief

<sup>1</sup> J. Adrian Jacobsen, "Geheimbünde der Küstenbewohner Nordwest-America's," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (1891), pp. (383)-(385) (appended to the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxiii. 1891).

Amongst the Ahts a young man at puberty is carried off to the woods by men disguised in wolf-skins.

Acquisition  
of super-  
natural  
power  
(*tlokoala*).

of these Indians "all nature is animated, and the spirit of any being can become the genius of a man, who thus acquires supernatural powers." The native name for these much-coveted supernatural powers is *tlokoala*, a Kwakiutl word which is used in the same sense also by the Nootkas, the Tsimshians, and the Bella Coolas. This diffusion of the Kwakiutl term for supernatural power seems to point, as Dr. Boas observes, to the wide influence which the ideas of the Kwakiutl on these subjects have exercised on their neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

The badges  
of the  
Secret  
Societies  
are made  
of red  
cedar bark.

With regard to the badges of the Secret Societies we are told that "the insignia of all these societies are made of the bark of cedar, carefully prepared and dyed red by means of maple bark. It may be said that the secrets are vested in these ornaments of red cedar bark, and wherever these ornaments are found on the north-west coast secret societies occur. I do not hesitate to say that this custom must have originated among the Kwakiutl, as it is principally developed among them, and as the other tribes whenever they have such societies designate them by Kwakiutl names. Historical traditions are in accord with this view."<sup>2</sup>

## § 2. Secret Societies among the Indians of Vancouver Island

The Secret  
Society of  
the Wolves  
among the  
Nootkas is  
said to  
have been  
instituted  
by wolves,  
who carried  
off a chief's  
son and  
tried to kill  
him, but  
finally

Among the Nootkas of Vancouver Island there was a Secret Society called *Tlokoala*, whose members imitated wolves. The name *Tlokoala* is a Kwakiutl word signifying the acquisition of a guardian spirit. The Nootka tradition is that the society was instituted by wolves who carried off a chief's son and tried to kill him, but failing in the attempt became his friends, taught him the rites of the society, and ordered him to instruct his people in them. Then they carried the young man back to his village. Hence every new member of the society must be initiated by the wolves.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 52 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle - upon - Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, *op. cit.* p. 53 (*Report*

*of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint). Compare *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 660 sq.

At night a pack of wolves, that is, Indians dressed in wolf-skins and wearing wolf-masks, make their appearance, seize the novice, and carry him off into the woods. When the wolves are heard outside the village coming to fetch the novice, all the members of the society blacken their faces and sing this song:—"Among all the tribes is great excitement because I am *Tlokoala*." Next day the wolves return the young man to all appearance dead, and the members of the society have to revive him. It is believed that the wolves have put a magic stone, apparently a quartz, into his body, and that till the stone has been extracted he cannot come back to life. Thus the stone plays the same part in the Nootka ceremony as the white shell in the ceremonies of the Ojibways and other eastern tribes.<sup>1</sup> The pretended dead body is left outside the house; two shamans go and extract the stone from it, and then the novice is restored to life. After the novices have been thus resuscitated, they are painted red and black. Blood is seen to stream from their mouths, and they run at once to the beach and jump into the water. Soon they are seen to float lifeless on the surface. They have died the second death. A canoe is sent out to gather up the corpses, and when it has landed them on the beach, they suddenly revive and repair to the dance-house, where they remain for four days. They may eat nothing but dried fish and dried berries. At night during these four days dances are performed in the house, and the whole population is permitted to witness them.<sup>2</sup>

initiated him. The ritual of initiation into the society is a reproduction of this legend.

Pretended death and resurrection of the novice.

Each festival of the *Tlokoala* Society lasts four days. It is only celebrated when some tribesman distributes a large amount of property to the members of the society, and the most common occasion is the initiation of a new member. Sometimes it is held at the time of the ceremonies which

Duration and occasions of the festivals of the Secret Society (*Tlokoala*).

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 467, 468, 485, 487, 488, 489.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 47 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for*

1895 (Washington, 1897), pp. 632 sq. The ceremony of the pretended killing of a chief's son and his removal by men dressed in wolf-skins, with wolf-masks on their heads, was witnessed at the beginning of the nineteenth century by John R. Jewitt, a captive among the Nootkas. See *Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt* (Middletown, 1820), p. 19.

take place when a girl attains to puberty. The house of the man who pays for the celebration appears to be for the time being the sacred or taboo house of the society. As soon as the festival begins, the ordinary social organisation of the tribe is suspended, just as among the Kwakiutl.<sup>1</sup> The people then arrange themselves, not according to their clans, but according to their societies. Each society has its own song and festival, which members of the other societies have not the right to attend, though they may be invited to do so. There is a certain amount of hostility between the societies, and when they meet at night in the taboo house, the members of each society, sitting apart from the rest, indulge in continual railleries at the expense of the others. Apparently there are not separate societies for men and women.<sup>2</sup>

Swan's account of the sacred dramas of the Secret Society.

The sacred dramas exhibited by the *Tlokoala* or *Dukwally* society of the Nootkas are very varied, as we may learn from the following account:—

“The *Dukwally* and other *tamanawas* performances<sup>3</sup> are exhibitions intended to represent incidents connected with their mythological legends. There are a great variety, and they seem to take the place, in a measure, of theatrical performances or games during the season of the religious festivals. There are no persons especially set apart as priests for the performance of these ceremonies, although some, who seem more expert than others, are usually hired to give life to the scenes, but these performers are quite as often found among the slaves or common people as among the chiefs, and excepting during the continuance of the festivities are not looked on as of any particular importance. On inquiring the origin of these ceremonies, I was informed that they did not originate with the Indians, but were revelations of the guardian spirits, who made known what they wished to be performed. An Indian, for instance, who

These dramas take the place of theatrical performances.

They are thought to have been revealed by the spirits.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 333 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 48 *sq.* (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint); *id.* “The Social Organization and the Secret Societies

of the Kwakiutl Indians,” *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 633 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Tamanawas* performances are those which relate to guardian spirits. See above, pp. 405 *sqq.*

has been consulting with his guardian spirit, which is done by going through the washing and fasting process before described, will imagine or think he is called upon to represent the owl. He arranges in his mind the style of dress, the number of performers, the songs and dances or other movements, and, having the plan perfected, announces at a *tamanawas* meeting that he has had a revelation which he will impart to a select few. These are then taught and drilled in strict secrecy, and when they have perfected themselves, will suddenly make their appearance and perform before the astonished tribe. Another Indian gets up the representation of the whale, others do the same of birds, and in fact of everything that they can think of. If any performance is a success, it is repeated, and gradually comes to be looked upon as one of the regular order in the ceremonies; if it does not satisfy the audience, it is laid aside. Thus they have performances which have been handed down from remote ages, while others are of a more recent date.”<sup>1</sup>

The Lkungen or Songish, an Indian tribe of the Coast Salish stock who inhabited the south-eastern part of Vancouver Island, had two secret societies. One of the two societies, called *Tcyiyiwan*, might be joined by any member of the tribe. He had only to go into the woods and there bathe and cleanse his body with cedar boughs continually till he dreamed of the dance which he wished to dance and the song he wished to sing. According to his dream he belonged to one of the five orders which composed the secret society, and each of which had its own mode of dancing. The other secret society called Dog-howlers (*Qenqanitel*) was more select; for heavy payments were exacted at initiation so that none but rich people could join it. The festivals of the society, including the initiatory ceremonies, took place only in winter. When a young man was to be initiated, his father feasted the society for five days, during which masked dances were performed. Persons who did not belong to the society were allowed to witness the

Secret Societies of the Lkungen or Songish.

Winter festivals. Rites of initiation.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Swan, *The Indians of Cape Flattery*, p. 66, quoted by Franz Boas, in *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 637-39.

dances. At the end of these days the novice was entrusted to four members of the society who bathed him in the sea and led him into the woods, where he remained till he met the spirit who was to initiate him. The mysteries of this society were kept profoundly secret; any man who blabbed was torn to pieces.<sup>1</sup>

Death the penalty for divulging the mysteries.

### § 3. *Secret Societies among the Shuswap*

Among the Western Shuswap, a tribe of the Salish stock in the interior of British Columbia, the common people as distinguished from the nobles were divided into a number of groups, which were not strictly hereditary and appear to have been analogous to the dancing societies with which we are here concerned. Each group or society had its own guardian spirit, dance, and song. The guardian spirits or protectors were for the most part beasts or birds, such as Black Bear, Moose, Cariboo, Elk, Deer, Sheep or Goat, Beaver, Marmot, Hare, Buffalo, Wolf or Dog, Frog, Salmon, Owl, Ruffed Grouse, Prairie Chicken, and Goose; but they also included such real or imaginary beings as Thunder-Bird, Service-Berry, Cannibal, Corpse, Wind, Rain, Rock-slide (or Avalanche), Arrow, Snow (or Snowshoe), and Hunger or Famine. Some of these groups were closely related to each other; for example, the groups which had the Wolf or Dog, the Cannibal, and the Corpse for their guardian spirits appear to have formed parts of a larger unit, so that a member of any one of them had a right to dance the dances and sing the songs of the others. Similarly the groups which had the Beaver, Thunder-Bird, Frog, Wind, Rain and Arrow for their guardian spirits formed together a larger group or society.<sup>2</sup>

Dancing societies among the Shuswap, each with its guardian spirit, song, and dance.

Any man could join any of these groups or societies by passing through a short training and fasting a few days in

Modes of admission to the societies.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 26 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for*

1895 (Washington, 1897), pp. 644-646.

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *The Shuswap* (Leyden and New York, 1909), p. 577 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

the woods ; further he had to observe a rite of initiation in which he mimicked by dress and action the guardian spirit of the society. However, a son generally became a member of his father's group or society in preference to any other.<sup>1</sup>

In the dances the dancers imitated their guardian spirits by their costume and gestures. For example, men impersonated moose, cariboo, elk, and deer, wearing the skins of these animals with the scalps on their heads and mimicking all the actions of the beasts at pasture, in combat, in the chase, and finally in capture or death. Some of the actors had antlers attached to their heads and necks. In the Prairie Chicken dance men and women imitated the cries and all the actions of the bird. In the Marmot dance one man played the part of a marmot, moving and whistling like the animal, while another man represented a trapper ; the dance ended with the capture of the pretended marmot by the real man. In the Service-Berry dance women carried baskets and branches of service-berry bushes and acted the gathering of berries. In the Hunger or Famine dance the chief actor appeared almost naked and painted like a skeleton to represent famine, which was a figure of Shuswap mythology. In another dance hunters dressed as if they were travelling on snowshoes in cold weather ; they scattered much swan's down about, probably in imitation of snow ; and they sang the song of the Snow. Members of the Beaver Society wore masks and head-bands of beaver-skin, with a beaver tail in front ; and members of the Corpse and Cannibal societies wore masks representing corpses. No member of a society had a right to use the ceremonial dresses and ornaments of another society. Most of the dances were performed in the winter, but some could take place at any season.<sup>2</sup>

In the opinion of Mr. James Teit, our chief authority on the Shuswap, this system of dancing societies was not native to these Indians but was borrowed by them from the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Lillooet tribes, who in turn borrowed it from their neighbours on the coast, the Tsimshians, Bella Coolas, and Squamish. It seems to have first reached the Shuswap

The dancers imitated their guardian spirits in costume and gesture.

The Dancing Societies of the Shuswap have been borrowed from other tribes.

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Shuswap*, p. 577.

<sup>2</sup> James Teit, *op. cit.* pp. 577-580.

about the beginning of the nineteenth century and to have gradually spread until by 1855 it embraced almost all the western division of the tribe.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 4. *Secret Societies among the Bella Coolas*

Two kinds of ceremonies among the Bella Coolas, the *Sisauk* and the *Kusiut*.

The three chief societies.

Personation of the gods by masked dancers.

Breaches of the ceremonial laws punished with death.

The Bella Coolas, the most northerly Indian tribe of the Salish stock in British Columbia, have two kinds of ceremonial called respectively the *Sisauk* and the *Kusiut*. Of these the *Sisauk* ceremonies are mostly dramatic representations of the clan legends and therefore do not concern us here. On the other hand the *Kusiut* ceremonies are dramatic representations of the initiation of members of various clans into certain secret societies. The most important of these secret societies are the Cannibals (*Elaxolela*), the Laughers (*Olx*), and the Throwers (*Datia*).<sup>2</sup> Membership of any of these societies is obtained by initiation. The novice receives a new name which he retains through life; and he wears a necklace of red cedar-bark over his blanket for a year. In the *Kusiut* ceremonies all the deities of heaven are personified by masked dancers, whose masks are adorned with designs representing the moon, the stars, the rainbow, the kingfisher, the blossom of the salmonberry bush, and so forth. Amongst others the thunder-bird and his servant are thus acted by men in masks. The masks used in these dances are burnt immediately at the end of the dancing season. Any person who breaks the laws of the *Kusiut* ceremonial is punished with death. To dance a dance to which a man has no right, to deride the ceremonies, and to make a mistake in dancing are all capital offences. The offender is summoned before a council of chiefs, and if he is found guilty the execution is entrusted to a shaman, who kills the culprit by witchcraft, throwing a magical object at him or perhaps taking him off by poison.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James Teit, *The Shuswap*, p. 581.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* (1898), p. 114 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

<sup>3</sup> Franz Boas, in *Seventh Annual Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 6-11 (*Report of the British Association, Cardiff, 1891, separate reprint*); *id.* "The Social Organization and the

A person who wishes to be initiated into the Cannibal Society goes away into the forest to meet the guardian spirit of the society. Formerly he had to live on human flesh during his seclusion. Before his departure a slave was killed and one half of his body devoured by the Cannibals; the rest served as provision for the novice, who was tied up in the forest and left there, it might be, for many days. At last to his disordered fancy it seemed that his guardian spirit appeared to him, carried him up to the sun or to the House of Myths, and there initiated him into the order of the Cannibals. After that he returned to the village naked and with almost no hair on his head, the rest of it having been (so the Indians think) torn out by the wind which blows remarkably fresh in the celestial regions. He was now in a state of frenzy, having lost his own soul, which was dispossessed and replaced by the cannibal spirit. So he bit every person whom he could catch, and if he could not catch any one he would bite his own arm. The object of the ceremonial which followed was to pacify the new Cannibal by exorcising the dangerous spirit which possessed him and restoring to him his lost human soul. For this purpose four masked men attended him crying "*Hoïp*" to soothe his rage; and people tried to throw a noose over his head and to bind him with ropes; but he slipped from the noose, broke the ropes, and escaped. This lasted four days: every night the new Cannibal danced in the dancing-house, and the people strove to pacify him by songs and dances. At the end of the four days the ceremony of exorcising the *salptsa*, the monster which possessed him, took place. By means of his incantations one of the masked men succeeded in making the Cannibal vomit the snake, the wolf, the eagle, or whatever it was that possessed him, into a large dish ornamented with red cedar-bark. Then the Cannibal was seen carrying the head of the animal under his left arm, while his attendants held fast the headless trunk in the rear, making it disgorge flesh and blood into a dish. Suddenly the monster disappeared, and the Cannibal was restored to

The Cannibal Society; its rites of initiation. The novice was secluded and lived on human flesh.

Returning in a state of frenzy, possessed by the Cannibal Spirit, he tried to bite people, while they sought to soothe him and exorcise the spirit.

Final exorcism of the Cannibal Spirit.

Seclusion  
and  
purification  
of the  
Cannibal  
after his  
frenzy was  
over.

his right mind. The contents of the dish were thrown into the water and the dish itself burned in the dancing-house, which was supposed to convey it to heaven. For four days afterwards the Cannibal had to sleep in the rear of the house; then he might enter it again, but like the priests of Dagon he had to jump over the threshold. After four days more he was led by many men to the river and pushed into it. This was the final purification. Then he was led back and wept because the spirit had left him entirely. But still for a long time he was subject to various restrictions. For two or three months he might not leave his house; for a year he might not go near his wife; and for four years he might not gamble. But the separation of husband and wife has of late years been restricted to one month. Members of the Cannibal order who bit people also devoured corpses; but weaker brethren contented themselves with merely tearing a dog to pieces and gobbling it up or, weaker still, they devoured raw salmon.

The  
Society  
of the  
Laughers.

The members of the other two Secret Societies, the Laughers and the Throwers, do not retire to the woods to be initiated, though the initiation of the Laughers takes place in heaven. The Laugher walks on tight ropes, makes fun of everything, and scratches people with his nails, till they succeed in muffling up his head in a blanket, which acts as an extinguisher on his too exuberant sense of humour. The Thrower goes about with sticks and stones smashing household goods and canoes. This is calculated to afford him unmixed enjoyment, were it not for a tedious rule that the damage which he does by day he must pay for at night. It is seldom that the bill presented by pleasure has to be settled so promptly.<sup>1</sup>

The  
Society  
of the  
Throwers.

### § 5. *Secret Societies among the Kwakiutl*

Secret  
Societies  
carried to

Amongst the Indian tribes of North-West America the Kwakiutl appear to have carried the system of Secret

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Seventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 10 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Cardiff, 1891, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret

Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 649 sq.; *id.*, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola*, pp. 118-120.

Societies to the highest pitch, and Dr. Franz Boas, our principal authority on the subject, is probably right in believing that the institution has spread from them to other tribes of this region. It is to Dr. Boas that we owe most of our information on the Secret Societies of the tribe, and as the system is somewhat complex, it may be best to begin by quoting his latest and clearest general exposition of it. Afterwards, drawing on the copious store of materials with which his researches have provided us, I shall illustrate the general account by some details.<sup>1</sup>

the highest pitch among the Kwakiutl.

Dr. F. Boas's general account of them.

"All along the north-west coast is found a ritualistic organization which intercrosses the family organization in a most curious manner. This organization seems to be most marked among the Kwakiutl Indians, and I will describe the conditions found among them.

"Besides the crests, which are owned by each individual,<sup>2</sup> he has also the privilege, which is inherited, together with the crests, of being initiated by a supernatural being. The method of initiation is the same as that of the eastern Indians, who find supernatural power after fasting. The difference between the acquisition of supernatural power among the eastern Indians and that believed in by the Kwakiutl is that among the former the relation between the individual and the supernatural power is purely personal, while among the latter it is a family affair, each family having the right to be initiated by a certain supernatural being. The relation between this idea and the property in crests is

Every person inherits the privilege of being initiated by a supernatural being and so of acquiring magical powers.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Boas's earlier accounts of the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl are contained in the *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 52-56 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); and in the *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 62-80 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). His fullest exposition of the system is in his treatise "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," published in the *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897),

pp. 310-738. To this treatise I shall principally refer in the sequel, citing it for the sake of brevity as "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl." The latest statement of Dr. Boas on this subject with which I am acquainted is contained in his article, "The Tribes of the North Pacific Coast," in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 243-246. It is this latest statement which I quote in the text. The system has also been discussed, on the basis of Dr. Boas's information, by Professor Hutton Webster in his *Primitive Secret Societies*, pp. 147-152.

<sup>2</sup> As to the Kwakiutl crests, see above, pp. 321 *sqq.*, 329 *sqq.*

also characteristic. They descend in the same manner, but, while the crest is inherited without any particular ritualistic performance giving the individual the right to the crest, the protection of the supernatural being must be acquired in each individual case by an initiation. There is an important difference between the traditions relating to the acquisition of crests and those which relate to the gift of magic powers by a supernatural being. While the ancestor acquired the crest for the whole family, he only acquired the privilege for his descendants to communicate with the same supernatural being.

The supernatural protectors of families are few in number; hence many families have the same.

“The supernatural beings who are the protectors of families are, comparatively speaking, few in number, and for this reason a considerable number of families have the same supernatural being as their protector. Notwithstanding this fact, the method of initiation is different for each family, the method being determined by the legend which accounts for the acquisition of the supernatural being as the family protector.

All persons who have the same supernatural protector are grouped together in a Secret Society during the season when the sacred ceremonies are performed; at this time, therefore, the organisation of the community in families is dissolved and replaced by an organisation in Secret Societies.

“All the individuals in the tribe who have the same supernatural being as their protector are grouped together during the ritualistic performance in one group, which takes the place of the family organization that prevails during the rest of the year. Among all the north-west coast tribes these ritualistic performances are confined to the winter months, and the season is set off from the rest of the year as the sacred season. Since all the families participate in the rituals celebrated during the sacred season, the whole family organization is broken up during this period. The individuals initiated by supernatural beings form one group in the tribe. They are treated with particular regard and take the place of the high nobility. The uninitiated, on the other hand, take the position of the common people. The uninitiated, in turn, are also subdivided into a number of groups, not according to the families to which they belong, but according to their prospective position among the initiated. Thus, young children, who will probably not belong to the initiated for a considerable time to come, form a group by themselves. The young men, older men, and those who in former times belonged to the initiated, and

who have given up their membership in favor of their sons-in-law, each form a class by themselves. Thus, we find the whole tribe, instead of being arranged in families, arranged in two large groups, the uninitiated and the initiated. The uninitiated are subdivided into age classes, while the initiated are grouped according to the spirits by which each group is initiated. The most important among these are the Cannibal Spirit, the Ghost, the Grisly Bear, and the Fool Spirit.

The four chief societies.

"All the legends explaining the practices of these sacred societies relate some event telling how a member of the family was carried away by one of these spirits; how he saw the spirit's house, and the ritual, and how later on he was taken back, and imitated what he had seen. This, which is the characteristic explanation of practically all Indian rituals of North America, is, of course, merely a re-statement of the practices that are used at the present time. The reasons assigned for the various practices, the most important among which is ritualistic cannibalism, show material differences, not only among different tribes, but even inside of the same tribe. Thus, the principal myth explaining cannibalism relates the visit of four brothers to the house of the cannibal spirit, who threatened to devour them. By a stratagem the young men made their escape and reached their father's house pursued by the cannibal. The father then invited the cannibal, pretending that he would make a feast for him. In the course of this visit, the cannibal was thrown into a ditch filled with red-hot stones, where he was burned, and from his ashes arose the mosquitoes. From this time on one of the sons imitated the actions of the cannibal, while another son imitated the actions of the grisly bear, who was the cannibal's watchman.

The practices of the Secret Societies are explained by stories, which tell how a member of the family was carried away by a spirit, saw the ritual, and on his return imitated it.

Myth relating the institution of ceremonial cannibalism.

"In another tradition of the Kwakiutl, which accounts for the cannibalism of another family, it is told how a young man, upon leaving his house in the evening, was taken away by the cannibal spirit, who took him to his house, where he saw a dance performed, the singers being seated in a ditch, and the rainbow appearing during the dance in the house. While dancing, the cannibal killed and devoured a slave. Since that time the dance is performed in this manner by the young man's family.

Another story of the institution of cannibalism.

“Notwithstanding the difference of these traditions, the men initiated in these different forms by the cannibal spirit belong to the same society during the sacred season. The Cannibal is highest in rank in the tribe, and next to him is the Ghost Dancer.

The ritual consists of the initiation of the novice, his return, and the exorcising of the spirit.

“Among the Kwakiutl the ritual consists in the initiation of the novice, the return of the novice, and the exorcising of the spirit that possesses him. The usual sequence during the ritual is the following: The singers sit in the rear of the house, beating time on a plank with batons; in the left hand rear corner of the house is seated the man who beats the box-drum; in front of the singers, near the fire, which is built in the centre of the house, sit the members of the initiated, those highest in rank in the middle, those of lower rank arranged all along both sides. The uninitiated sit in groups along the sides of the house, those lowest in rank, that is the women and children, near the door.

The novice carried off by the spirits.

“The ceremonial begins with a number of speeches and songs, and with some of the incidents of the *potlatch*.<sup>1</sup> During these introductory incidents, the voices of the spirits are heard (represented by whistles, which are blown inside or outside of the house), and suddenly one among the uninitiated disappears. It is stated that he has been taken away by the spirits, and that at a set time he will return.

His return, and his dance, in which he impersonates the spirit.

On the day set for his return the whistles of the spirits are heard again, and the people go to search for the novice, who is generally found at some little distance from the houses, in the woods, and he is then brought back by the tribe, who arrange themselves in formal procession. Then follow a series of dances, partly performed by the novice who impersonates the spirit that possesses him. Other dances are performed and songs are sung in order to quiet the spirit. After four formal dances it is supposed that the spirit has left, and the novice has to undergo a ceremonial purification, which lasts for a considerable time, and consists essentially in ceremonial washings, which are repeated at intervals of four days, or multiples of four days.

His ceremonial purification.

“This whole performance is interrupted by numerous

<sup>1</sup> That is, a festival accompanied by the distribution of property among the guests. See above, p. 262.

accessory performances, consisting largely in dances of the older members of the initiated. These are often provoked by transgressions of the rules of behaviour during the sacred season. Thus, the Cannibal may be excited by failure to observe the rule that nobody is allowed to eat before the cannibal has eaten; or the Fool may be excited by mention of a long nose, which is believed to be characteristic of the Fool.

Other dances.

"The dances themselves, as stated before, are pantomimic presentations of the acts of the spirits. As a rule, the first dance is performed by the novice, who is dressed in certain rings made of hemlock branches, and with characteristic face-painting, these being determined by the tradition of the initiation. In the second dance the novice appears wearing a mask, which represents the spirit which possesses him. In the third dance he appears wearing rings made of cedar bark dyed red, which is a symbol of the sacred ceremonies. The form of these rings also depends upon the tradition explaining the ritual. In the last dance he appears again wearing the mask of the spirit."<sup>1</sup>

The dances are dramas representing the acts of the spirits.

Masks and badges.

With these general outlines of the system before us, we may now consider the institution somewhat more in detail, selecting for that purpose some main facts and typical examples out of the great store of information collected by Dr. Boas.

We have seen<sup>2</sup> that the social organisation of the Kwakiutl changes with the seasons; during summer the tribe is organised in hereditary clans, during winter it is organised in Secret Societies, each of which is composed of all persons who have received the same supernatural power or secret from one of the spirits. The spirits are supposed to be present with the Indians in winter; that is why in winter, as soon as the spirits arrive, the Kwakiutl drop their summer names, the hereditary clan names, and assume their winter names, the new names bestowed upon them by the spirits at initiation into the societies. The summer season, when the system of hereditary clans is in force, is called by the Kwakiutl *baxus*, which term also designates those who

The social organisation of the Kwakiutl changes with the seasons; during the summer the people are organised in families, during the winter in Secret Societies.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "The Tribes of the North Pacific Coast," *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), pp. 243-246.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 333 sq.

have not been initiated by any spirit and might therefore be translated "uninitiated" or "profane." The winter season, when the system of Secret Societies is in force, is called by the Kwakiutl *tsetsaeka*, "the secrets," a term which is also applied to the ceremonial itself. The Indians express this alternation of the seasons by saying that in summer the *baxus* is on top and the *tsetsaeka* below, whereas in winter the *baxus* is below and the *tsetsaeka* on top.<sup>1</sup>

The whole winter ceremonial aims at bringing back the novice from the home of the supernatural being, the patron of the society, and at exorcising the dangerous spirit which possesses him.

"The object of the whole winter ceremonial is, first, to bring back the youth who is supposed to stay with the supernatural being who is the protector of his society, and then, when he has returned in a state of ecstasy, to exorcise the spirit which possesses him and to restore him from his holy madness. These objects are attained by songs and by dances. In order to bring the youth back, members of all the secret societies perform their dances. It is believed that they will attract the attention of the absent novice, until finally one of the dances may excite him to such a degree that he will approach flying through the air. As soon as he appears his friends endeavor to capture him. Then begins the second part of the ceremony, the exorcising of the spirit; or, as the Kwakiutl call it, the taming of the novice. This is accomplished by means of songs sung in his honor, by dances performed by women in his honor, and by the endeavors of the shaman. After the novice has thus been restored to his senses, he must undergo a ceremonial purification before he is allowed to take part in the ordinary pursuits of life. The strictness and severity of this purification depend upon the character of the dance. Novices must drink water through the wing bone of an eagle, as their mouths must not touch the brim of the cup; they must suck no more and no less than four times. They must not blow hot food, else they would lose their teeth."<sup>2</sup>

Serious effect produced by mistakes in the ritual; such

When a mistake is made in the songs or dances which are intended to pacify the novice, the effect is not merely to renew the ecstasy of the novice; it also excites all the older members of the various societies and thus produces a general ecstasy. A slip in rhythm, a wrong turn in the

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 431 sq.

dance, to smile, and to chew gum, are all mistakes which have this serious result. The dancer who has made the mistake thereby forfeits his place in the society and must undergo the ceremony of initiation again, which may be a very troublesome and costly affair. The greatest misfortune of all is for a dancer to fall in the dance. If this happens to a member of the Cannibal Society, he must lie like dead, till a man touches his neck with a staff in which blood is concealed, so that the fallen Cannibal's neck appears to bleed; then he is carried four times round the fire and disappears into the woods, where he stays till he is initiated afresh. It is said that in former times the unfortunate Cannibal who fell in the dance used to be killed, often at the instance of his own father. Among some of the Kwakiutl any dancer who made a mistake was tied up in a blanket, thrown into the fire, and roasted alive. The fall of a dancer appears to be regarded as an evil omen, signifying either that the spirit of the society is angry or that he will be defeated by the spirit of another tribe.<sup>1</sup>

mistakes used sometimes to be punished with death.

The paraphernalia of the dances consist largely of ornaments made of cedar bark, which is dyed in the juice of alder bark, and they also include masks, whistles, and carvings of various kinds. None of these might be seen by the profane. If any uninitiated person beheld them in the old days, he or she was killed without mercy. By far the greater part of the winter ceremonial is performed in a house set apart for the purpose. The house is called *lopeku*, "emptied," because it is emptied of everything profane. Only when dances are performed may the uninitiated or profane enter the house. They must sit at the left hand side of the entrance. Most of the dances are performed in connection with feasts, but some are exhibited on the occasion of a *potlatch* or distribution of property.<sup>2</sup>

The paraphernalia of the dances—masks, whistles, etc., made of red cedar bark.

The number of members in each society is limited; hence a new member can only be admitted when an old one drops out, whose place the novice succeeds to. The reason

The number of members in each society is limited.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 433-435; *id.* in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p.

71 (*Report of the British Association, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint*).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 435-59.

why the number is limited is that "the members of the society derive each their membership from the initiation of one of the ancestors of the nobility. These ancestors have each only one representative at a time. But many of them are grouped together."<sup>1</sup>

The Secret Societies are arranged in two principal groups, the *Me-emkoat* ("the Seals") and the *Kuekutsa*.

The societies are arranged in two principal groups called respectively the *Me-emkoat* ("the Seals") and the *Kuekutsa*. Of these the Seals rank the higher. The two groups are hostile to one another; when the Seals are excited they attack and torment the *Kuekutsa*, and the latter in return tease and provoke the Seals. The *Kuekutsa* societies embrace all who for the time being are not possessed by spirits. A member of any of the *Kuekutsa* societies may at any time be initiated by a new spirit and then he or she leaves their ranks. Or he may be possessed by his own guardian spirit and exhibit his dance or ceremony. In that case he is for the time being not considered as belonging to the *Kuekutsa*. Thus the *Kuekutsa* people correspond very nearly to the group of people who have resigned their places in favour of younger persons, but who can in like manner also enter again into the ranks of the nobility by marrying and receiving with their wife a new name.<sup>2</sup> The *Kuekutsa* societies are ten in number and are graduated according to age and sex as follows:—

List of the *Kuekutsa* Societies.

	Name of Society.	Composed of
Men	1. <i>Naanexsoku</i> . . .	Boys.
	2. Killer-whales . . .	Young men.
	3. Rock-cods . . .	Young men about twenty-five years old.
	4. Sea-lions . . .	Older men.
	5. Whales . . .	Chiefs.
	6. <i>Koskimos</i> . . .	Old men.
	7. Eaters . . .	Head chiefs.
Women	8. <i>Kekixalaku</i> . . .	Girls.
	9. Hens . . .	Young women.
	10. Cows . . .	Old women.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 418 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 419, 420; *id.* in *Sixth Report of the Committee on*

The number of these societies has undergone frequent changes, but the Killer-whales, Rock-cods, and Whales have always remained. The present societies of the women are new, as appears from two of the names, Hens and Cows.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Tlatlasikoalas, a branch of the Kwakiutl who live at Newetee, the societies comprised in the group which corresponds to the *Kuekutsa* are as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

List of the *Kuekutsa* societies among the Tlatlasikoalas.

	Name of Society.	Composed of
Men	1. Puffins . . . .	Little boys.
	2. Mallard ducks . . . .	Boys.
	3. Sea anemones . . . .	Sick and lame people.
	4. Halibut hooks . . . .	Young chiefs.
	5. Red cod . . . .	Third-class chiefs.
	6. Sea lions . . . .	Men about thirty years old.
	7. Anchor lines of tribes	Old chiefs.
Women	8. Eating first . . . .	Girls.
	9. <i>Tsetsaersak</i> (a species of birds)	Women.
	10. Albatrosses . . . .	Old women.

Thus it appears that most of the *Kuekutsa* societies bear the names of animals. The Indians explain this by saying that the ceremonial was instituted at the time when men had still the form of animals, before the mythical transformer had put everything into its present shape. The present ceremonial is a repetition of the ceremonial performed by the man-animals or, as we might say, a dramatisation of the myth. Therefore the people who do not represent spirits, represent these animals.<sup>3</sup>

Origin of the animal names of the Secret Societies.

The societies included under the group of the *Me-emkoat* ("the Seals") are many in number; amongst them may be mentioned the Cannibals (*Hamatsas*), the Fools (*Nutmatl*),

The societies of the Cannibals,

the North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 63 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). For the Kwakiutl custom of obtaining a crest by marriage, see above, pp. 329 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 419 sq. Compare *id.*, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*,

p. 64 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). In this latter passage Dr. Boas gives the native name of the Girls' Society as *K'kyaqalaka*, "Crows."

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," p. 419. As to the Tlatlasikoala, see *ibid.* p. 329.

<sup>3</sup> Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 420 sq.

the Fools,  
the Grizzly  
Bears, and  
the Ghosts.

The  
Cannibal  
Society.

Initiation.

the Grizzly Bears (*Nane*), and the Ghosts (*Lelâalenôx*).<sup>1</sup> Of all the societies the chief is that of the Cannibals, and accordingly during the season of the winter ceremonial the Cannibals are at the head of the whole tribe.<sup>2</sup> Members of the Cannibal Society are initiated by a spirit called by the terrible name of *Baxbakualanuxsiwae*. They are possessed by a violent desire of eating men. The novice is supposed to be taken away by the spirit and to stay in his house for a long time. In fact he lives for three or four months in the woods. About the middle of this time he reappears near the village, and his sharp whistle and cries of "*Hap, hap, hap*" (eating, eating, eating) are heard. Then he comes back to fetch a female relative, who must procure food for him. Finally, he returns to the village and attacks every one whom he can catch, biting pieces of flesh out of their arms and chests. As soon as he arrives certain attendants called Healers (*Heliga*) run up to him swinging their rattles, which are supposed to pacify his fury. The office of these Healers is hereditary in the male line, and either four or six of them must accompany the Cannibal whenever the fit is on him. They close round him in a circle to keep him from getting at the people, and they utter the soothing cry of "*Hoip, hoip!*" Their rattles are always carved with a design which originally represented a skull. In olden times, when the Cannibal was in a state of ecstasy, slaves were killed for him and he devoured them raw. Besides devouring fresh-killed slaves the Cannibals also devoured corpses; but one of them has stated that it is much harder to eat fresh human flesh than dried corpses. The bones of the killed slaves were kept at the north side of the house, where the sun did not shine on them. During the fourth night they were taken out of the house, tied up, weighted with a stone, and

Return of  
the novice;  
his fury;  
attempts of  
the Healers  
to appease  
him.

Slaves  
killed and  
eaten and  
corpses  
devoured  
by the  
Cannibals.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 419, 437, 466, 468, 482, 714. Compare *id.*, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 64-70 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). In the latter work Dr. Boas gives a list of fourteen societies included in the *Me-emkoat* group. In his "Secret

Societies of the Kwakiutl," p. 419, he gives a list of only eight, but the list does not profess to be complete, and it is supplemented by many more societies or dances in the sequel.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 63 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

thrown into deep water, because it is believed that if they were buried they would come back and take their master's soul. When the Cannibal had bitten a piece out of the arm of an enemy and swallowed the flesh, he used to drink hot water for the purpose of inflaming, by sympathetic magic, the wound in the man's arm. Nowadays, the ferocity of these customs has been mitigated; the cannibal no longer actually bites flesh out of people's bodies, but merely pinches up the skin with his teeth, sucks as much blood as he can, and secretly snips off a bit of skin with a sharp knife. He does not swallow the snippet, but hides it behind his ear till the dance is over, when he returns it to the owner in order to satisfy him that it will not be used to bewitch him.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, when the new Cannibal returns from the woods after his initiation, he appears carrying a corpse, which is eaten after the dance. In order to be eaten the corpses have to be prepared in a special way; for the Kwakiutl bury their dead on trees, so that the bodies, by exposure to the free circulation of the air, generally mummify and are therefore hard and uneatable. It is the business of the Healer to prepare the corpse to be devoured. For that purpose he soaks it in salt water, and slits the skin round the wrists and ankles; for the Cannibal may not eat the hands and feet, or he would die immediately. When the corpse is quite ready to be eaten, all the old Cannibals gather round it, naked and excited, like vultures round carrion. The master of the ceremonies carves the body and distributes the gobbets to the Cannibals, who bolt them; for they are not allowed to chew the flesh. After the meal the Healers arise, seize each one a Cannibal by the head, drag them to the salt water, and duck them four times under it. Every time the Cannibal bobs up spluttering, he cries "*Hap!*" then down he goes again. After that they all return to the house in a more sober frame of mind. The paroxysm is over. They dance the following nights, looking downcast and sheepish, and do not utter their peculiar cry of "*Hap, hap!*" Perhaps they remember that the day of

The ferocity of these customs is now mitigated.

The corpses specially prepared to be eaten.

Bathing of the Cannibal in salt water.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 437-441. For the legend of the foundation of the society,

see *id.* "Songs and Dances of the Kwakiutl," *Journal of American Folklore*, i. (1888) pp. 52 *sqq.*

The Cannibal indemnifies those whom he has bitten.

reckoning is at hand. For when the ceremonies are over the Cannibal has to indemnify by a payment of blankets all whom he has bitten, as well as the owner of the slaves whom he has devoured.<sup>1</sup>

Ornaments of the Cannibal.

When he first returns from his initiation the Cannibal wears a head-ring, necklace, bracelet, and anklets made of hemlock branches. He does not wear the cedar-bark ornaments till his fourth dance. They consist of a heavy crown of plated cedar-bark and a necklace to match, with bracelets and anklets. Generally the Cannibal's face is painted black all over, but some have two curved red lines on each cheek.<sup>2</sup>

Two characteristic dances of the Cannibal.

The Cannibal has two characteristic dances; one represents him in his paroxysm of excitement seeking whom he may devour; the other represents him cooling down. In the first he dances stark naked in a squatting position, his arms extended sideways and trembling violently. On he comes with long slow steps, reaching out his arms first to the right and then to the left, his head lifted up, his lips protruding, his eyes wide open, looking for a human body. He is now dangerous, and his attendants surround him, two of them gripping him by the necklace to keep him off the people. In the second dance he stands erect. If not yet in his right mind, he is quieter and wears a blanket; he holds his forearms upwards, with the elbows at his sides. His hands still tremble violently, and he dances in rhythmical time to the beat of the batons, stepping so high that his knees almost touch his chest.<sup>3</sup> While he dances, whistles are heard sounding; they represent the voices of the spirits.<sup>4</sup>

After his first dance the Cannibal disappears to burst out again with dramatic effect from an inner room.

After his first dance the Cannibal disappears into a secret room set apart for this purpose at the back of the house. It is called *marwitl* and is supposed to be the house of the mighty *Baxbakualanuxsiwae* himself, the spirit who initiates the Cannibals. The front of it, which answers the purpose of a stage curtain, is painted with the face either of the spirit himself or of his servant the raven. The room is always so arranged that when the Cannibal reappears he bursts out, with dramatic effect, from the very mouth of the

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 441-443.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 444-446.

<sup>3</sup> Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 443 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Franz Boas, *op. cit.* p. 446.

great painted face. His attendants run up to him as soon as he emerges and seize him by the necklace. Then he dances his dance. Soon after the Cannibal has retired behind the veil, his cries are heard in the inner room and presently he, or rather an actor who takes his place, is seen coming out backward at the side. He now personates the raven, the slave of the spirit, and wears a raven mask with an enormous beak, the jaws of which he makes to gape and shut rapidly with a loud clapping noise by pulling certain strings. At sight of the gaping, clapping mask, the singers burst into a song, saying how everybody's heart goes pit-a-pat at the apparition of the hooked-beak cannibal mask. Afterwards another dancer dances wearing the mask of the mighty spirit *Baxbakualanuxsiwae* himself.<sup>1</sup>

Personation of the Raven by a masked actor.

While it is the business of the Healers to soothe and restrain the frantic Cannibal, members of the *Kuekutsa* societies on the contrary try, somewhat imprudently, to excite his fury. This they do by breaking some of the many rules which regulate their behaviour to him; for example, they will offer him a kettle full of food and then, as soon as it begins to boil, they will upset it. Again, the Cannibals are excited by the sight or mention of various things, all referring to death. With one it will be the word "ghost," with another "skulls," with another "head cut off." Whenever any of these words occur in a song, or whenever any of these things is exhibited in a dance or in a painting, the paroxysm returns upon the Cannibal, the Fool Dancers shut the doors to prevent the escape of the people, and the Cannibal rushes round biting whomever he can get hold of.<sup>2</sup>

Attempts of the *Kuekutsa* societies to enrage the Cannibal.

After they have bitten people, and particularly after they have devoured slaves or corpses, the Cannibals have to observe many stringent rules before they are allowed to mix freely with other people. As soon as they have eaten of a corpse, they swallow great quantities of salt water to make them vomit. The bones of the body which they have devoured are preserved for four months. They are kept

Customs observed by the Cannibals after they have eaten human flesh. Disposal of the bones of the corpses.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 446 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes*

of Canada, pp. 65 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint); *id.* "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," p. 445.

alternately four days in their bedrooms on the north side of the house where the sun does not strike them, and four days under rocks in the sea. Finally they are thrown into the sea. The Cannibals may not go out of the house by the ordinary door, but must always use the secret door in the rear of the house. When one of them goes out for a necessary purpose, all the others must go with him, each carrying a small stick. They must all sit down together on a long log, and having done so they must rise again three times, only really sitting down the fourth time. Both before sitting down and before rising up they must turn four times. When they go back to the house they must raise their feet four times before they enter it. With the fourth step they actually pass the door and go in right foot first. In the doorway they turn four times and walk slowly into the house. They are not allowed to look back.

Rules as to eating and drinking observed by the Cannibals after a cannibal repast.

Further, for four months after eating human flesh the Cannibal uses a spoon, dish, and kettle of his own, which are afterwards thrown away. Before taking water out of a bucket or a brook, he must dip his cup thrice into the water, and he may not take more than four mouthfuls at one time. He must carry the wing bone of an eagle and drink through it, as his lips may not touch the brim of his cup. Also he carries a copper nail to scratch his head with, for his nails may not touch his skin, else they would drop off. For sixteen days after partaking of human flesh he may not eat any warm food, and for four months he is not allowed to blow hot food in order to cool it. For a whole year he may not touch his wife, nor gamble, nor work. When the dancing season is over, he feigns to have forgotten the ordinary ways of man and has to learn everything anew. He acts as though he were very hungry all the time.<sup>1</sup> What the intention of these curious restrictions may be, we are not told. Perhaps they are designed to keep the ghost of the Cannibal's victim at bay or to throw him off the scent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 537 sq. Compare *id.*, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 66 (*Report of the British*

*Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

<sup>2</sup> Compare what is said about the bones of the victim above, pp. 522 sq.

The whole ceremony of bringing back the novice after initiation is, according to the belief of the Kwakiutl, a repetition of the ceremony performed by the wolves when they attempted to bring back their novices.<sup>1</sup> Thus it resembles the ceremony of the Nootkas, in which the initiation of the novice is conducted by men disguised as wolves.<sup>2</sup>

Mythical explanation of the ceremony of bringing back the novice.

Another important Secret Society of the Kwakiutl is that of the Grizzly Bears (*Nane*). At initiation the members of this society are not taken away by the spirit, but are merely hidden in a corner of the house, whence at the proper moment they come forward to shew that they have been initiated. They are perhaps the most dreaded helpers of the Cannibals, for it is their duty, along with the Fool Dancers, to punish any breaches of the rules relating to the privileges of the Cannibals or to the winter ceremonial in general. The unfortunate transgressors were killed by the Bears and the Fool Dancers. They are also the watchers of the dancing house, and often, mustering on the roof, they frighten away people by their wild cries and threatening gestures. They always wear bear's claws on their hands and sometimes appear clad in bearskins. Their faces are painted in imitation of the huge mouth of a bear. Their head rings and necklaces are made of red and white cedar bark. In their dances they imitate the actions of a bear, walking on all fours, pawing or scratching the ground, sitting on their haunches, and growling.<sup>3</sup>

The Secret Society of the Grizzly Bears.

They wear bear's claws and sometimes bearskins and imitate bears.

The Fool Dancers (*Noontlematla* plural, *Nutlamatl* singular) form another important Secret Society of the Kwakiutl. They, like the Grizzly Bears, are messengers and helpers of the Cannibals and help to enforce the ceremonial customs. Their mode of doing so is to throw stones at people and hit them with sticks; in serious cases they stab and kill the offenders with spears and axes. They are supposed to be initiated by certain fabulous beings with very long noses and bodies covered with loathsome filth. Accordingly the Fool Dancers are thought to have very

The Secret Society of the Fool Dancers.

Their long noses and filthy habits.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," p. 538.

<sup>3</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 466 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 503, 504 sq.

long noses, and they are sensitive on the subject; the mere mention of a long nose excites them. In their persons they are exceedingly filthy; they dislike even to see clean and beautiful clothing, so they tear and soil it. They are supposed to be mad, and their behaviour does not bely the supposition, for they smash canoes, houses, kettles, and boxes, and play every wild prank conceivable. However, at the end of the dancing season they must indemnify the owners of all the property they have destroyed. They carry spears and clubs with which to despatch offenders, and in dancing they wear masks with long and curiously rounded noses. When any one wishes to be initiated into this madcap society, he begins to scratch his head and body violently, which is taken as a sign that he is inspired by the spirit of the winter dance. After four days he is confined in the corner of the house, and comes out as a full-blown member at the next dance. When a young man is to be initiated into this loathsome order, the old members will take filth from their noses and fling it at him, which is believed to "throw the spirit of the winter ceremonial into him."<sup>1</sup>

Their ex-  
travagant  
behaviour.

Initiation  
into the  
society.

The Ghost  
Society. At  
initiation  
the novice  
is supposed  
to descend  
into the  
nether  
world and  
to receive  
super-  
natural  
power from  
Ghosts.

Members of the Ghost Society are supposed to be initiated by the ghosts and to receive magical or supernatural powers from them. Hence the ghost dancer wears a head-ring and a necklace set with skulls. The dance represents a visit to the world of ghosts under the earth. Elaborate preparations are made for it. A ditch is dug behind the fire in the dancing-house, and speaking-tubes made of kelp are laid under the floor of the house so as to terminate in the fire. The ghost dancer, roped to an attendant, goes round the fire four times summoning the ghosts. After the fourth round he slowly disappears in the ditch near the fire. The people try to hold him back by pulling at the rope, but in vain; down he sinks into the ground. Then many voices are heard coming from the fire and saying that the ghosts have carried off the dancer, but that after so many days he will come back. However, these are not really the voices of the ghosts, they are merely the voices of people speaking from their

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 468 *sq.*

bedrooms through the kelp tubes. When the time for the dancer to return has come, an effigy of a ghost is seen to rise from the ground carrying the lost dancer. He sings this song :—

*I went down to the under world with the chief of the ghosts. Therefore I have supernatural power.  
The chief of the ghosts made me dance. Therefore I have supernatural power.  
He put a beautiful ornament on to my forehead. Therefore I have supernatural power.*

The Ghost Society is said to rank as high as the Cannibal Society but to be opposed to it.<sup>1</sup>

The Kwakiutl have two Wolf dances, one called *Walasaxa* and the other *Tlokoala*. In the *Walasaxa* dance all the men of the tribe dress in blankets and head-dresses representing the wolf. They hide behind a curtain stretched across the rear of the house, and when the singers begin to sing, the pretended wolves come out and march four times round the fire. On the fourth circuit they squat down and imitate the motions of wolves. The *Tlokoala* Wolf Dance corresponds almost exactly to the *Tlokoala* of the Nootkas.<sup>2</sup> The dancers wear frontlets consisting of small carved images of a wolf's head. It is said that the dance is derived from the wolves. The legend runs thus. The sons of the chief of the wolves were preparing to be initiated, when Mink found and killed them. So he obtained their names and places in accordance with the rule that names and all the privileges connected with them may be obtained by killing the owner of the name, either in war or by murder. The slayer has then the right to put his own successor in the place of his slain enemy. In this manner names and customs have often spread from tribe to tribe. So when Mink had killed the sons of the wolf chief he came back wearing the wolf's scalp as a head mask. Three times he danced round the fire, covering his face and his head with his

Two Wolf Dances of the Kwakiutl.

Dance of men disguised as wolves round the fire.

Legend of the origin of the *Tlokoala* Wolf Dance.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 482 sq. ; *id.*, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp.

64, 68-70 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 503, 504 sq.

blanket. Then the fourth time he uncovered himself and thus shewed that he had killed the wolves. All the animals tried to kill him, but they could not. So Mink obtained the wolf's name and the wolf's supernatural power (*ilokoala*). The Wolf dancer sings a song which is intended to excite the Fool Dancers; for the Fool Dancers are thought to be friends of the wolf chiefs whom Mink killed.<sup>1</sup>

The Salmon Society of the Kwakiutl. In their dance the members of the society imitate the leap of the salmon and sing a salmon song.

Some of the Kwakiutl have also a Salmon Society, the members of which dance the Salmon Dance. The novice who is to be initiated into the society disappears and stays in the woods for several months. When he is brought back, the people hide all the eagle down, the symbol of wealth, but put it on when he enters in token that the salmon brings affluence. The amount of property distributed by the novice's father at initiation is as large as that which is needed for the initiation of a Cannibal. The dance is meant to imitate the leaping of the salmon, and the dancer sings the following song:—

*Many salmon are coming ashore with me.*

*They are coming ashore to you, the post of our heaven.*

*They are dancing from the salmon's country to the shore.*

*I come to dance before you at the right-hand side of the world, overtowering, outshining, surpassing all; I, the salmon.*

Another song sung by a salmon dancer runs thus:—

*The salmon came to search for a dancer.*

*He came and put his supernatural power into him.*

*You have supernatural power. Therefore the chief of the salmon came from beyond the ocean. The people praise you, for they cannot carry the weight of your wealth.*<sup>2</sup>

The dance seems intended to multiply salmon by magic.

These songs seem to shew that the salmon dancer by dancing his Salmon Dance, in which he imitates the leaping of the fish, is supposed to produce a plentiful catch of salmon, the staple food of the tribe. If that is so, the Salmon Society of the Kwakiutl discharges a function like that discharged by the totemic clans of Central Australia, who multiply the edible

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 477-479; *id.*, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 68 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). As

to the rule that a man may obtain a name and the privileges which go with it by killing its owner, see Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 474 sq.

animals and plants by their magical ceremonies in order to ensure a supply of food for the community.<sup>1</sup>

Many other Secret Societies with their dances there are among the Kwakiutl, but it would be tedious and perhaps superfluous to enumerate them. I will conclude this account by noticing two dances which seem to be danced only by women.

In the *Kominoka* Society of the Kwakiutl the novice, whether a girl or a woman, disappears into the woods to be initiated by the mighty spirit *Baxbakualanuxsiwae*, who also initiates the Cannibals. When she is brought back by the spirit, her hair appears to be falling out and her head is covered with blood, or what looks like blood, because it has been torn by the spirit. In each hand she carries a skull. At the sight the Cannibals cry "*Hap!*" and dance up to her in their characteristic squatting attitude, eager to devour the heads she is carrying. The other members, present and past, of the society join in the dance and make as if they too were carrying heads. Thus she dances into the house, always surrounded by the Cannibals, who at last take the skulls from her hands, lick them, and eat the maggots and the dry skin which adheres to the grinning bones.<sup>2</sup>

Another dance danced by Kwakiutl women is called *Toquit*. The upper part of the dancer's body is naked; hemlock boughs are tied round her waist. The warriors before going on an expedition used to repair to the forest to meet the double-headed snake *Sisiutl*, which gives them great strength and power. After returning from the woods they engage a woman to dance the *Toquit*. Very elaborate arrangements are made for this dance. A double-headed snake, about twenty feet long, is made of wood, blankets, and skins and is hidden in a long ditch partly covered with boards. Strings are attached to it, which pass over the beams of the house and are worked by men concealed in the bedrooms. As soon as the dancer appears, the people begin to sing and beat time. In dancing the woman acts

The  
*Kominoka*  
Society of  
Kwakiutl  
women.

The *Toquit*  
Dance of  
Kwakiutl  
women.

Effigy  
of the  
mythical  
double-  
headed  
snake  
(*Sisiutl*).

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 104-112, 183-185, 214 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 462 *sq.* The

appearance of streaming blood and falling hair on the head of the novice is produced by alder juice and some loose tresses.

as though she were trying to catch something, and when she is supposed to have got it, she throws her hands back. Then the huge serpent rises out of the ground, wagging its two heads. If it does not move properly, the Cannibals, the Fool Dancers, the Bears and others jump up and drive the spectators out of the room, biting and striking them. Finally the serpent disappears again into the ditch. Next a messenger calls upon one of the attendants to kill the dancer. This he does apparently by driving a wedge through her head and splitting it open with a paddle, so that the blood streams down. But these are only clever conjuring tricks. Sometimes a pretence is made of burning her in the fire; but by means of a double-bottomed box a corpse has been adroitly substituted for her and burned in her stead. The bones are afterwards raked out of the ashes and laid on a new mat. For four days the people chant over them. At last the bones themselves are heard to sing with the woman's voice. This trick is played by means of a speaking-tube laid underground from the woman's bedroom to the mat on which the bones are deposited. Next morning the woman is seen to be alive.<sup>1</sup> Apparently the belief, or the pretence, is that she has been raised from the dead by the incantations chanted over her bones. The whole ceremony thus affords another example of the simulated death and resurrection which is so common a feature in the rites of Secret Societies.

Pretence of killing the dancer and bringing her to life again.

J. Dunn's account of the Kwakiutl ceremonies at Milbank Sound in 1833 and 1834.

These Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl are so curious and interesting that it may be well to quote an early description of some of their ceremonies, as these were observed near Fort M'Loughlin, on Milbank Sound, in 1833 and 1834. The writer, John Dunn, was an agent of the Hudson Bay Company, living and travelling for years among the Indians of this coast from the Columbia River northward. He calls the Indians of Milbank Sound by the name of Belbellahs, or, as the word is now spelled, Bellabellas. They are a Kwakiutl tribe, and their name Bellabella is said to be a mere Indian corruption of the English word Milbank.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 67 (*Report of the British Association*,

Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

<sup>2</sup> *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 140 sq.

Mr. Dunn's description of what he saw and heard is perhaps not the less valuable because it is untinged by theory. He writes as follows :—

“ In the winter months these, as well as the neighbouring tribes, assemble in great numbers in the chief's house, for the purpose of witnessing the chief imitate different spirits, whom they are supposed to worship. He puts on, at intervals, different dresses ; and large masks, of different kinds, entirely covering his head and neck. The masks are made to open the mouth and eyes by means of secret springs, invisible to the spectators ; and different noises are sent forth. He dresses for each character behind a large curtain, drawn quite across the room, like the drop curtain in a theatre ; and then comes forth, and stands on a sort of stage in front of it, while the spectators are ranged on benches placed along the side walls. In one of his characters he imitates the rising sun, which they believe to be a shining man, wearing a radiated crown, and continually walking round the earth, which is stationary. He wears, on this occasion, a most splendid dress of ermine, and other valuable furs ; and a curiously constructed mask, set round with seals' whiskers, and feathers, which gradually expand like a fan ; and from the top of the mask swan-down is shaken out in great quantities, according as he moves his head. The expanding seals' bristles and feathers represent the sun's rays ; and the showers of down, rain and snow ; the Indians chaunting at the same time, in regular order and in a low key, showing reverence, awe, and devotion.

Public ceremonies in which the chief imitates various spirits, wearing the appropriate masks and costumes.

Imitation of the rising sun.

Imitation of a snow-shower.

“ Sometimes the various divine personages are represented by one man ; sometimes there are two or three personators on the stage all at once, representing different divinities. Our men were often invited to witness these religious exhibitions ; but the greatest silence, attention, and decorum were expected from them. Our attendance they considered a high compliment ; and they invariably made us presents, generally of skins, before we departed. One of our people, a half-breed, a funny volatile boy, son of Mr. Manson, used to imitate, on a sort of many barred fife, the noise made by the sacerdotal chiefs on the stage. The Indians, when they used to come to the fort and hear this, seemed much amazed ;

Sometimes several actors take part in these sacred dramas.

and often begged of me to check him. After the conclusion of the ceremony they have a feast, consisting generally of seals' and dogs' flesh, salmon, boiled and roast, and different kinds of berries. During the representation and the feast, there is a large wood-fire in the centre of the room.

"As I acquired a knowledge of their language, I was admitted to much of their personal confidence, and soon became interpreter.

At times the chief retires to solitude in the woods to hold converse with the Great Spirit.

"There is one very remarkable peculiarity of their religious customs which deserves to be noticed: and if I had not personal evidence of its reality, I should be slow to bring myself to a belief of its actual existence. The chief, who is supposed to possess the 'right divine' of governing, and to be the intermediate agent between the great solar spirit—the Creator and Supreme Ruler—and his creatures here below, retires at times, whenever he fancies himself summoned by the divine call, from the tribe, without giving them any previous intimation of his mission; and takes up his abode in the lonely woods and mountains, taking clandestinely with him a small stock of dried salmon for sustenance. When he is missed by his family, the report is spread abroad; and then it is known that he has gone to hold familiar converse with the Great Spirit, who will, within a short time, descend to give him an interview. Intelligence has then been procured, from the Indian who saw him last on that day, as to his route, and the district of the woods and hills to which he is likely to confine his wanderings; and a sacred boundary line is drawn round this district, within which it is a crime of profanation to pass, on hunting or fishing excursions, on pain of death. Should any unlucky Indian even meet this compound of chief and priest in his excursions, he is sure to be put to death; either by the chief himself, for he must be perfectly passive in the infuriated chief's hands; or, should the chief in his abstracted mood not attack him, he must, on his return to the tribe, acknowledge the guilt, and resign himself a voluntary victim. Should he conceal the fact of his meeting the chief, and should the chief, on his return, charge him with the fact, then he would undergo the most shocking torture. The duration of the chief's absence on this mission is irregular

In his solitary musings no man may meet him under pain of death.

—at least it is long enough to exhaust his small stock of food, even with the utmost economy. It is often three weeks. When hunger pinches him (and he generally selects the most desert and dreary region, destitute of esculent fruits or roots) his imagination becomes inflamed; and what was before religion or superstition, becomes now frenzy; during which the fancied interview with the Great Spirit occurs. He returns at last to the village, the most hideous object in nature, with matted hair, shrunken cheeks, blood-shot eyes, and parched lips—his blanket, which is his sole covering, all hanging in shreds about him, torn by boughs and brambles—his face all begrimed with filth; animated with all the unnatural ferocity of a demoniac. His return is by night, and as uncertain as his departure. He does not first arrive, generally, at his own house: but rushes to some other, according to the blind caprice of his wildness; and instead of entering it by the door, he ascends the roof, tears off one of the cedar-board coverings, and plunges down into the centre of the family circle; he then springs on one of the full grown inmates, like a famished wolf—wrenches with his teeth a mouthful of his flesh, from his limbs or body, which he convulsively bolts down, without any process of mastication, but barely chopping the lump once or twice for the purpose of easier deglutition. No resistance is made, for the sufferer thinks that he has been ordered by the Great Spirit to yield up a part of his flesh and blood, as a sort of peace or sin offering to the priest. The chief then rushes to another house in the same way, and makes the same hurried repast. He continues this process along other houses; until, in a few hours, he becomes exhausted, from the quantity of human living flesh that he has devoured. He is then taken home in a state of torpor; and thus remains, like an overgorged beast of prey, for a couple of days. After his resuscitation he is languid and sickly; and, as he must not partake of the usual food for a certain time after he has got his fill of the human sacrifice, he goes on but slowly to convalescence.

“I have been, more than once, in close connexion with one of these chiefs, after his restoration; and his breath was like an exhalation from a grave. The wounds inflicted

On his return to the village, haggard, emaciated, and frenzied, he goes from house to house biting people and bolting their flesh till, gorged and torpid, he can eat no more.

The persons whom he bites in his

frenzy are supposed to be consecrated, and they are proud of their wounds, though they sometimes die of them.

by his bite, though held as sacred trophies, often prove mortal. Their mode of cure is this:—They apply eagle-down as a stiptic to check the hemorrhage; and then apply a plaster, made of pine-tree gum. Several of the wounded and consecrated persons, after we established our fort, finding their own mode of treatment ineffectual, came to our surgeon (applying to me first as interpreter) to have their rankling sores healed. They used to present a most hideous appearance; being jagged and torn, and often showing the clear indentations of the human teeth; and besides the fetor issuing from them was most noxious. The daughter of one of the chiefs (who practised this abomination), the wife of one of our men, told me that her father, on his return to the village, after his sojourn in the woods and mountains, met an Indian on whom he flew, and whose side he continued to bite and devour until his bowels protruded. The Indian made no resistance; and when the chief ran off, he crawled to the village; and though every effort was made to heal his wounds, they were found to be too mortal for human remedy. He died soon afterwards, in their idea, a consecrated person. So much importance and pride do these Indians attach to these lacerations, that the youngsters, who have not had the good fortune to be thus scarred, apply lighted gunpowder to their limbs; and use other means to produce a holy gash.”<sup>1</sup>

### § 6. *Secret Societies among the Tsimshians*

The Secret Societies of the Tsimshians. Dawson's account of them.

To the north of the Kwakiutl the system of Secret Societies exists among the tribes which are divided into totemic clans of the normal type. The institution as it exists among the Tsimshians or Tshimsians is described as follows by Dr. G. M. Dawson:—

“There are among the neighbouring Tshimsians four ‘religions,’ or systems of rites of a religious character. These have no relation to the totems, but divide the tribe on different lines. They are known as (1) *Sim-ha-lait*,

<sup>1</sup> John Dunn, *History of the Oregon Territory* (London, 1844), pp. 253-259. These Indians are called

Belbellahs by the author (*op. cit.* p. 271).

(2) *Mi-hla*, (3) *Nov-hlem*, (4) *Hop-pop*. The first is the simplest and seems to have no very distinctive rites. The central figure of the worship of the second was at Fort Simpson a little black image with long hair known as 'the only one above.' The third are 'dog-eaters,' a portion of their rite consisting in killing and cutting, or tearing to pieces, dogs, and eating the flesh. They eat in reality, however, as little of the flesh as they can, quietly disposing of the bulk of it when out of sight. The *hop-pop* or 'cannibals' are those who, in a state of real or pretended frenzy, bite flesh out of the extended arms of the people of the village as a part of their rite. When they issue forth for this purpose they utter cries like *hop-pop*—whence their name. On this sound being heard all but those of the same religion get out of the way if they can, frequently pushing off in canoes for this purpose. Those of the same creed, and brave, resolutely extend their arms to be bitten. A man may belong to more than one religion, and is in some cases even forced to become initiated into a second. If, for instance, one should pass where dog-eaters are holding a solemn conclave, he may be seized and initiated as a dog-eater *nolens volens*. Great hardships are sometimes endured during initiation. The more savage religions pretend to mysterious supernatural powers, and go to great pains sometimes to delude the common people, or those of other creeds. At Fort Simpson, for instance, a young chief was on one occasion carefully buried in the ground beforehand. When discovered the operators were pulling at a rope, and were supposed to be drawing the chief underground from the back of an island some way off. The rope after a time breaking, great apparent excitement occurs among the operators, who say the chief is now lost, but catching sticks begin to dig in the ground, and soon unearth him to the great amazement of the vulgar. In this case, however, the cold and cramped attitude so affected the chief that he was lame for life. They instil the truth of such stories especially in the minds of the young, who firmly believe in them. At Fort Simpson, in former days, they have even got up such things as an artificial whale, in some way formed on a canoe. This appeared suddenly on the

Six religious societies.

The Dog-Eaters kill and devour dogs.

The Cannibals bite flesh out of people's arms and bolt it.

Members of the more savage societies pretend to mysterious supernatural powers and resort to various devices in order to support the pretence in the minds of the ignorant vulgar.

bay, seemingly swimming along, with a little child on its back.”<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Boas's account of initiation into a Secret Society of the Tsimshians. The novice is supposed to go to heaven, and on his return he appears floating on an artificial monster of the sort which forms the crest of the society.

The ceremony of initiation into a Secret Society of the Tsimshian is described by Dr. Boas as follows:—“During the dancing season a feast is given, and while the women are dancing the novice is suddenly said to have disappeared. It is supposed that he goes to heaven. If he is a child, he stays away four days; youths remain about six days, and grown-up persons several months. Chiefs are supposed to stay in heaven during the fall and the entire winter. When this period has elapsed, they suddenly reappear near the beach, carried by an artificial monster belonging to their crest. Then all the members of the secret society to which the novice is to belong gather and walk down in grand procession to the beach to fetch the child. At this time his parents bring presents, particularly elk skins, strung upon a rope as long as the procession, to be given at a subsequent feast. The people surround the novice and lead him into every house in order to show that he has returned. Then he is taken to the house of his parents, and a large bunch of cedar bark is fastened over the door to show that the house is tabooed and nobody is allowed to enter. The chief sings while the cedar bark is being fastened. In the afternoon the sacred house is prepared for the dance. A section in the rear of the house is divided off by means of curtains; it is to serve as a stage on which the dancers and the novice appear. When all is ready, messengers, carrying large carved batons, are sent around to invite the members of the society, the chief first. The women sit down in one row, nicely dressed up in button blankets and their faces painted red. The chief wears the *amhalait*—a carving rising from the forehead, set with sea-lion barbs, and with a long drapery of ermine skins—the others, the cedar bark rings of their societies. Then the women begin to dance. After a while a prominent man rises to deliver a speech. He says: ‘All of you know that our novice went up to heaven; then he made a mistake and has been returned; now you will see him.’ Then he begins the

Masked dance representing the novice in heaven surrounded by the spirits.

<sup>1</sup> G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878* (Montreal, 1880), p. 125 B.

song; the curtain is drawn and masked dancers are seen surrounding the novice and representing the spirits which he has encountered in heaven. At the same time eagle down is blown into the air. After the dance is over the presents which were strung on the rope are distributed among the members of the secret society.

"The novice has a beautifully painted room set apart for his use. He remains naked during the dancing season. He must not look into the fire. He must abstain from food and drink, and is only allowed to moisten his lips occasionally. He wears his head ring continually. After the ceremonies are all finished the festival of 'clothing the novice' is celebrated. He sits in his room quietly singing while the people assemble in the house. His song is heard to grow louder, and at last he makes his appearance. He has put off his ring of red cedar bark. Then the people try to throw a bear skin over him, which they succeed in doing only after a severe struggle. All the societies take part in this feast, each sitting grouped together. The uninitiated stand at the door. This ends the ceremonies."<sup>1</sup>

Rules observed by the novice for some time after initiation.

### § 7. *Secret Societies among the Niskas*

The Niska Indians, who inhabit the valley of the Nass River, except its upper course, speak one of the chief dialects of the Tsimshian language and their customs are practically identical with those of the Tsimshians.<sup>2</sup> They have six Secret Societies, which rank in the following order: —*Semhalait*, *Meitla*, *Lotlem*, *Olala*, *Nanestat*, and *Honanatl*, the last of these being the highest. The ceremonies are said to have been derived from the Bellabellas, a Kwakiutl tribe on Milbank Sound,<sup>3</sup> and this tradition is confirmed by the names of the Secret Societies, for with the exception of the first these are all Kwakiutl words. The *Olala* is a Cannibal Society corresponding to the *Hamatsa* of the

The six Secret Societies of the Niskas, a Tsimshian tribe.

The Cannibal Society.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 659 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 48 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 532.

Kwakiutl, and the members utter the same characteristic cry of "*Hap!*" which is a Kwakiutl word meaning "eating."<sup>1</sup>

The  
*Semhalait*  
Society.

The *Semhalait* Society is the lowest in rank; its ceremonies are not confined to the winter. A person joins it when he obtains the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the appropriate ceremony. The ceremonies of the other societies take place in December. The badges of the societies are made of cedar-bark dyed red in a decoction of alder-bark. For each repetition of the ceremony a new ring is added to the head ornament of the dancer. In the *Meilla* Society these rings are alternately red and white, twisted together.

Only a  
limited  
number of  
places in a  
society.

There are only a limited number of places in the societies, and a new member can be admitted only when he inherits the place of a deceased member, or if a living member voluntarily transfers his place to him. If such a transference is to take place, the consent of the chiefs of the clans must first be obtained. Then one evening the chiefs during a feast surround the youth and act as though they had caught the spirit of the society in their hands and throw it upon the novice. The youth faints, and the members of the society carry him round the fire and then throwing him upward shew to the people that he is lost. After some time, when the novice is expected back, the people assemble in the house, and all the members of the nobility try to bring him back by the help of their spirits. In order to do this they dance in all their finery, sometimes wearing the masks of their guardian spirits (*neqnok*). For example, if a man has the Spirit of Sleep for his guardian spirit, he will endeavour to bring back the lost novice by means of it. He will lie down as if overcome with sleep wearing a mask with shut eyes. Then a chief steps up to him and tries to awake him by hauling the drowsiness out of him with both his hands. Upon that the eyes of the mask open and roll about, while the pretended sleeper rises to his feet. The chief who took the drowsiness out of him

The dis-  
appearance  
of the  
novice,  
and the  
attempts to  
bring him  
back.

The Spirit  
of Sleep.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 54 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social

Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 651 sq.

asks whether he shall try to put the people to sleep, and on being bidden to do so he throws his hands open, as if to allow the captured Spirit of Sleep to escape. So it enters the people and they shut their eyes as if fast asleep. After a time he gathers up the spirit again, and the people awake and sing, "Oh! how sleepy we are! Oh! how sleepy we are!" In that way the Spirit of Sleep proves his power and his presence, and he is asked to bring the novice back.

Thus one man after another tries to lure the lost youth back to his friends. If he does not come back by midnight, they break off and resume the ceremony next night. Early in the morning a killer-whale or some other animal, or rather an effigy of it worked by ropes, is seen floating on the river with the missing novice on its back. The people go forth to see him. Members of the *Lotlem* Society embark in a canoe and paddle, singing, to meet him. They take him on board their canoe and destroy the whale float which carried him. Meantime all the people have been chased into their houses by a member of the *Lotlem* Society who wears a bearskin. When the novice lands, he runs up and down the village street like one distracted, and the Cannibals follow him biting any of the profane who dare to leave their houses. The novice catches a dog, tears it to pieces, and devours it as he roams from house to house. Then they enter the house of the novice, which becomes tabooed. A rope hung with red cedar-bark is stretched from the door of the house to a pole set up on the beach, so as to prevent people from passing in front of the house. Next day, however, four men dressed in bearskins, with rings of red cedar-bark on their heads, go from house to house inviting the people to come and see the dance of the novice and to learn his songs. After he has danced his dance before them, his uncle pays the chiefs who tried to bring him back, and he distributes blankets among the other people also. A feast of berries and grease ends the ceremony, after which the novice is called "a perfect man."<sup>1</sup>

Reappear-  
ance of the  
novice  
floating on  
an artificial  
whale or  
other  
monster.

He tears  
and de-  
vours a  
dog.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 54, 56 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social

Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 651, 654-657.

Initiation into the Cannibal Society. Pretence of killing the novice.

An Indian who had been initiated into the Cannibal (*Olala*) Society gave the following account of his initiation. During the festival at which the ceremony was to take place his friends drew their knives and pretended to kill him, cutting off the head of a dummy which was adroitly substituted for the living youth, while he slipped quietly away. Then they laid down the pretended corpse and covered it, and the women began to mourn and wail. The relations of the novice gave a feast, distributed blankets, slaves, canoes, and copper shields, and burnt the body. In short, they held a regular funeral for their professedly dead kinsman. After his disappearance the novice resorted to a grave, took out a body, and lay with it all night wrapt in a blanket. In the morning he put the body back in the grave. He continued to do so for some time "in order to acquire courage." All this time and for a year afterwards he might not be seen by any member of the tribe except by the members of his own society, the Cannibals (*Olala*). Finally, a year after his disappearance, his nephew invited all the tribes to bring him back. The ceremony resembled the one which has just been described. The novice appeared borne by an effigy of his totem animal.

The novice resorts to a grave and lies with the corpse.

Return of the novice.

The novices brought back by effigies of animals.

Some of the Niska Indians at initiation are brought back by the figure of a killer-whale, as we have seen; others are brought back by the effigy of a bear; others, again, appear on the back of an eagle which rises from the ground; while others come back riding on a frog. Sometimes the novice shews himself on a headland carrying a corpse in his arms and then appears to walk on the water across the bay to the village, the trick being performed by means of a submerged raft, which is hauled by the members of his society. On reaching the village he lands and eats of the corpse which he carries; formerly, too, one or other of the chiefs used to kill a slave and throw the body to the Cannibals, who devoured it. It is said that before eating human flesh the Cannibals always use emetics, and that afterwards they tickle their throats with feathers to make them vomit. Also after biting people they chew the bark of 'devil's club,' which acts as a purgative.

At the festivals which take place during the dancing

season the Cannibal receives his share of food first, and nobody may eat till he has begun to eat. He has a dish and spoon of his own, which are wound with bark. When he hears the word "ghost" (*lolek*), he grows excited and begins to bite again. When he ceases to bite and devour men, a heavy ring of red cedar-bark is placed round his neck and he is led slowly round the fire. This is called "making him heavy" and is intended to prevent his flying away and growing excited again. In his dances the Cannibal (*Olala*), among all the northern tribes, wears a head-dress representing a corpse. The whistles which are used to imitate the cry of the Cannibal Spirit are large and give out a deep, hollow sound. They are all carved or painted with the design of a death's head. Some are attached to bellows and being carried under the arm, concealed by a blanket, can be blown by pressure without being seen. The rattles carried by the companions of the Cannibal also shew a death's head. When members of the *Nanestat* and *Honanatl* Societies are in a state of ecstasy, they throw fire-brands about and destroy canoes, houses, and anything they can lay hands on.<sup>1</sup> These wild acts are no doubt attributed to the inspiration of the spirit.

Customs of the Cannibal Society.

The whistles and rattles.

In olden times the appearance of the artificial totem animal, or of the guardian spirit, was considered a matter of great importance, and any blunder which allowed the uninitiated to detect the pious fraud was a misfortune which could only be atoned for by the death of the clumsy manipulators of the sacred machinery. For example, in the Heiltsuk tribe three brothers once invited all the tribes, including the Tsimshians, to a festival. The eldest brother was to return from the bottom of the sea. When the guests arrived on the scene of action in their canoes, they landed and stood or sat on the beach awaiting the emergence of the modern Jonah. Soon there was a bubbling and disturbance of the water at some distance from the shore; a rock, or what looked like a rock, covered with kelp rose to

In old times, when the novice was brought back by an effigy of the totem animal or guardian spirit, any mistake in handling the machinery which allowed the uninitiated to detect the pious fraud was punished with death.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 57 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social

Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 653, 654, 657-659.

the surface, and from it stepped sure enough the lost brother, decked with his ceremonial head-dress. He danced his dance and then sank with the rock beneath the waves. Once more he emerged from the water, danced his dance, and sank, this time to rise no more. The ropes which regulated the movements of the rock, or rather of the raft, had become entangled, and though the workers of the oracle, concealed in the recesses of the woods, tugged and sweated away, they could not disentangle them, and the man was drowned. His family put a brave face on it and gave out, with a certain measure of truth, that their departed kinsman had stayed with the spirit at the bottom of the sea. They celebrated the rest of the festival with outward calm. But when it was over and the guests were gone, all the members of the family marched to the top of a cliff overhanging deep water. There they roped themselves together, sang the cradle song of their family, and leaping from the brow of the cliff rejoined their drowned brother in the bottom of the sea.<sup>1</sup>

### § 8. *Secret Societies among the Haidas*

Secret Societies of the Haidas, each with its guardian spirit.

The Haidas of Queen Charlotte Islands have a number of Secret Societies, each presided over by its guardian spirit. Among these guardian spirits are the Cannibal Spirit (*Ulala*), the Grizzly Bear Spirit, the Wolf Spirit, the Dog-eating Spirit, the Fire-throwing Spirit, the Club-bearing Spirits, the Dress Spirit, and the Wrestling Spirit. The whole body of those who belong to these Secret Societies are denominated by a general name meaning "the Inspired," because they are supposed to be inspired by their guardian spirits. But apart from having been initiated and inspired by the same spirit, it does not appear that there is any bond of union between the members of a Secret Society; hence Mr. J. R. Swanton, our authority on this subject, prefers to treat all the so-called inspired or initiated as forming a single Secret Society, notwithstanding the difference between the various spirits by which a man might be initiated into it. The traditions, and all the

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 58 sq. (*Report of the*

*British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

other evidence, point to the conclusion that the Haidas have borrowed the Secret Society or Societies from the Tsimshians or the Bellabellas. Apparently the introduction of the Societies took place not much earlier than the year 1700. Dances of the Secret Societies were an indispensable accompaniment of a *potlatch*, that is, of a festival attended by a distribution of property to the guests; and these dances were never performed on any other occasion.<sup>1</sup>

These societies seem to have been borrowed by the Haidas from the Tsimshians or Bellabellas.

The ceremonies at the initiation of a Cannibal (*Ulala*) consisted of the usual medley of savagery and fraud. The novice bit the arms of people, and a pretence was made of killing him and bringing him to life again. His family wept crocodile tears over his seemingly dead body, then sang a spirit-song, and soon he reappeared from behind a curtain, alive and well, with a mask on his head. Even more dreaded than the inspired Cannibals were the inspired Fire-Throwers, from whose assaults people sought shelter behind boards.<sup>2</sup> The Dog-eating Spirit inspired both men and women, and moved by the spirit they killed dogs and devoured them as they walked along, but people were not afraid of them.<sup>3</sup> A man high in rank could be inspired by a new spirit at each successive *potlatch*, provided that none of these spirits was owned by a chief of the other clan. Among the Southern Haidas a man who had been inspired ten times was free to do what he liked.<sup>4</sup>

The initiation of a Cannibal.

The Dog-eating Spirit.

### § 9. Secret Societies among the Tinnehs

Among the Western Tinnehs or Dénés we find that the tribe of the Carriers possessed what Father A. G. Morice calls "honorific totems" in addition to the totems of their four clans. These "honorific totems" appear to have been of the nature of guardian spirits, so that all persons who had the same guardian spirit may perhaps be said to have constituted a Secret Society, though that is not affirmed by Father Morice. He tells us that the "honorific totem" was

Father Morice on "honorific totems" among the Carriers. These totems seem to have been the guardian spirits of individuals.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida* (Leyden and New York, 1905), pp. 156, 160 sq., 181.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* pp. 163-170.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 161.

personal to a man and did not pass to his descendants. It was voluntarily assumed by any person who wished to raise himself in the social scale; and certain initiatory ceremonies appropriate to the particular "honorific totem" had to be observed. Thus if a man wished to acquire the Bear as his "honorific totem," he would strip himself, don a bearskin, and thus attired would spend three or four days in the woods, "in deference to the wonts of his intended totem animal." Every night a party of his fellow-villagers would go out to search for him, and to their loud calls he would answer by growling in imitation of a bear. As a rule he could not be found but had to come back of himself. When he did so, he was apprehended and led to the ceremonial lodge, where he danced his first bear-dance along with all the other totem people, each of whom then personated his own particular totem. Afterwards followed a *potlatch*, that is, a feast accompanied by a distribution of property, at which the newly initiated Bear presented his captor with a newly dressed skin. Amongst the "honorific totems" or guardian spirits was one called a "darding knife." The initiation ceremony at acquiring this particular "honorific totem" included a simulated death and resurrection. A lance was prepared with a hollow shaft so arranged that the least pressure on the lance-head caused it to sink into the shaft. This being thrust at the bare chest of the novice seemed to penetrate his body; he fell down and blood gushed from his mouth, though not from his wound. While the uninitiated gaped, one of those in the secret struck up a particular chant, at the sound of which the seemingly dead man gradually came back to life. He had to pay the songster a handsome fee for his resurrection.

The  
"honorific  
totem" of  
the Bear.

The  
"honorific  
totem"  
of the  
"Darding  
Knife"; the  
initiation  
ceremony  
includes  
a pretence  
of death  
and re-  
surrection.

List of the  
"honorific  
totems" or  
guardian  
spirits of  
the clans.

Of these "honorific totems" or guardian spirits there were many; each of the four totem clans had its own, which could not be adopted by members of another clan. Some of these "honorific totems" are now forgotten. The following were remembered down to 1892:—

1. In the Grouse clan there were the Owl, the Moose, the Weasel, the Crane, the Wolf, the Brook Trout, the Full Moon, the "Darding Knife," and the "Rain of Stones."

2. In the Beaver clan there was the Mountain Goat.

3. In the Toad clan there were the Sturgeon, the Porcupine, the Wolverine, the Red-headed Woodpecker, the Cattle, the Arrow, and the *Teltsa*, a fabulous animal like a gigantic toad, with large bulging eyes.

4. In the Grizzly Bear clan there was the Goose.

The connexion of a man with his "honorific totem" or guardian spirit appeared especially at ceremonial dances, when the man, attired if possible in the spoils of the animal, personated it before an admiring assembly. "On all such occasions, man and totem were also called by the same name."<sup>1</sup>

Personation of the "honorific totem" in ceremonial dances.

### § 10. *Observations on the Secret Societies of the North American Indians*

From the foregoing account of the Religious Associations or Secret Societies of the North American Indians it will be seen that they present a number of resemblances to totemic clans. For they are commonly called after animals, and in some cases members of the societies will not kill the animal after which their own particular society is named.<sup>2</sup> Further, on ceremonial occasions the members usually dress in the skins, wear the masks, and imitate the gait and voice of their tutelary animals, thus identifying themselves with the creatures in a fashion characteristic of totemism. Moreover, members of these associations are regularly supposed to be endowed with supernatural or magical power, and this power they sometimes exercise for the public benefit, just as members of totemic clans in Central Australia and elsewhere perform magical ceremonies for the multiplication of game, the making of rain, and so forth. Thus the members of a Buffalo Society among the Omahas make rain in time of drought;<sup>3</sup> and the Grand Master of the Secret Society of the Maidus not only makes rain but multiplies salmon and edible acorns for the good of the community.<sup>4</sup> Again, members of the Salmon Society among the Kwakiutl imitate the leap of the salmon and

Resemblances between the Secret Societies and totemic clans.

<sup>1</sup> Father A. G. Morice, "Notes, Archæological, Industrial, and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv.

(1892-93) pp. 203-206.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 470, 484.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 462.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 493.

The chief difference between Secret Societies and totemic clans is that the latter are hereditary and the former are not. Yet this distinction does not always hold good.

Resemblance between the mode of joining a Secret Society and the mode of acquiring a guardian spirit.

Resemblance of graduated Secret Societies to age-grades.

sing a salmon song for the purpose, apparently, of increasing the number of the fish and thereby ensuring an abundant supply of food.<sup>1</sup> The chief difference between a Secret Society and a totemic clan is that, whereas the totemic clans are hereditary and every person is born into one or other of them, admission to the Secret Societies is acquired by each individual for himself or herself by means of an imaginary interview with the patron spirit of the society in a dream; hence, while the bond between members of a totemic clan is one of kinship or blood, the bond between members of a Secret Society is participation in a common vision or spiritual revelation. Yet even this distinction between the two institutions sometimes breaks down; for we have seen that in some tribes of North-West America the right to be initiated in certain Secret Societies is hereditary.<sup>2</sup> But hereditary Secret Societies, named after animals and mimicking them in costume, gait, and voice, are not far removed from totemic clans.

Further, the usual mode in which a man or woman becomes a member of a Secret Society is very like the mode in which a person regularly acquires a guardian spirit or what I formerly called an individual totem. In both cases the novice is commonly believed to encounter the supernatural patron in a vision or dream and to receive from him certain supernatural or magical powers, which are highly valued and which confer a greater or less degree of social distinction on their owner. Indeed it would appear that the Secret Societies are essentially associations of persons who have received the same spiritual gifts from the same spirits; so that the disintegration of society, which such personal revelations are apt to engender, is counteracted by the union of all the votaries of the same supernatural patron in a single corporation.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes, as we have seen, the Secret Societies are graduated according to ages, and members pass from one to the other with advancing years.<sup>4</sup> Societies so graduated present an analogy to the age-grades of many savage tribes<sup>5</sup> and may perhaps have been developed out of them.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 530.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 513 *sq.*, 540.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 453 *sq.*, 460.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 470-473, 475, 477-481.

<sup>5</sup> For examples see above, vol. ii. 59-62, 412-416, 419, 431, 445 *sq.*

A very remarkable feature in the rites of initiation into many Secret Societies of North America is the pretence of killing the novice and bringing him to life again. Such a pretence appears natural enough when the Society into which he is to be initiated happens to be that of the Ghosts; for if he is to acquire the supernatural power of ghosts, the surest way of attaining that desirable end is to convert him into a ghost by killing him and so disengaging his pure spirit from its gross material clog, the body. But the simulation of death and resurrection is by no means limited to budding Ghosts; it is practised by many other societies, for example by the Wolf Society of the Nootkas and the Cannibal Society of the Niskas.<sup>1</sup> Its exact meaning is obscure. Elsewhere I have suggested that the intention of such ceremonies is to extract the soul of the novice from his body and to deposit it for safety in another place, whether in an animal or elsewhere, an interchange of life being effected so that, for example, the man dies as a man and revives as a wolf, while the wolf on the contrary dies as a wolf and comes to life as a man.<sup>2</sup> On this theory the man and the animal are both were-wolves; the man has in his body the soul of the wolf, and the wolf has in its body the soul of the man, and a sympathetic relation exists between the two such that whenever the one dies the other dies also. It is on this principle, for instance, that I would explain the bush souls of West Africa and the *maguats* of Central America.<sup>3</sup> The American facts which we have just passed in review lend some support to the theory; for the Nootka ceremony of initiation, which seems to imply that the novice is killed as a man and restored to life as a wolf,<sup>4</sup> may perhaps without undue straining be interpreted as an exchange of life or soul between a man and a wolf; and the custom of bringing back the novice after initiation on an effigy of an animal is possibly susceptible of a similar interpretation.<sup>5</sup> But the whole cycle of initiatory rites, as I have already pointed out,<sup>6</sup> stands sorely in need of elucidation.

A remarkable feature in the rites of initiation to many Secret Societies is the pretence of killing the novice and bringing him to life.

It has been suggested that the intention of such rites is to effect an exchange of life between a man and an animal, so that a sympathetic relation henceforth exists between them.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 505, 542.

vol. iii. pp. 443 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 422-446.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 504 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 537 *sq.*, 541, 542.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 593 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 458.

The personation of gods, spirits, and so forth, by masked actors constitutes a religious drama like that of ancient Greece. Under favourable circumstances this religious drama of the North American Indians might in time have developed into a purely secular theatre.

Lastly, it may be observed that the personation of gods, spirits, and other beings, whether natural or supernatural, by masked actors, and the representation of their myths by action, song, and dance, clearly constitute a religious drama analogous to that of ancient Greece. The intention of all such sacred dramas, we may assume, was primarily not to awe the people with the spectacle of a solemn pageant or to amuse them with grotesque buffoonery ; it was to accomplish certain high and serious objects, such as the acquisition of supernatural powers and the production of an adequate supply of food for the community. Nowhere among the aborigines of North America have such miracle plays, as we may call them, been staged and acted with so elaborate, indeed so gorgeous an apparatus of costumes and scenic effects as among the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico and the coast tribes of British Columbia ; nowhere, accordingly, is it so likely that these solemn religious rites would gradually have shrivelled or blossomed into a purely secular drama, if the course of evolution had not been cut short by the advent of the whites. The seed was sown ; it needed only time and favourable circumstances to spring up and bear the fine flower of art, whether in the desert air and under the blue skies of Arizona or in the rain-saturated forests of British Columbia.

## CHAPTER XXI

### TOTEMISM AMONG THE INDIANS OF CENTRAL AMERICA

#### § 1. *Totemism among the Indians of Costa Rica*

ON the Atlantic slope of Costa Rica there are three tribes of Indians, the Cabecars, the Bri-bris, and the Tiribis. Though they differ markedly in language, they are allied in their social, political, and religious institutions. The Cabecars inhabit the country from the frontiers of civilisation to the western side of the Coen branch of the Tiliri or Sicsola River. Adjoining them, the Bri-bris occupy the east side of the Coen, all the regions of the Lari, Uren, and Zhorquin and the valley lying round the mouths of these streams. The Tiribis live or lived in two villages on the Tilorio or Changinola River; but in the year 1875 their numbers were reduced to barely a hundred, and they may be now extinct. Physically, the Indians of these and the other tribes of Costa Rica bear a strong resemblance to each other. They are a short, broad-shouldered, heavily-built, and muscular race, with full chests and shapely limbs; they have the copper complexion of the North American Indians, perhaps a shade lighter in colour, though they live much nearer to the Equator. There seems to be little, if any, admixture of foreign blood in them. Nor should we expect to find it. They have lived aloof from foreigners, and it is only some eighty years since they ceased to wage open war on all intruders from the side of the sea. The Spanish occupation closed disastrously some two centuries ago, and was of too short duration, and the whites were too few, to

Indian  
tribes of  
Costa  
Rica, the  
Cabecars,  
Bri-bris,  
and Tiribis.

make a deep impression on what was then a populous country.<sup>1</sup>

The Cabecars, Bri-bris, and Tiribis appear all to have been divided into exogamous clans, and to have enforced the rule of exogamy with great severity. Not only marriage but sexual intercourse within the forbidden limits was punished by burying both the culprits alive. On this subject Mr. W. W. Gabb, one of the few authorities on the Indians of Costa Rica, writes as follows:—

“There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermarriage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers.

“Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of inter-

<sup>1</sup> Wm. W. Gabb, “On the Indian Tribes and Languages of Costa Rica,” *Proceedings of the American Philo-*

*sophical Society held at Philadelphia*, xiv. (Philadelphia, 1876) pp. 486 sq., 493.

Strict rule of exogamy.

The families or clans exogamous.

All marriages of cousins forbidden and formerly punished with death.

Care taken to ascertain consanguinity.

marriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

"As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations."<sup>1</sup>

The terms brother and sister extended to cousins, etc.

The custom mentioned by Mr. Gabb, of bestowing the names of "brother" and "sister" on cousins of all degrees points to the existence of the classificatory system of relationship among these tribes.

From a later account of these Indians we learn the names of many of the exogamous divisions of the Bri-bri. The tribe is divided into two exogamous classes or phratries, each of which is subdivided into a number of clans. To judge from their names, these clans appear to be totemic. The two classes or phratries are called *Tubor* and *Kork* or *Dχbar* respectively. As is implied in the statement that the phratries are exogamous, a man may not marry a woman of his own phratry; he may only take a wife from the other. Thus, if he is a *Tubor*, his wife must be a *Kork*; if he is a *Kork*, his wife must be a *Tubor*. It does not appear whether the children take their clan from their father or from their mother. The Bri-bri name both for the phratry and the clan is *uak*. The following is a list of the clans included in each phratry, together with such explanations of the names as are forthcoming:—<sup>2</sup>

The Bri-bri are divided into two exogamous classes or phratries and subdivided into a number of clans, which seem to be totemic.

<sup>1</sup> Wm. W. Gabb, "On the Indian Tribes and Languages of Costa Rica," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia*, xiv. (Philadelphia, 1876) pp. 496 sq.

Sprache der Bribri-Indianer in Costa Rica," *Sitzungsberichte der philosophischen-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, cxxxviii. (Vienna, 1898) pp. 22 sq.

<sup>2</sup> H. Pittier de Fabrega, "Die

## SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE BRI-BRIS

TUBOR-UAK.	KORK-UAK OR DΧBAR-UAK.
Surits-uak <sup>1</sup>	Dχbar-uak
Duts-uak <sup>2</sup>	Di-u-uak <sup>11</sup>
Bokir-uak	Tkbiri-uak <sup>12</sup>
Doχk-uak	Kos-uak <sup>13</sup>
Sark-uak <sup>3</sup>	Kipiryk-uak <sup>14</sup>
Dogdi-uak <sup>4</sup>	Amu-kir-uak <sup>15</sup>
Orori-uak <sup>5</sup>	Tsiruru-uak <sup>16</sup>
Kugdi-uak <sup>6</sup>	Uni-uak
Tkiut-uak <sup>7</sup>	Sibri-uak <sup>17</sup>
Duri-uak <sup>8</sup>	Dauibri-uak <sup>18</sup>
Arau-uak <sup>9</sup>	Amuk-uak <sup>19</sup>
Uriχk-uak <sup>10</sup>	Akter-uak <sup>20</sup>
	Kur-ki-uak <sup>21</sup>
	Katša-ut-uak <sup>22</sup>
	Bobri-uak <sup>23</sup>

## § 2. *Traces of Totemism among the Guaymi Indians of Panama*

Speaking of the Guaymi Indians of Panama a French traveller, M. Alphonse Pinart, observes: "We find among

Totems or guardian animals

<sup>1</sup> *Suri*, wild (or wild beasts, German *wild*).

<sup>2</sup> *Du*, bird.

<sup>3</sup> *Sar*, ape. This is the family of the kings, of whom in 1898 only one man and one woman survived.

<sup>4</sup> *Dog-di*, *dug-di*, mussel river.

<sup>5</sup> *Orori*, name of a tributary at the head-waters of the Arari.

<sup>6</sup> *Kug*, German *Textilpalme*; *di*, water; name of a tributary of the Uren.

<sup>7</sup> *Thi*, flea; *ut*, contraction of *u-t-itu*, place of the house.

<sup>8</sup> *Du*, bird; *ri*, stream.

<sup>9</sup> *Ara*, thunder; *u*, house.

<sup>10</sup> *Uri*, ant-bear.

<sup>11</sup> *Di*, water; *u*, house.

<sup>12</sup> *Tkbi*, serpent; *ri*, stream.

<sup>13</sup> *Kos*, mountain-slope.

<sup>14</sup> *Kipi*, fruit of a wild creeper, eatable when boiled.

<sup>15</sup> *Amu*, agave, *amuk*, plantation of agaves.

<sup>16</sup> *Tsiruru*, cacao, *ru*, derived from *eri*, ripe.

<sup>17</sup> *Si*, posts, *bri*, water, brook.

<sup>18</sup> *Dauibri* must be the name of a brook.

<sup>19</sup> *Amu*, agave; *amuk*, plantation of agaves.

<sup>20</sup> *Akter*, stone-field.

<sup>21</sup> *Kurki*, name of a place at the head-waters of the Uren; probably from *χkur*, ant-tree (*Cecropia* sp.); *ki*, in, upon.

<sup>22</sup> *Katša*, Spanish *achiote*; *ut*, contraction from *u-t-itu*, place of the house.

<sup>23</sup> *Bobri*, place at the head-waters of the Uren. *Uak*, people, tribe.

the Guaymis traces of the totemic system, each tribe, each family, and each individual having a guardian animal. The commonest of these totemic animals appears to be the *ore*, a species of small parrot in honour of which I have heard a number of songs."<sup>1</sup> At certain times of the year the Guaymis observe rites of initiation for young men. These rites are called *urote* and are kept very secret: M. Pinart could only collect vague information on the subject. It appears that the medicine-men or shamans (*sukias*) or their agents gather together by night, and in great secrecy, all the young men who have reached the age of puberty. The place of assembly is a secluded spot in the depth of the forest. There the *thungun*, or master of the ceremonies, takes charge of the proceedings and teaches the young men the ancient traditions and the national songs; he exhorts them to be brave in war. So long as the rites (*urote*) last, the master of the ceremonies and his assistants never shew themselves to the youths except painted and wearing on their faces large wooden masks surrounded with leaves. Their persons are absolutely sacred and they make a great mystery of the whole affair. The young men have to submit to certain severe ordeals. Such as pass through them without a murmur are deemed worthy of the title of warriors; those who flinch are despised as poltroons. The ceremonies last about a fortnight, and during their continuance there is no intercourse with the outer world. The women whose duty it is to wait on the celebrants and on the novices are called *thungumia*; they do their work naked, but with their bodies painted and their heads covered by masks, which are surrounded with leaves and from which long pendants of moss droop to their heels. The rites over, all disperse by night to their homes, and no questions are asked by others as to what they have been doing.<sup>2</sup> After this ceremony of initiation a Guaymi lad takes another name, which he chooses for himself. It may be derived from his personal qualities or from an animal, bird, etc., which he has chosen as his guardian animal. The name may be afterwards changed.

among the  
Guaymi  
Indians of  
Panama.

Rites of  
initiation  
of young  
men.

New  
names  
assumed  
after  
initiation.

<sup>1</sup> Alphonse Pinart, "Les Indiens de l'État de Panama," *Revue d'Eth-*

*nographie*, vi. (Paris, 1887) p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Alphonse Pinart, *op. cit.* pp. 40 sq.

The Guaymi, like most American Indians, has several names ; but the one by which he is known to his relations and friends is never mentioned to a stranger ; for according to their notions a stranger who succeeded in learning a man's name would thereby obtain a secret power over him.<sup>1</sup>

It is un-  
certain  
whether the  
Guaymi  
guardian  
animals  
are totems.

From this somewhat vague and meagre account it is hardly possible to decide whether the "guardian animals" of which the writer speaks are the totems of clans or the guardian spirits of individuals. If we press his words, it would seem that the Guaymis have both these institutions, and so far their customs would agree with those of many tribes of North American Indians.

<sup>1</sup> Alphonse Pinart, "Les Indiens de l'État de Panama," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vi. (Paris, 1887) pp. 43 *sq.*

## CHAPTER XXII

### TOTEMISM AMONG THE INDIANS OF SOUTH AMERICA

#### § I. *Totemism among the Goajiros*

THE Goajiros are a South American tribe of Indians inhabiting the Goajira peninsula in Colombia. The peninsula is a land of bare arid volcanic hills and broad plains, where water is scarce and has to be procured mainly by digging wells in the dry beds of the wadies. Only the mountains at the seaward end of the peninsula catch the rain-clouds from the ocean and draw down the fertilising showers to water the gardens on their verdant slopes. The Goajiros form a single tribe, but little or nothing is known of their history. They have a tradition that they came from a great distance and they point out traces of villages which belonged to the former inhabitants, whom they assert to have been the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. It is remarkable that the Goajiros should have been able to remain down to the present time free and independent, with their ancient manners and customs uncontaminated, though they inhabit a peninsula which is accessible on all sides and lies on the highway of commerce. Till about the year 1882 their country was unexplored.<sup>1</sup>

The  
Goajiro  
Indians of  
Colombia  
and their  
country.

<sup>1</sup> F. A. A. Simons, "An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, vii. (1885) pp. 781-786. Mr. Simons, a Civil Engineer, was commissioned by the National Government of Colombia about 1882 to explore and report on the Goajira Peninsula. His article in the *Proceedings of the Royal*

*Geographical Society* contains a summary of his results. It remains our chief, indeed almost only, authority on the country and its inhabitants. Subsequent writers appear to have drawn much, if not all, of their information about the customs of these Indians either avowedly or tacitly from Mr. Simons's report. See A. Ernst, "Die ethnographische Stellung

Mr. F. A. A. Simons's account of the Goajiro totemic clans.

The Goajiros "are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient 'clans' of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers, taking up the quarrel of any one of its members to make it general. The Goajiros are strictly conservative and aristocratic in their ideas, wealth and interest are omnipotent. A poor man may be insulted with impunity, when the same to a rich man would cause certain bloodshed. They have no veritable rulers, but each community recognises the wealthiest of its members as the chief or corporal, as he has been dubbed by the Spaniards, and look to him for protection. An Indian born poor, cannot become wealthy and great. Whatever herds he may accumulate, his humble origin would never be forgotten; he could, however, marry into a high caste family, having the means, and his children could become, through their mother's relations, great chiefs. Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above their own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros. Of these I was able to discover the names of twenty-two. The remainder are insignificant, little known castes, chiefly inhabiting the hills. There are about ten of importance, chief among these the Urianas. This, the largest caste in the Goajira, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Urianas tiger, Urianas rabbit, Urianas paularate (a song bird), Urianas gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land. The Pushainas are to-day still great holders of *tumas*<sup>1</sup> and ornaments, but

The large Urianas clan, subdivided into sections, which take their names from the tiger, rabbit, paularate, and lizard.

der Guajiro-Indianer," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 1887 (Berlin, 1887), pp. (425) sqq. (appended to the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xix. 1887); W. Sievers, *Reise in der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta* (Leipsic, 1887), pp. 243 sqq.; H. Candelier, *Rio-Hacha et les*

*Indiens Goajiros* (Paris, 1893); Francis C. Nicholas, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iii. (1901) pp. 645-649. This last account, though brief, seems to be quite independent.

<sup>1</sup> A *tuma* is a piece of polished stone with a hole drilled through it.

with the Indian, only cattle, mules, and horses are real estate. The Urianas on receiving the *tumas*, sold out for cattle. The second in numbers are the Epieyues; as a rule they are poor. Under their protection are the Secuanas, again under these the small caste of the Guorguoriyues." With the exception of a few small local tribes, "the other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds, and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are chiefly found round and about Parashi and Ataipa. Urianas tiger frequent Taroa and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portete, Ipuanas and Epinayues abound."<sup>1</sup>

The clans distributed over the country in great confusion.

The following is the list which Mr. Simons gives of the Goajiro castes or clans together with their animals and their favourite resting-places:—<sup>2</sup>

List of Goajiro clans.

Such stones (all carnelian, jasper, or other reddish varieties of silica) are found with gold ornaments in old graves, and the Goajiros value them above everything. See F. A. A. Simons, "An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, vii. (1885) pp. 781 sq.

<sup>1</sup> F. A. A. Simons, *op. cit.* pp. 786 sq.

<sup>2</sup> F. A. A. Simons, *op. cit.* p. 796. A list of ten clans is given by H. Candelier (*Rio-Hacha et les Indiens Goajiros*, pp. 247 sq.), but it seems to have no independent value. A Spanish writer of the eighteenth century, Father Alvarez Don Jose Nicolas de la Rosa, in his *Florestia*

*de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Ciudad de Santa Marta* (written in 1739 and published at Valencia in 1833), mentions six castes of the Goajiros or Guagiros, as he calls them, namely, the castes of the Macaw, Turkey, a kind of Brush Hen, Monkey, Small Monkey, and Turkey Buzzard, of which the first was the highest and the last the lowest. The burial ceremonies, which consisted of crying, dancing, and eating, differed for each of the castes. See Francis C. Nicholas, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," *American Anthropologist*, iii. (1901) pp. 606, 634. I have not seen the Spanish work of Father de la Rosa to which Mr. Nicholas refers.

Clans.	Animals.	Favourite Resting Places.
Uriana . . .	<i>Canahapur</i> . Tiger	About Taroa and Bahia Honda.
” . . .	<i>Arpana</i> . Rabbit	About Cuce and Maracaybo coast.
” . . .	<i>Guinpirai</i> . A singing bird	Everywhere.
” . . .	<i>Hokoriu</i> . Gecko (lizard)	Only in the plains.
Epieyu . . .	<i>Guaruseche</i> . A species of vulture	Bahia Honda, Puerto Estrella, and plains
Pushaina . . .	<i>Puiche</i> . A species of small peccary	Parashi, Ataiapa, and plains.
Ipuana . . .	<i>Musharé</i> . A sort of hawk	Portete Joroy, Ciapana, etc.
Jayariu . . .	<i>Er</i> . Dog	Macuira and plains.
Jusayu . . .	<i>Kasiaurie</i> . Rat-snake	Teta, Hayare.
Arpushaina . . .	<i>Samur</i> . Vulture	Guincua and plains, Cohoro.
Sapuana . . .	<i>Garina</i> . Hen	Plains, Guarero.
” . . .	<i>Carrai</i> . A species of stork	?
Epinayu . . .	<i>Uyara</i> . A small buck	Portete, Hayarure.
Jirnu or Pieri . . .	<i>Guarir</i> . Fox	Only in the Macuira valley.
Secuana . . .	{ <i>Guorguor</i> or <i>Guaruseche</i> } Species of vulture	Only in the Upper Goajira.
Urariyu . . .	<i>Mara</i> . Rattlesnake	Everywhere.
Pausayu . . .	<i>Huche</i> . ?	?
Sijuana . . .	<i>Coori</i> . Wasp	Upper Goajira only.
Guaririn . . .	<i>Guarir</i> . Fox	Only in the hills of Macuira.
Guauriu or } Guau-uriu }	<i>Per</i> . Partridge	Taroa and Upper Goajira.
Arapainayu . . .	<i>Anuwana</i> . Species of vulture	Upper Goajira only.
Samuriu . . .	<i>Hepepa</i> . Owl	” ”
Arpusiata . . .	<i>Ischu</i> . Red cardinal bird	” ”
Ucharaiu . . .	All Cocina (robber) Indians	Cohoro hills only.
Araurujuna . . .		A small almost unknown tribe in the hills of Macuira.
Guorguoriyu . . .	{ <i>Guorguor</i> or <i>Guaruseche</i> } Species of vulture	Only in the hills of Upper Goajira.

Compensation for injuries claimed by the maternal uncle.

Each of these castes or clans is responsible for the acts of any of its members. “Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. . . . The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. . . . It must be borne in mind that it

is not the injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, uncles on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pushaina man marries an Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill an Epieyu, for example, the whole caste of Uriana is at war with all the Epieyues, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money."<sup>1</sup>

The clan is hereditary in the maternal line.

The statement that "the caste is always the mother's side" appears to imply that husband and wife are always of different castes or clans, and that children always belong to their mother's clan; in other words, we seem to be justified in inferring that the Goajiro clans are exogamous with descent in the female line.<sup>2</sup>

Apparently the clans are exogamous.

The Goajiros are polygamous. A man may have as many wives as he can maintain, and the more he has, the greater is his social importance. "The Indian girls are sold to their husbands, but their parents have nothing to say in the matter, the maternal uncles having full authority which the girl must recognize. The marriage ceremony consists of a series of fastings and exchanges of presents between the family of the bride and her husband; every present must be returned with another of equal value, and as the endowment must first be provided, it is for them a matter of some expense to be married. This endowment must be sufficient to maintain the wife in the position in which she was born, and as no Goajira will marry beneath his position, many of the men must remain without wives, though the greater number of them usually manage to obtain one, and polygamy is not so frequent among them as

The Goajiros are polygamous; wives are purchased from their maternal uncles, not from their fathers.

<sup>1</sup> F. A. A. Simons, "An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, vii. (1885) pp. 789 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. A. Ernst says that "only in rare cases do marriages take place between members of different families" (*Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie*

*und Urgeschichte*, 1887, p. 442). I do not know what his authority for this statement is. His information as to the Goajiro families, castes, or clans appears to be drawn wholly from Mr. Simons's report, to which he refers; and in that report the statement in question, so far as I see, is not made, indeed it is implicitly contradicted.

Payment for wives is usually made in cattle.

True relationship only on the maternal side.

The Levirate.

one might expect. After the purchase of the bride has been negotiated with her maternal uncles, who fix the value of her social position, they are supposed to take charge of whatever is received, payment being usually made in cattle. Among the ruling classes a small herd is required, but with the poor people five goats are regarded as sufficient. The uncles, on receiving the property, take careful account of it and put the animals out on the range for pasture; there they are maintained and allowed to increase."<sup>1</sup> Similarly, another writer observes that "according to the Goajiro law true relationship exists only on the maternal side, the side of blood: hence the son or daughter, for example, forms part of his mother's caste and not of his father's. With regard to marriage, the father cannot dispose of his daughter; that right belongs to the mother's brothers, the maternal uncles; they are considered by the Goajiro law as the proper natural protectors, the true fathers of the child. It is they who accept or refuse a proposal of marriage for their niece, who fix the amount of her price or, if you please, of her dowry: in case the proposal is accepted, they are the receivers, the depositaries of this dowry. Similarly, the young Indian woman does not inherit from her father, but from her maternal uncles and from her mother."<sup>2</sup>

The Goajiros observe the law of the levirate. On a man's death his widow goes to his brother, usually his youngest brother. If he has no brothers, his nephew inherits her.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Francis C. Nicholas, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iii. (1901) pp. 647 sq.

<sup>2</sup> H. Candelier, *Rio-Hacha et les Indiens Goajires* (Paris, 1893), pp. 207 sq. Similarly the Spanish writer Don José Nicolas de la Rosa observes: "Among the Indians it is not the child of the father who inherits; the property goes to the maternal nephews, the Indian saying, 'They are more nearly of my blood.' The sons of the sisters not only inherit the property of their uncle, but also his wives." See F. C. Nicholas, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iii. (1901) p. 633. On

the other hand Mr. Simons writes: "Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held" (*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, vii. (1885) p. 792).

<sup>3</sup> F. A. A. Simons, "An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, vii. (1885) p. 792.

The law of blood-revenge is pushed by the Goajiros to a curious extreme. Not only is a whole caste or clan responsible for a murder committed by any one of its members, but if a man accidentally wounds himself, he is bound to compensate his mother's clan for the injury he has done them by shedding their blood. "If an Indian," we are told, "accidentally cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation when the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained."<sup>1</sup>

The law of blood-revenge pushed by the Goajiros to extremes. If a man injures himself, he must compensate his mother's clan.

The law of blood-revenge is the source of much hostility between the various clans; they are frequently at war with each other, and the hatred thus aroused is very bitter. Feuds are carried out to the extermination of the foe, and life is but little valued in the Goajiro country. It is estimated that a quarter of the male population perishes through the law of blood-revenge.<sup>2</sup>

Blood-revenge a source of war.

With regard to the relation which exists between a Goajiro clan and the animal which it is said to represent, we have no exact information; but as the clans appear to be exogamous with descent in the female line, we may fairly conjecture that the relation between a clan and its animal is totemic. If that is so, the Goajiros have a totemic system of the normal pattern.

Nothing known as to the relation between people and their totems.

<sup>1</sup> F. A. A. Simons, "An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, vii. (1885) p. 790.

<sup>2</sup> F. A. A. Simons, *op. cit.* p. 789; F. C. Nicholas, "Aborigines of Santa Marta, Colombia," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iii. (1901) p. 647.

## § 2. Totemism among the Arawaks of British Guiana

The  
Arawaks  
of British  
Guiana.  
Their  
villages.

Unlike the warlike Goajiros who are a nomadic cattle-rearing people roaming over an open arid country, the Arawaks of British Guiana live in permanent houses or villages built in clearings of the dense tropical woods and they subsist to a great extent by agriculture. All round such a clearing rise like a wall the giants of the forest. Irregularly-planted cassava, sugar-cane, pine-apples, and other plants which the Indian cultivates grow intermingled with wild seedlings and shoots from the stumps of the trees which once stood there; and the whole is matted together by thickly-growing yam-vines, by razor-grass, with its stems and leaves edged like knives, and by passion-flowers with their great purple, crimson, and white blossoms. Charred trunks of felled trees lie in all directions amongst this dense mass of rankly luxuriant vegetation. A narrow, much-trodden path leads from the house through the clearing into the forest and through it down to the nearest water. So sheltered are the huts by the surrounding woods that they are built without walls; a roof thatched with palm-leaves and supported on posts suffices, though on the long sides the thatch nearly reaches to the ground. Sometimes a partition of palm-leaves or bark ensures a certain degree of privacy. Many of these houses are clean and well cared for; and floored as they are with glittering white sand and bordered by coffee and cashew trees, among which the beautiful crimson lilies (*Hippeastrum equestre*) cluster thickly, they are pleasant places in which to while away the sultry hours of the tropical day.<sup>1</sup> The staple vegetable food of these Indians is cassava-bread. To prepare their fields the men fell the trees, cut down the underwood, and set fire to the whole fallen mass. In the clearings thus produced the women plant the cassava, and it is they who dig up the roots and grate them into the pulp of which the bread is baekd. After three or four crops have been taken from a field, it is deserted and a new clearing made in the forest.

Their  
houses.

Their agri-  
culture :  
shifting  
cultivation.

<sup>1</sup> Everard F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (London, 1883), pp. 202-204, 250 sqq.

"The reason of this periodical desertion of the old, and clearing of new ground is uncertain," says Sir Everard F. im Thurn, "but it is perhaps connected with some superstition."<sup>1</sup> Yet the partial exhaustion of the soil under this rude system of tillage may be a sufficient motive for shifting the patches of cultivation. While the women till the fields, the men hunt and fish; for the Indians of Guiana subsist in about equal measure on the products of agriculture and of the chase.<sup>2</sup>

The Arawaks are divided into a large number of exogamous clans with descent in the female line; and as most of the names of the clans appear to be drawn from the animals or plants of the country, we may reasonably infer that they are totemic, and hence that the Arawaks, like the Goajiros, either have or had a totemic system of the ordinary type. The existence of exogamous clans among the Arawaks was first detected by an English surveyor of Demerara, Mr. William Hilhouse, in the early part of the nineteenth century. He published the names of twenty-seven clans or families, as he called them, and he observed in regard to them that "the cast (*sic*) of blood is derived from the mother, and the family genealogy is preserved with the greatest care, as a preservative from incestuous intercourse—one family not being allowed to intermarry within itself. The children of a Maratakayu father cannot, therefore be Maratakayu; but if the mother be Queyurunto, the children are also Queyurunto, and can marry into the father's family, but not the mother's.

"Marriages are frequently contracted by the parents for their children when infants. In this case the young man is bound to assist the family of his wife till she arrives at puberty; he then takes her where he pleases, and establishes his own household. But young men and women who are free, at a more advanced age consult their inclinations without any ceremony beyond the mere permission of the parent, which is never withheld but on account of family feuds. Polygamy is allowed and practised by all those

<sup>1</sup> Everard F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, pp. 250-253. 260-264.

<sup>2</sup> E. F. im Thurn, *op. cit.* pp. 227 sq.

The Arawaks are divided into exogamous and apparently totemic clans with descent in the female line.

Marriage customs of the Arawaks.

who have the means of maintenance for a plurality of wives. This is generally the case with the chiefs or captains, who have sometimes three or four wives."<sup>1</sup>

Sir E. F. im Thurn's list of Arawak clans.

Subsequent enquiries have enlarged the number of Arawak clans to nearly fifty, and it is thought to be certain that there are still others to be recorded. A full list of the names, so far as they are known, has been published by Sir Everard F. im Thurn, who received them from "Mr. McClintock, a man well known in Guiana, who has lived longer among the Arawaks, and has mixed more freely with them than any other European." The following is the full list of the names of the clans, together with the most probable explanations of these names, so far as Sir Everard F. im Thurn was able, after careful enquiries, to ascertain them:—<sup>2</sup>

Names of Clans.	Meanings of Names.
1. <i>Karuafona</i> . . .	"From the grassy land."
2. <i>Onishena</i> . . .	"From the rain or water."
3. <i>Koiarno</i> . . .	"From the deer."
4. <i>Urahkana</i> . . .	"From the <i>ourali</i> or bloodwood tree."
5. <i>Hairena</i> . . .	"From the wild plantain tree." The plant usually known under this name is the very striking <i>Ravenala guianensis</i> , but the same name is also applied to several species of <i>Heliconia</i> .

<sup>1</sup> "Notices of the Indians settled in the Interior of British Guiana," by William Hilhouse, Esq., Surveyor, Demerara, communicated by Captain J. E. Alexander, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, ii. (1832) p. 228. In a note (p. 227) it is said that "Mr. Hilhouse's book was published in 1825, but is very little known," and that his statements were "founded on a very intimate acquaintance with the people he describes." The names of the families or clans recorded by Mr. Hilhouse (*op. cit.* p. 228) are these:— 1. Maratakayu; 2. Queyurunto; 3. Wooneseedo; 4. Demaridy; 5. Corobahady; 6. Wurallikaddy; 7. Ebesuana; 8. Dacamocaddy; 9. Aramukunyu; 10. Baboana; 11. Kanahea, Mackoveyu; 12. Daharabetady; 13. Carabunury; 14. Nebebetaddy; 15. Seewedey; 16. Jorobalina; 17. Haduadafunha; 18. Boerybetady; 19. Carua-

fuddy; 20. Bakurucaddy; 21. Eubocaddy; 22. Wakuyaddy; 23. Ehbeselio; 24. Wareerobaquady; 25. Aramkritu; 26. Kariwheete; 27. Eubotaddy. The names of the clans are repeated, after Hilhouse, by Sir Robert Schomburgk (*Reisen in Britisch-Guiana* (Leipsic, 1847-1848), ii. 459), who tells us that Hilhouse lived long among the Arawaks and married an Arawak wife. Compare Rev. W. H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana* (London, 186), p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Everard F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (London, 1883), pp. 176-183. In these names the final syllable *na* is a collective termination and has nothing to do with the root. The masculine termination is *die* and the feminine *do*. For example, a man of the *Karuafona* clan is *Karuafodie* and a woman is *Karuafodo*.

Names of Clans.	Meanings of Names.
6. <i>Yobotana</i> . . . .	"From the black monkey." The species referred to is thought to be <i>Ateles beelzebub</i> .
7. <i>Haiwafona</i> . . . .	"From the <i>hyawa</i> tree" ( <i>Icica heptaphylla</i> ). The tree produces an abundant and very sweet scented resin, which is much used by the Indians for the rapid kindling of fire, making torches, and perfuming the oils with which they anoint their bodies.
8. <i>Demarena</i> . . . .	This name is variously interpreted. Some say that it means "from the water <i>mama</i> " or rather "from certain spirits" dwelling usually underground. The water <i>mama</i> is a spirit supposed to live under the water of rivers. The name is often used for supernatural beings in general. This family is said to intermarry with the <i>Karobahana</i> (No. 25) in accordance with an old legend.
9. <i>Wakuyana</i> . . . .	The family sprung "from the redbreast bird" ( <i>Leistes americana</i> ), which is called <i>wakuya</i> in Arawak. This bird is one of the commonest and most striking in the coast region of Guiana, to which the Arawaks are confined.
10. <i>Kamikaihimikina</i> or <i>Akamikina</i>	The transcription of the name is believed to be erroneous. There is no satisfactory interpretation of it.
11. <i>Dakamokana</i> . . . .	"From the <i>dakama</i> tree." This tree bears a nut like souari ( <i>Pekea tuberculosa</i> ), the kernel of which is grated and baked with cassava meal when cassava is scarce.
12. <i>Madayalena</i> , also given as <i>Moukina</i>	The family coming "from a treeless place," perhaps "from a savannah."
13. <i>Hekerowana</i> . . . .	"From a tortoise." <i>Hekoré</i> is the Arawak name of the tortoise.
14. <i>Awarakana</i> . . . .	"From the <i>awara</i> palm" ( <i>Astrocaryum tucumoides</i> ). This is a very common palm near Indian settlements on the coast. The fruit is much relished, and oil is extracted from it. The young leaves are used as fans for blowing up the fire.
15. <i>Kaiokana</i> . . . .	"From a rat." The word <i>kaió</i> is the Arawak name for a species of rat.
16. <i>Ematana</i> . . . .	Meaning unknown.
17. <i>Ebesowana</i> . . . .	"The changed or transformed." The word <i>ebesoa</i> means "to change." The members of the family derive the name from a tradition that an ancestress of theirs was changed or magically transformed. Caterpillars are <i>ebesoa</i> or transformed into butterflies.
18. <i>Babowna</i> . . . .	So called from a tree which produces a milk-like juice used medicinally to dress ulcers.
19. <i>Eeyicono</i> . . . .	Apparently, "the newly come family," from <i>eeyato</i> , "raw," "fresh."

Names of Clans.	Meanings of Names.
20. <i>Ebesoleno</i> . . .	Interpreted by several as "the changed"; by one as "faithful, truthful, or heedful family."
21. <i>Warerokana</i> . . .	"From a wild plantain." This wild plantain appears to differ from the one mentioned above (No. 5), and to be a species of <i>Heliconia</i> .
22. <i>Pariana</i> . . .	"From a kind of bee."
23. <i>Yabieno</i> , or perhaps <i>Sabieno</i>	"The family sprung from the mocking-bird" ( <i>Cassicus persicus</i> ). Here again the bird chosen as name-father is one of the most prominent in the district.
24. <i>Kabolifona</i> . . .	"From the wild thorn tree" (according to Mr. Brett). "From the white winged ant" (according to Mr. McClintock).
25. <i>Karobahana</i> . . .	"Related to the <i>Coriaki</i> parrot." This clan intermarried with the <i>Demarena</i> (No. 8).
26. <i>Maratakayona</i> . . .	Sprung "from a (small) bee."
27. <i>Miekariona</i> . . .	No derivation suggested.
28. <i>Barakana</i> (or <i>Barakata</i> ?)	"From an armadillo." <i>Barkata</i> is the Arawak name for one species of armadillo, but which species is meant is unknown.
29. <i>Tahatahabetano</i> (or <i>Tahabetano</i> ?)	The family sprung "from a hawk." (?)
30. <i>Turubalena</i> (or <i>Turubalolu</i> )	"From the <i>туру</i> palm" ( <i>Aenocarpus baccaba</i> ), "the seed of which being dark, represents persons of dark complexion."
31. <i>Aramokena</i> (or <i>Aramokéyu</i> , plural)	"From the <i>arara</i> tree."
32. <i>Kamonena</i> . . .	Derivation not suggested.
33. <i>Dahati-betana</i> . . .	Sprung "from the pepper plant." The red pepper, or capsicum, is grown and used in very great quantities by the Indians.
34. <i>Kaboribetana</i> . . .	Said to mean "sprung from the <i>kabori</i> tree." What tree that may be is not known. Another interpretation is "from the wild yam," the fruit of which is much used by the Indians as bait for fish. The weight of evidence is in favour of this latter interpretation. A less probable derivation is from a kind of fish, species unknown.
35. <i>Mibibitana</i> . . .	"From the bush rope called <i>mibi</i> " ( <i>Carludovica</i> ). This rope is much used by the Indians in making their rough baskets, and in binding together the various parts of which their houses are built.
36. <i>Bakuriekana</i> . . .	"From another, smaller kind of bush rope." According to a less probable derivation, the name is connected with <i>bakarie</i> , "mother-in-law."
37. <i>Yabokaquana</i> . . .	"The deformed family."
38. <i>Atiyokana</i> (or perhaps <i>Antiyokana</i> )	A family sprung "from the wild cherry tree." This tree is not uncommon in the forest. Its fruit resembles a cherry in shape and colour and is much relished by the Indians.

Names of Clans.	Meanings of Names.
39. <i>Arase</i> .	Perhaps <i>Haraschino</i> from <i>harasche</i> , "without hair." The form of the word is abnormal.
40. <i>Seana</i> . . .	Said to mean sprung "from a bee," namely from another of the numerous species of bees. Compare Nos. 22, 26.
41. <i>Seima</i> . . . .	This family is said to be of no antiquity and its name to refer to an admixture of Spanish blood.
42. <i>Sewenana</i> . . . .	A family sprung "from the razor-grinder," an insect remarkable for the extraordinarily loud sound with which it makes the forest resound.
43. <i>Yateyo</i> . . . .	The form of this word is quite abnormal. Mr. McClintock says that it means "the offspring of a cannibal."
44. <i>Waruwakana</i> . . . .	"From the <i>waruwaka</i> , or wild liquorice tree." The tree is <i>Cassia grandis</i> . It grows to a large size, and is one of the most beautiful trees in Guiana. When it is in bloom, every bough is covered with masses of small delicate pink flowers.
45. <i>Korikurena</i> . . . .	Said to be connected with <i>korikuri</i> or, more probably, <i>karukuri</i> , "gold."
46. <i>Tetebetana</i> . . . .	A family sprung "from a kind of night-jar" or goatsucker. There are several species of this bird in Guiana, and all of them are more or less remarkable for the extraordinary cries with which they make night hideous.
47. <i>Arubunoona</i> (or <i>Harubunoona</i> )	"From the velvet-leaf plant." This plant is common about Indian houses. Another authority says that the name refers to some mixture of Ackawoi blood with the true Arawak.

The authorities consulted by Sir Everard F. im Thurn with reference to the names of the clans agreed in saying that many of the names are derived from expressions now obsolete, and that the meanings of the rest were even then known only to a very few aged persons.<sup>1</sup>

As to the names of the clans and the traditional explanations of them Sir Everard F. im Thurn observes: "The fact chiefly evident is that the names are generally those of animals or plants common in Guiana. Two traditional explanations of the origin of the names are given by the Arawaks themselves, one simple and the other marvellous. Some say that when the Arawak families in

<sup>1</sup> Everard F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 183.

names are given. Most Arawaks say that the clan is descended from the eponymous animal, bird, or plant.

Guiana were increasing in number, at a meeting of the heads of these families, each arbitrarily chose a distinctive family name. One chief, specially mentioned, chose the name of the tree called *arava* (see No. 31), the leaves of which happened to be on the ground on which he sat; another chose the name of another which grew behind him; a third chose the name of a bird which happened to be heard at the moment; and a fourth that of an insect which was at the moment in sight. Most Arawaks, however, emphatically deny this account, and assert that each family is descended—their fathers knew how, but they themselves have forgotten—from its eponymous animal, bird, or plant. It is a matter of much regret that I have been unable to find examples of these legends of descent. In the present state of knowledge, all that can be observed is, the names are evidently almost invariably derived from natural objects, animal or vegetable, and that almost as invariably these eponymous objects are such as are in some way very prominent in Indian life.”<sup>1</sup>

This is probably the ancient explanation of the totems.

Of these two competing explanations of the clan names, there can be no reasonable doubt that the tradition of descent from the animals and plants, which is emphatically maintained by most of the Arawaks, is the more ancient; and that the other, which derives the names from the arbitrary choice of ancestors, is a later attempt to rationalise the old mystic relation between the clanspeople and their eponymous animals or plants. A belief in the descent of an exogamous totemic clan from its eponymous animal or plant is so common as to make it in the highest degree probable that the exogamous clans of the Arawaks, named after animals or plants from which most of the Indians themselves stoutly claim to be descended, are in the full and strict sense of the word totemic.

Rules of marriage and descent among the Arawaks.

The rules of marriage and descent in the Arawak clans, or, as he calls them, families, are stated by Sir Everard F. im Thurn as follows:—“Each family is, or was, kept distinct by the fact that the descent is solely and rigidly in the female line, and that no intermarriage with relations on the mother’s side is permitted among these Indians. The first of these regulations, the descent in the female line, is doubt-

<sup>1</sup> Everard F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, pp. 184 sq.

less founded on the fact that, while there can be no doubt as to the mother of a child, there may be considerable doubt as to the father. The fundamental idea of the second regulation, which forbids the intermarriage of those related on the mother's side, is not so apparent. According to it, a child may marry a husband or wife, as the case may be, of its father's family, or of any other family but that of its mother. If the said child is a man, the offspring of his marriage belong to his wife's family, and bear her name; if it be a woman, the offspring of her marriage belong to her family, and consequently to her mother's. It is evident that the two regulations, taken together, ensure the purity of descent in each family. Quite in accordance with this system of retaining the descent in the female line is the fact . . . that an Indian, when he marries, goes to live in the house of his father-in-law, and works for him; he becomes, in fact, a part of his wife's family."<sup>1</sup> To put it in other words, the Arawak clans are exogamous with descent in the female line; no man may marry a woman of his own clan, but he may marry a woman of any other, and the children always belong to her clan, not to his. In short the Arawaks have, to all appearance, or had till lately, a totemic system of the regular pattern.

Descent is reckoned only in the female line, and marriage with relations on the mother's side is forbidden.

A man goes to live with his father-in-law.

### § 3. *Traces of Totemism among other Tribes of South America*

Of all the many Indian tribes of South America the Goajiros and the Arawaks are the only two of whom it can be affirmed with a degree of probability approaching to certainty that they have a system of totemism and exogamy. Over the other Indian tribes, who inhabit the dense tropical forests, the great open savannahs, and the lofty tablelands of that beautiful and wonderful continent, the supine indifference of Spaniards and Portuguese in modern times has spread a thick veil of ignorance, which has been rent only here and there by travellers or settlers of other races; and through the rifts we can catch a few glimpses of something that looks more or less like totemism. In this last

Apart from the Goajiros and Arawaks, there is little evidence of totemism among the Indian tribes of South America.

<sup>1</sup> Everard F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, pp. 185 sq.

section of my survey I propose to collect the scanty indications of this sort that I have met with, hoping that they may yet stimulate others to make enquiries before it is too late. For we may conjecture, though we cannot prove, that totemism and exogamy exist, or have existed, among many tribes of South America where their existence has not yet been recorded.

Indication  
of totemism  
among the  
Bush  
negroes of  
Surinam.

In the first place, we are told that the Bush Negroes of Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, worship certain animals; one family respects the red ape, another the tortoise, another the crocodile, and so forth.<sup>1</sup> This points to a system of totemism. The Bush Negroes are communities of negroes living in the forests of Dutch Guiana; they are the descendants of slaves who escaped from their Dutch masters before 1712, and were reinforced in that year by others. In 1762 these communities concluded a treaty of peace with the Dutch.<sup>2</sup> They may have either brought totemism with them from Africa or borrowed it from a neighbouring Indian tribe.

The Salivas  
of the  
Orinoco.

The  
Piaroas  
of the  
Orinoco.

Amongst the Salivas of the Orinoco one tribe claimed to be descended from the earth, others from trees, and others from the sun.<sup>3</sup> The Piaroas, an Indian tribe on the right bank of the Orinoco, "admit the doctrine of metempsychosis. Thus, the tapir is their grandfather. The soul of the dying man transmigrates into the body of the beast. Hence they will never hunt the animal nor eat of its flesh, any more than of the jaguar, of which they stand in great fear. Though a tapir should pass and repass through their fields and ravage their crop, they will not even attempt to turn it aside or frighten it, they will rather abandon the place and go and settle elsewhere. With respect to the other animals, they are affiliated to different tribes. Certain spirits animate the plants and direct the beasts. At the time of the migrations of the peccaries and of certain fish, the Indians don their ornaments of feathers, teeth, and fish-bones, and assemble for a nocturnal liturgy, in which they enchant the game they are about to hunt or the fish they are about to

Ceremonies  
of the  
Piaroas for  
enchancing  
the fish  
or game  
which they  
are about  
to hunt.

<sup>1</sup> J. Crevaux, *Voyages dans l'Amérique du sud* (Paris, 1883), p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> See A. M. Coster, "De Bosch-negers in de Kolonie Suriname," p. 6 (separate reprint). I possess a copy of

this work, but do not know from what periodical it is extracted.

<sup>3</sup> J. Gumilla, *Histoire naturelle, civile et géographique de l'Orénoque* (Avignon, 1758), i. 174-178.

catch. On the eve of the day fixed for the expedition, at sunset, the comrades assemble round the hut of the most expert huntsman. The chief thunders out a chant in honour of the animal, the object of their desire, recites its history, and extols its virtues; then addressing himself to his friends, he chants the place of meeting, the attack and the victory, winding up with a boastful account of his own exploits and those of his predecessors. The principal objects of these litanies are the 'peccary, a small boar which only goes in herds'; the *palometa* and the *morocoto*, two delicious and delicate fishes, which are dried and preserved; and the *caribe*, another fish which they fry and make into a nutritious powder. He also sings to the manioc, the maize, and the banana called *platano*, which is dried in order to be kept." <sup>1</sup> Incantations of the manioc, maize, and banana.

In this account the affiliation of certain tribes to certain animals, together with the belief in the transmigration of human souls into the bodies of beasts, are at least hints of totemism.

Some of the Indian tribes of Brazil are named after animals, plants, or other objects, and the nomenclature may perhaps be an indication of totemism. Thus among the Tribes of the Uaupés River named after animals and plants. Indians of the trackless forests on the Uaupés River, one of the tributaries of the Rio Negro in north-west Brazil, we find tribes named as follows:—*Ananas*, "Pine-apples"; *Piraiuru*, "Fish's mouth"; *Pisa*, "Net"; *Carapana*, "Mosquito"; *Tapira*, "Tapir"; *Uaracu*, a fish; *Tucundera*, "an Ant"; *Jacami*, "Trumpeter"; *Miriti*, "Mauritia Palm"; *Taiassu*, "Pig Indians"; *Tijuco*, "Mud Indians"; *Arapasso*, "Woodpeckers"; *Tucanos*, "Toucans"; *Uacarras*, "Hérons"; *Pira*, "Fish"; *Ipeças*, "Ducks"; *Gi*, "Axe"; *Coua*, "Wasp"; *Corocoro*, "Green Ibis"; *Tatus*, "Armadillos"; *Tenimbuca*, "Ashes"; and *Mucura*, "Opossum."<sup>2</sup> All these tribes are settled and agricultural: they cultivate manioc, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, maize, plantains, bananas, pine-apples, and so forth; and they live in large well-built communal houses, which lodge many families or even a whole tribe.<sup>3</sup> "The

<sup>1</sup> J. Chaffanjon, *L'Orénoque et le Caïra* (Paris, 1889), pp. 203 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio*

*Negro* (London, 1889), pp. 334 sq. (Minerva Library).

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Wallace, *op. cit.* pp. 336, 341.

Their  
marriage  
customs.

men generally have but one wife, but there is no special limit, and many have two or three, and some of the chiefs more; the elder one is never turned away, but remains the mistress of the house. They have no particular ceremony at their marriages, except that of always carrying away the girl by force, or making a show of doing so, even when she and her parents are quite willing. They do not often marry with relations, or even neighbours,—preferring those from a distance, or even from other tribes.”<sup>1</sup> These customs afford an indication of exogamy. If that is so, and if the names of the tribes are based on a mystic relation between the people and the animals or plants after which they are named, we might conclude that the tribes of the Uaupés River have a full system of totemism and exogamy. But the evidence is too slender to support this conclusion. The men of these tribes appear to have a secret society, the mysteries of which are concerned with a certain evil spirit called *Jurupari*, who is the cause of thunder, of eclipses of the moon, and of deaths which we should call natural. At their festivals they play on certain flutes or trumpets, either eight or twelve in number, each pair of which gives out a distinct note producing a concert like that of clarionets and bassoons. This they call the *Jurupari* music. These instruments are surrounded with mystery; no woman may see them under pain of death. They are always kept at a distance from the village; and when they are heard approaching for a festival, every woman retires into hiding till the ceremony is over. It would be as much as her life is worth to have seen, or even to be suspected of having seen, the sacred trumpets. For such a sacrilege a father will not hesitate to sacrifice his daughter nor a husband his wife.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London, 1889), p. 346. A more recent authority on the Uaupés Indians says of them: “Exogamy is the general practice. A wife is taken from a neighbouring tribe, but without capture or pretence of capture. Generally, the Indian of the Uaupés is monogamous.” See Henri A. Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, ii.

(Paris, 1887) p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London, 1889), pp. 348 sq. For details of the religion of *Jurupari*, the festivals, and the sacred trumpets or flutes, see Henri A. Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, ii. (Paris, 1887), pp. 181 sqq. M. Coudreau is of opinion that this religion contains numerous reminiscences of Christian

Secret  
Society  
of the  
*Jurupari* :  
its sacred  
flutes or  
trumpets.

Again, among the Indians on the Isanna River there are tribes called *Manivas*, "Manioc"; *Ciuçi*, "Stars"; *Coati*, the *Nasua coatimundi*; *Jurupari*, "Devils"; and *Ipeca*, "Ducks." Unlike the Uaupés tribes these Indians of the Isanna River do not live in large communal houses; each family has a separate house; and far from exhibiting a tendency to exogamy, "they marry one, two, or three wives, and prefer relations, marrying with cousins, uncles with nieces, and nephews with aunts, so that in a village all are connected."<sup>1</sup> In this preference for marriage with blood relations the Indians of the Isanna agree with other Indian tribes of South America, especially of Brazil. Thus with regard to the Indians of south-eastern Brazil, in the neighbourhood of what is now Rio de Janeiro, we learn from an early French settler that, while sons did not have intercourse with their mothers nor brothers with their sisters, "every other degree of relationship is there confounded, the uncle marrying his niece and the male cousin his female cousin, however near she may be to him. . . . The true and legitimate wives in this country are the daughters of their sisters, whom they call *Cherainditmebut*, that is to say, 'the daughter of my sister,' and *Cheremirekorem*, 'my future wife.' And on this it is to be remarked that as soon as the girls are born the maternal uncle takes them up from the ground and keeps them to be his future wife." If a girl refused to marry her maternal uncle and accepted another man for her husband, she was treated with contempt as a lewd woman; there was a special name (*souaragi*) for her; and her uncle could even divorce her mother (his sister) from her father, so that the girl was said to be without a father (*Toupu-éum*). Women divorced for such an infamous cause as the refusal of their own daughter to marry her own uncle sometimes killed themselves for shame and despair.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, where a Brazilian tribe lives dispersed in small isolated hordes or families, it is said that marriages between brothers and sisters are

Tribes of the Isanna River.

Marriages with near relations among the Indians of Brazil.

Marriages of men with their sisters' daughters.

doctrines, such as the Immaculate Conception, the Passion, the Ascension, the forbidden fruit, and so on (*op. cit.* p. 196).

*Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London, 1889), pp. 352 sq.

<sup>2</sup> André Thevet, *La Cosmographie universelle* (Paris, 1575), ii. 931

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Narrative of* [965] sq.

common. Tribes in which such unions are reported to occur are the Coerunas and Uainumas. "And in general," says von Martius, "it may be asserted that incest in all degrees is of frequent occurrence among the numerous tribes and hordes on the Amazon and the Rio Negro."<sup>1</sup>

Tribes of the Yapura River in Brazil named after animals, plants, etc.

Again, among the Juri Indians on the Yapura River, another tributary of the Rio Negro in north-western Brazil, we find various families or subordinate hordes which take their names from animals, plants, and other natural objects. One horde is named after the toucan, another after another species of large bird, another after a species of palm, another after the sun, and another after the wind. On the Pureos River there is a horde of these Juri Indians who take their name from cacao.<sup>2</sup> Similarly the Uainuma Indians on the Yapura River are divided into families or hordes, which take their names from animals or plants. Thus, two of them are called after two different kinds of palms, another after the bird *jacami*, another after the ounce (*Felis uncia*), and another after wood.<sup>3</sup>

The Bororos in Brazil identify themselves with red macaws.

Again, the Bororos of Matogrosso, in Brazil, identify themselves with red macaws; they say that the red macaws are Bororos, and that the Bororos are red macaws. They never eat a red macaw, and when one of the tame birds dies, they lament for it. But they kill the wild macaws for the sake of their gorgeous feathers, and for the same reason they pluck the tame ones.<sup>4</sup> But this curious identification of themselves with the birds does not of itself constitute totemism, though it may be said to be totemic in principle. So much can hardly be said of the taboos which some Brazilian tribes observe in regard to the flesh of certain animals. Thus "the Coroados of the South will not taste the meat of deer, lest they should lose their rich black hair; or the protuberance on the neck of the tapir, which is the best morsel, lest they should lose the love of their wives. In the same way they avoid the

Some taboos on food among the South American Indians are based on sympathetic magic, not on totemism.

<sup>1</sup> C. F. Phil. v. Martius, *Zur Ethnographie Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens* (Leipsic, 1867), p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. von Spix und C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Reise in Brasilien* (Munich, 1823-1831), iii. 1236.

<sup>3</sup> Spix und Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, iii. 1208.

<sup>4</sup> K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Central-Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 352 sq., 512.

meat of the duck and of the *cutia*, a very savoury rodent, lest their children should acquire big, ugly-shaped feet and ears. He who has shot the deadly arrow must not eat of the game if he would have steady aim and good luck for the future; and the women also, to the evident advantage of their selfish, law-giving halves, are prohibited from the eating of many animals."<sup>1</sup> There is nothing to suggest that these and similar taboos are totemic; some of them appear to be based on the principle of sympathetic magic. It is on that principle, and not from totemic scruples, that the Zaparo Indians of Ecuador generally abstain from heavy meats, such as tapir and peccary, but eat birds, monkeys, deer, fish, and so forth, "principally because they argue that the heavier meats make them also unwieldy, like the animals who supply the flesh, impeding their agility, and unfitting them for the chase."<sup>2</sup>

It is said that the aborigines of Peru, before the country was conquered by the Incas, worshipped many sorts of natural objects, such as rocks, hills, herbs, plants, all kinds of trees, and all kinds of animals, for example pumas, jaguars, bears, foxes, monkeys, dogs, serpents, lizards, toads, frogs, condors, eagles, falcons, and owls. Others "worshipped certain things from which they derived benefit, such as great fountains and rivers, which supplied water for irrigating their crops. Some worshipped the earth, and called it Mother, because it yielded their fruits; others adored the air for its gift of breath to them, saying that it gave them life; others the fire for its heat, and because they cooked their food with it; others worshipped a sheep, because of the great flocks they reared; others the great chain of snowy mountains for its height and grandeur, and for the many rivers which flow from it and furnish irrigation; others adored maize or *sara*, as they call it, because it was their bread; others worshipped other kinds of corn and pulse, according to the abundance of the yield in each province. The inhabitants of the sea-coast, besides an infinity of other gods,

Animals, plants, and other natural objects worshipped by the aborigines of Peru.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Keller, *The Amazon and Madeira Rivers* (London, 1874), p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Simson, *Travels in the Wilds of Ecuador* (London, 1886), p.

168; *id.* "Notes on the Zaparos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vii. (1878) p. 503.

worshipped the sea, which they call *Mama-cchocha*, or 'Mother Sea,' meaning that it filled the office of a mother, by supplying them with fish. They also worshipped the whale for its monstrous greatness. Besides this ordinary system of worship, which prevailed throughout the coast, the people of different provinces adored the fish that they caught in greatest abundance; for they said that the first fish that was made in the world above (for so they named Heaven) gave birth to all other fish of that species, and took care to send them plenty of its children to sustain their tribe. For this reason they worshipped sardines in one region, where they killed more of them than of any other fish; in others, the skate; in others, the dog fish; in others, the golden fish for its beauty; in others, the craw fish; in others, for want of larger gods, the crabs, where they had no other fish or where they knew not how to catch and kill them. In short, they had whatever fish was most serviceable to them as their gods."<sup>1</sup> Some of the Collas of Peru "thought that their first progenitor had come out of a river, and they held it in great reverence and veneration as a father, looking upon the killing of fish in that river as sacrilege; for they said that the fish were their brothers. They believed in many other fables respecting their origin; and, from the same cause, they had many different gods, some for one reason and others for another. There was only one deity which all the Collas united in worshipping and holding as their principal god. This was a white sheep, for they were the lords of innumerable flocks." Yet they offered up lambs and grease as sacrifices.<sup>2</sup>

The Chancas of Peru "boasted that they were descended from a lion, wherefore they adored the lion as a god, and, both before and after they were conquered by the Yncas, it was the custom among them, on days of festival, for two dozen Indians to come forth dressed in the way Hercules is painted, covered with lion skins, and their heads thrust into the skulls of lions. I have seen them so attired in the feast

People of different provinces worshipped the kind of fish which they caught in greatest abundance, as sardines, skate, dog-fish, gold-fish, and crabs.

Worship of a white sheep.

Some Indians of Peru claimed to be descended from lions (pumas), and others from condors,

<sup>1</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, translated by Clements R. Markham (London, 1869-1871), vol. i. pp. 47-

50 (bk. i. chapters 9 and 10).

<sup>2</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 168 *sq.* (bk. ii. ch. 19).

of the most holy sacrament at Cuzco."<sup>1</sup> Other Indians of Peru believed themselves to be descended from condors, and accordingly at festivals they dressed themselves up in the great black and white wings of these huge birds.<sup>2</sup>

The Huancas of Peru, before they were conquered by the Incas, "worshipped the figure of a dog and had it in their temples as an idol, and they considered the flesh of a dog to be most savoury meat. It may be supposed that they worshipped the dog because they were fond of its flesh; and their greatest festival was the repast they provided with dog's meat. To show their devotion to dogs, they made a sort of trumpet of their heads which, when they played at their feasts and dances, made a music that was very sweet to their ears; and when they went to war they also played on these trumpets to terrify and astonish their enemies, saying that the power of their god caused these two contrary effects." When the Incas conquered these people, they destroyed their dog idols, forbade them to worship the figures of animals, and obliged them to make their trumpets out of the heads of deer instead of dogs.<sup>3</sup>

These accounts of the ancient religion and superstition of the Peruvian aborigines, which we have on the high authority of Garcilasso de la Vega, himself the son of an Inca princess, may perhaps be regarded as indications that these people had totemism or something like it. But the evidence is too slight to allow us to pronounce a decided opinion on the question.

The report which Garcilasso de la Vega gives of the marriage customs of the Peruvian aborigines seems to shew that endogamy rather than exogamy was the rule with some of these people. He says: "In many nations they cohabited like beasts, without any special wife, but just as chance directed. Others followed their own desires, without excepting sisters, daughters, or mothers. Others excepted their mothers, but none else. In other provinces it was lawful,

<sup>1</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, translated by Clements R. Markham (London, 1869-1871), vol. i. p. 323 (bk. iv. ch. 15). The animal referred to is no doubt the puma. There are

no lions in South America.

<sup>2</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 156 (bk. vi. ch. 20).

<sup>3</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 128 *sq.* (bk. vi. ch. 10).

and even praiseworthy, for the girls to be as immodest and abandoned as they pleased, and the most dissolute were more certain of marriage than those who were faithful. At all events the abandoned sorts of girls were held to be more lusty, while of the modest it was said that they had had no desire for any one because they were torpid. In other provinces they had an opposite custom, for the mothers guarded their daughters with great care; and when they were sought in marriage, they were brought out in public, and, in presence of the relations who had made the contract, the mothers deflowered them with their own hands, to show to all present the proof of the care that had been taken of them. In other provinces the nearest relations of the bride and her most intimate friends had connection with her, and on this condition the marriage was agreed to, and she was thus received by the husband."<sup>1</sup>

The report of incestuous marriages among the aborigines of Peru is borne out by analogy.

The divergencies in the matrimonial customs thus recorded by Garcilasso de la Vega seem to shew that he was well acquainted with the facts; and accordingly we may accept with some confidence his statement that incestuous marriages between the nearest relations were common among many of the aboriginal tribes of Peru. We have seen that a similar state of things is reported among the Eastern Tinnehs of North-West America,<sup>2</sup> and that marriages between a father and his daughter are sanctioned by custom in some parts of New Guinea and Melanesia.<sup>3</sup>

Among the Mataranes of Peru the human dead were represented by dead ostriches. Perhaps the ostrich was the totem of the tribe.

The Mataranes of Paraguay celebrated an annual festival of their dead, and part of the festival consisted of a solemn procession in which each deceased person was represented by a dead ostrich. All the relations and friends of the departed who assembled on this occasion were expected to bring as many dead ostriches as they had dead kinsfolk to mourn. The festival lasted four days, and on the fourth day the dead were lamented for the space of one hour.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the dead Mataranes were supposed to transmigrate into ostriches; and if that were so, the ostrich may

<sup>1</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, translated by Clements R. Markham (London, 1869-1871), vol. i. pp. 58 sq. (bk. i. ch. 14).

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 362 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 40, 118.

<sup>4</sup> De Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay* (Paris, 1756), i. 462 (where 482 is a misprint).

have been their totem. This is merely a conjecture, but it is supported to some extent by the example of the Moluches or Araucanians, as we shall see immediately; for in that Indian nation there was an Ostrich clan, and the dead were supposed to live with the presiding deity of their clan, who in the case of the Ostrich clan might naturally be an ostrich.

The last people whom we shall notice in our survey of totemism are the Moluches, as they call themselves, or the Araucanians, as they are called by the Spaniards. They are a powerful and warlike tribe or rather nation of Southern Chili. The evidence that they had a totemic system is fairly strong, though it does not amount to a complete proof. In the first place they are divided into families or clans, which take their names from animals, plants, and other natural objects. On this subject the Abbé Molina, the historian of Chili, writes thus: "The names of the Araucanians are composed of the proper name, which is generally either an adjective or a numeral, and the family appellative or surname, which is always placed after the proper name, according to the European custom, as *carizlemu*, green bush; *meli-antu*, four suns. The first denotes one of the family of the *lemus*, or bushes, and the second one of that of the *antus*, or suns. Nor is there scarcely a material object which does not furnish them with a discriminative name. From hence, we meet among them with the families of Rivers, Mountains, Stones, Lions, etc. These families, which are called *cuga*, or *elpa*, are more or less respected according to their rank, or the heroes they have given to their country. The origin of these surnames is unknown, but is certainly of a period much earlier than that of the Spanish conquests."<sup>1</sup> A later writer on the Araucanians gives as examples of their family

The Moluches or Araucanians of Chili are divided into families or clans, which are named after animals, plants, and other natural objects.

<sup>1</sup> Don J. Ignatius Molina, *The Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili* (London, 1809), ii. 113 sq. The name Araucanians (Araucanos) has been bestowed on these Indians by the Spaniards, but they call themselves Moluches. According to Falkner, they are dispersed over the country both to the east and

the west of the Andes of Chili from the borders of Peru to the Straits of Magellan, and they may be divided into the different nations of the Picunches, Pehuenches, and Huilliches. See Thomas Falkner, *A Description of Patagonia and of the Adjoining Parts of South America* (Hereford, 1774), p. 96.

names *Hueno*, "Heaven"; *Coyam*, "Oak"; and *Lemu*, "Forest."<sup>1</sup>

Each clan has its presiding deity, who lives in a vast cave under ground, and the dead clans-people go to live with him there. These clan-names and beliefs savour of totemism.

In the second place, the Moluches or Araucanians believe that each family or clan has its presiding deity. On this subject Thomas Falkner, who resided in their country for nearly forty years, tells us that "they have formed a multiplicity of these deities; each of whom they believe to preside over one particular cast or family of Indians, of which he is supposed to have been the creator. Some make themselves of the cast of the Tiger, some of the Lion, some of the Guanaco, and others of the Ostrich, etc. They imagine that these deities have each their separate habitations, in vast caverns under the earth, beneath some lake, hill, etc., and that when an Indian dies, his soul goes to live with the deity who presides over his particular family, there to enjoy the happiness of being eternally drunk."<sup>2</sup> These beliefs, taken together with the names of the families or clans, raise a fairly strong presumption that the Moluches or Araucanians have or once had a totemic system.

Form of capture of the bride at marriage among the Araucanians.

In their marriages the Moluches or Araucanians "scrupulously avoid the more immediate degrees of relationship";<sup>3</sup> and the pretence of capturing the bride, which forms a regular part of an Araucanian marriage ceremony, may perhaps point to a custom of exogamy. "Their marriage ceremonies," says Molina, "have little formality, or, to speak more accurately, consist in nothing more than in carrying off the bride by pretended violence, which is considered by them, as by the negroes of Africa, an essential prerequisite to the nuptials. The husband, in concert with the father, conceals himself with some friends near the place where they know the bride is to pass. As soon as she arrives she is seized and put on horseback behind the bridegroom, notwithstanding her pretended resistance and her shrieks, which are far from being serious. In this manner she is conducted with much noise to the house of her husband, where her relations are assembled, and receive

<sup>1</sup> E. R. Smith, *The Araucanians, or Notes of a Tour among the Indian Tribes of Southern Chili* (London, 1855), p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Falkner, *A Description of*

*Patagonia and the Adjoining Parts of South America* (Hereford, 1774), p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Molina, *History of Chili*, ii. 115.

the presents agreed upon, after having partaken of the nuptial entertainment.”<sup>1</sup>

Amongst the Moluches or Araucanians, as among so many other Indian tribes, we find that a woman avoids the man who has married her daughter. Sometimes, we are told, this ceremonial avoidance is carried so far that for years after her daughter's marriage “the mother never addresses her son-in-law face to face; though with her back turned, or with the interposition of a fence or a partition, she will converse with him freely.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Molina, *History of Chili*, ii. 115  
*sq.* Compare E. R. Smith, *The Araucanians*, pp. 215 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> E. R. Smith, *The Araucanians*, p. 217.

Custom of avoidance between a man and his wife's mother.

END OF VOL III.

# Totemism and Exogamy

A Treatise on Certain Early Forms  
of Superstition and Society

BY

J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D., F.B.A.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL.

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. IV

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED  
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1910

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## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION



## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

### § 1. *Totemism and Exogamy*

THE main facts of totemism, so far as they have been reported on trustworthy authority and are known to me, have now been laid before the reader.<sup>1</sup> It remains briefly to review them and to consider the general conclusions to which they point.

No one who has followed the preceding survey attentively can fail to be struck by the general similarity of the beliefs and customs which it has revealed in tribe after tribe of men belonging to different races and speaking different languages in many widely distant parts of the world. Differences, sometimes considerable differences, of detail do certainly occur, but on the whole the resemblances decidedly preponderate and are so many and so close that they deserve to be classed together under a common name. The name which students of the subject have bestowed on these beliefs and customs is totemism, a word borrowed from the language of one of the tribes which practises the institution; and while the introduction of new words from barbarous languages is in general to be deprecated, there is some excuse for designating by a barbarous name a barbarous institution to which the institutions of civilised nations offer no analogy. If now, reviewing all the facts, we attempt to frame a general definition of totemism, we may perhaps say that totemism is an intimate relation which is supposed to exist between a group of kindred people on the one side and a species of

General  
similarity  
of totemism  
all over the  
world.

Totemism  
defined.

<sup>1</sup> Some facts which came to my knowledge too late to be inserted in their proper places will be found recorded in the "Notes and Corrections" at the end of this volume.

natural or artificial objects on the other side, which objects are called the totems of the human group. To this general definition, which probably applies to all purely totemic peoples, it should be added that the species of things which constitutes a totem is far oftener natural than artificial, and that amongst the natural species which are reckoned totems the great majority are either animals or plants.

To define exactly the relation in which totemic people stand to their totems is hardly possible ; for exact definitions imply exact thoughts, and the thoughts of savages in the totemic stage are essentially vague, confused, and contradictory. As soon therefore as we attempt to give a precise and detailed account of totemism we almost inevitably fall into contradictions, since what we may say of the totemic system of one tribe may not apply without serious modifications and restrictions to the totemic system of another. We must constantly bear in mind that totemism is not a consistent philosophical system, the product of exact knowledge and high intelligence, rigorous in its definitions and logical in its deductions from them. On the contrary it is a crude superstition, the offspring of undeveloped minds, indefinite, illogical, inconsistent. Remembering this, and renouncing any attempt to give logical precision to a subject which does not admit of it, we may say that on the whole the relation in which a man stands to his totem appears to be one of friendship and kinship. He regards the animals or plants or whatever the totems may be as his friends and relations, his fathers, his brothers, and so forth. He puts them as far as he can on a footing of equality with himself and with his fellows, the members of the same totemic clan. He considers them as essentially his peers, as beings of the same sort as himself and his human kinsmen. In short, so far as it is possible to do so, he identifies himself and his fellow-clansmen with his totem. Accordingly, if the totem is a species of animals he looks upon himself and his fellows as animals of the same species ; and on the other hand he regards the animals as in a sense human. Speaking of the Central Australian tribes Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe : " The totem of any man is regarded, just as it is elsewhere, as the same thing as himself ; as a native once said to us when we were discussing

Totemism a crude superstition, not a philosophical system.

The relation of a man to his totem is one of friendship and kinship ; as far as possible he identifies himself with his totem.

the matter with him, 'that one,' pointing to his photograph which we had taken, 'is just the same as me; so is a kangaroo' (his totem)."<sup>1</sup> In these brief sentences the whole essence of totemism is summed up: totemism is an identification of a man with his totem, whether his totem be an animal, a plant, or what not.

Thus it is a serious, though apparently a common, mistake to speak of a totem as a god and to say that it is worshipped by the clan. In pure totemism, such as we find it among the Australian aborigines, the totem is never a god and is never worshipped. A man no more worships his totem and regards it as his god than he worships his father and mother, his brother and his sister, and regards them as his gods. He certainly respects his totem and treats it with consideration, but the respect and consideration which he pays to it are the same that he pays to his friends and relations; hence when his totem is an edible animal or plant, he commonly, but not always, abstains from killing and eating it, just as he commonly, but not always, abstains from killing and eating his friends and relations. But to call this decent respect for his equals the worship of a god is entirely to misapprehend and misrepresent the essence of totemism. If religion implies, as it seems to do, an acknowledgment on the part of the worshipper that the object of his worship is superior to himself, then pure totemism cannot properly be called a religion at all, since a man looks upon his totem as his equal and friend, not at all as his superior, still less as his god. The system is thoroughly democratic; it is simply an imaginary brotherhood established on a footing of perfect equality between a group of people on the one side and a group of things (generally a species of animals and plants) on the other side. No doubt it may under favourable circumstances develop into a worship of animals or plants, of the sun or the moon, of the sea or the rivers, or whatever the particular totem may have been; but such worship is never found amongst the lowest savages, who have totemism in its purest form; it occurs only among peoples who have made a considerable advance in culture, and accordingly we are justified in considering it

It is a mistake to speak of a totem as a god and of totemism as a religion.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 202.

as a later phase of religious evolution, as a product of the disruption and decay of totemism proper.<sup>1</sup> Hence it is an error to speak of true totemism as a religion. As I fell into that error when I first wrote on the subject,<sup>2</sup> and as I fear that my example may have drawn many others after me into the same error, it is incumbent on me to confess my mistake, and to warn my readers against repeating it.

The respect which a man owes to his totem as a kinsman and friend usually prevents him from killing and eating it, when it is an edible animal or plant; but sometimes he kills and eats it for the purpose of identifying himself with it more completely.

The respect which a man owes to his totem as a kinsman and friend usually prevents him from killing and eating it, whenever the totem is an edible animal or plant. But the rule is by no means invariable. Indeed the identification of a man with his totem, which appears to be the essence of totemism, may lead the savage to adopt a precisely opposite line of conduct towards his totemic animal or plant. He may kill and eat the animal or plant for the very purpose of identifying himself with it more completely. For the savage thinks, not without some show of reason, that his bodily substance partakes of the nature of the food that he eats, and that accordingly he becomes in a very real sense the animal whose flesh he consumes or the plant whose roots or fruits he masticates and swallows. Hence if his totem is, let us say, a kangaroo, it may become his bounden duty to eat kangaroo flesh in order to identify himself physically with the animal. This obligation is recognised and carried out in practice by the natives of Central Australia; for they think that unless they thus convert themselves into their totems by occasionally eating a little of them, they will be unable magically to multiply the totemic animals and plants for the benefit of the rest of the community.<sup>3</sup> Further, their traditions point back to a time when their ancestors ate their totems, not only in small quantities and on rare occasions for the sake of acquiring magical power over them, but freely and habitually as if it were the most natural thing in the world for them to do so.<sup>4</sup> Such a custom differs from the

<sup>1</sup> At the same time even in Australia, the classical land of totemism, some germs of a totemic religion may be detected. See above, vol. i. pp. 141-153. So difficult is it to lay down any general propositions as to totemism which are not liable to exceptions and

restrictions in particular cases.

<sup>2</sup> In my *Totemism*, published in 1887. See above, vol. i. pp. 4 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 109 *sqq.*, 230 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 238 *sqq.*

normal practice of totemic tribes, which is to abstain from killing and eating their totems; and we have seen reason to believe that among the Australian aborigines it was the older custom, since it has been partially retained by the more primitive tribes in the centre of the continent, while it has been completely abandoned by the more advanced tribes nearer to the sea, who strictly abstain from eating their totems.<sup>1</sup>

These differences of custom in regard to eating the totem exemplify the inconsistencies of totemism. Which of the two customs is absolutely the more primitive, it might be difficult to determine. One tribe may have adopted the one practice and another tribe the other. Some people, thinking chiefly of their corporeal relationship to their totems, may have deemed it necessary to eat the totemic animals or plants in order to maintain and strengthen the physical tie between them, just as many people eat their dead human relations for a similar purpose. This was perhaps the original theory and practice of the Australian aborigines, and the inference is confirmed by the observation that in Australia the custom of eating the bodies of dead relations as a mark of respect and affection seems to have been very widely spread.<sup>2</sup> On this view a tribe originally ate its totemic animals and its human dead from precisely the same motive, namely, from a wish to absorb the life of the animals or of the men, and so to identify the eater either with his totem or with his kinsfolk, between whom indeed he did not clearly distinguish. Other totemic peoples, however, fixing their attention rather on their social than on their corporeal relation to their totems, may from the first have refused to kill and eat the totemic animals, just as many savages refuse to kill and eat their relations. In Australia this custom of abstaining from the totem is common, but for the reasons I have given we may infer that it is more recent than the custom of freely eating the totem. The motive which led people to abandon the older practice was probably a growing regard for the social, and a growing disregard for the corporeal, side of the totemic bond. They thought less of themselves as animals and more of the

Perhaps the original custom was to eat the totem, and the later custom was to abstain from it. Similarly people used to eat their dead relations as a mark of respect and affection, but in late times they ceased to do so.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 230 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 260 *sqq.*

animals as men. The result was a more humane and considerate treatment of their totems, which manifested itself chiefly in the refusal to kill and eat the totemic animals or plants.<sup>1</sup> On the whole the new attitude to the totem is kindlier, less crude and savage, than the old one; it shews some consideration for the feelings, or supposed feelings, of others, and such consideration is invariably a mark of a certain refinement of nature. So far, therefore, the adoption of the rule that a man may not kill, eat, or otherwise injure his totem probably indicates an advance in culture; it is a step towards civilisation and religion. Similarly the abandonment of the old custom of devouring dead relations is unquestionably a change for the better. In some communities the two changes may have proceeded side by side.

Differences between totemic peoples in respect of marriage; in most tribes the totemic clans are exogamous, but in some they are not so.

Among the differences which exist between the totemic systems of different tribes one of the most important is that which concerns the custom of marriage. It is a common, indeed general, rule that members of a totemic clan may not marry each other but are bound to seek their wives and husbands in another clan. This rule is called exogamy, and the proposition which has just been stated may be put in a briefer form by saying that a totemic clan is usually also exogamous. But to this rule there are very considerable exceptions. Among the tribes in the heart of Australia, particularly the Arunta, Unmatjera, Ilpirra, and Iliaura, the totemic clans are not exogamous; in other words, a man is free to marry a woman who has the same totem as himself.<sup>2</sup> The same holds true of the Kworafi tribe in British New Guinea,<sup>3</sup> of the Kacharis in Assam,<sup>4</sup> and of some African tribes, such as the Wahehe, Taveta, and Nandi;<sup>5</sup> and in regard to the numerous nation of the Bechuanas, who are subdivided into many totemic clans, there is, so far as I am aware, no clear evidence that these totemic clans are exogamous.<sup>6</sup> However, in such matters little reliance can be placed on merely negative evidence, since our information as to most totemic tribes is miserably defective. A people whose

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 121-123.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 242 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 297.

<sup>5</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 404 *sq.*, 418 *sq.*, 433.

<sup>6</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 378, and below, p. 304.

totemic clans, if we may call them so, were certainly not exogamous are the Samoans. Their families or clans revered each its own species of things, generally a species of animals or of plants, which the clan carefully abstained from killing and eating. Such a practice falls strictly under the general definition of totemism which I have given above, but it differs from the common variety of totemism in not being exogamous. Further, the traditions of the Central Australian tribes, which I have shewn reasons for regarding as on the whole the most primitive of all the Australian aborigines,<sup>1</sup> represent their ancestors as habitually marrying women of their own totems; in other words, they point back to a time when totemism existed but exogamy of the totemic groups as yet did not.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the tradition of another of these Central Australian tribes, the Dieri, relates that the rule of exogamy was introduced for the express purpose of preventing men from marrying women of their own totems, as they had done before.<sup>3</sup> Taking the practice and the traditions of the Central Australian tribes together we may with some probability conclude that the institution of exogamy is distinct in kind and in origin from the institution of totemism, and that among the most primitive totemic tribes totemism preceded exogamy. Accordingly the totemic system of tribes which do not practise exogamy may be called pure totemism, and the totemic system of tribes which practise exogamy may be called exogamous totemism.

Totemism distinct from and older than exogamy

Another people who possess totemism in a pure form without the admixture of exogamy are the Melanesians of the Banks' Islands, and their case is particularly instructive because it presents an almost exact parallel to that of the Arunta and other kindred tribes of Central Australia. These islanders practise both totemism and exogamy in their purest and most primitive forms, but like the Arunta and their congeners in Central Australia they keep the two institutions

The Banks' Islanders have both totemism and exogamy in their purest and most primitive forms, but like the

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 242 *sq.*, 251 *sq.*, 337 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 251 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 350-352. Of the two versions of this tradition which have been recorded by S. Gason

and the Rev. Otto Siebert respectively, the version of Mr. Siebert is to be preferred, because he is a better authority than Gason, whose error on an important point he corrected. See above, vol. i. p. 148.

Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia they keep the two institutions quite distinct from each other.

perfectly distinct from each other. Their totemism is of the most primitive pattern, because their totems are not hereditary but are determined for each individual simply and solely by the fancy of his or her mother during pregnancy: their exogamy is of the most primitive pattern, because the community is bisected into two and only two exogamous classes, which we have good reason to believe to be the original and primary type of exogamy, the mother of all other exogamous systems.<sup>1</sup> But while the Banks' Islanders have pure totemism and pure exogamy, they do not mix the two institutions together; in other words, their exogamous classes are not totemic, and on the other hand their totemic clans, if we may so designate the groups of persons who have the same conceptional totem, are not exogamous, that is to say, a man is quite free to marry a woman who has the same conceptional totem as himself.<sup>2</sup> In their general principles, therefore, the totemic and exogamous systems of the Banks' Islanders and of the Central Australian aborigines are in fundamental agreement; and taken together they strongly confirm the view that totemism and exogamy, even when they are both practised by the same people, are nevertheless institutions wholly distinct from and independent of each other, though in many tribes they have crossed and blended. How the fusion has apparently been effected, in other words, how totemic clans have so often come to be exogamous, will be shewn in the sequel.<sup>3</sup>

Another reason for inferring the radical distinction of totemism and exogamy is that, just as totemism may exist without exogamy, so on the other hand exogamy may exist without totemism. For example, a number of tribes in Sumatra and other parts of the Indian Archipelago, the Todas of India, and the Masai of Africa, are divided into exogamous clans which are not, so far as appears, totemic. In India especially the institution of exogamy disjoined from the institution of totemism appears to be

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 272 *sqq.*, and below, pp. 105 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> This very important information was obtained by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers after my account of his discoveries in the Banks' Islands (above, vol. ii. pp.

85-101) had been printed off. The new information entirely confirms my conjecture on the subject. See also below, pp. 286 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 127 *sqq.*

very widespread and is shared even by the pure Aryan peoples, including the Brahmans, Rajputs, and other high castes. As the primary subject of the present investigation is totemism, and I am concerned with exogamy only so far as it is bound up with totemism, I have made no attempt to enumerate all the peoples of the world who practise exogamy apart from totemism, although I have not abstained from noticing a few such peoples who happen to be associated, whether by racial affinity or geographical situation, with totemic tribes. But pure exogamy, that is, exogamy unaccompanied by totemism, might furnish a theme for a separate treatise.

If now we turn to the geographical diffusion of totemism, whether in its pure or its exogamous form, we may observe that the institution appears to occur universally among the aborigines of Australia, the western islanders of Torres Straits, and the coast tribes of British New Guinea. It is common in one shape or another among the Melanesians from the Admiralty Islands on the north-west to Fiji on the south-east. In Polynesia it occurs among the Pelew Islanders and in a developed or decayed form among the Samoans, and indications of it have been recorded in Rotuma, Tikopia, and other islands of the vast archipelago or rather cluster of archipelagoes which stud the Pacific. It is found in a typical form among the Battas of Sumatra and less clearly defined among other tribes of Indonesia. In India it is widespread, and may well have been at one time universal, among the Dravidian races who probably form the aboriginal population of Hindoostan; and it appears to be shared by some of the Mongoloid tribes of Assam.<sup>1</sup> But on the frontiers of British India the institution, or at all events the record of it, stops abruptly. In Africa it has been found among so many Bantu tribes both of the south and of the centre that we may reasonably suppose it to be a characteristic institution of the Bantu stock. Beyond the vast region occupied by the pure Bantus totemism has been discovered among those tribes of mixed Hamitic blood, as well as among some of those tribes of Nilotic negroes, who border on the Bantu

Geo-  
graphical  
diffusion  
of  
totemism.  
Totemism  
in Aus-  
tralia, Ne-  
Guinea,  
Melanesia,  
Polynesia,  
Indonesia,  
and India

Totemism  
in Africa.

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence of totemism in Assam, see above vol. ii. pp. 318 *sqq.*, and below, pp. 295-300.

peoples in Eastern and Central Africa. Among the pure negroes of Western Africa the totemic system is practised in more or less normal forms by many tribes of the Slave Coast, the Gold Coast, the Ivory Coast, and Senegambia, as well as by some scattered communities of heathen Hausas, which still appear like islets above the rising flood of Mohammedanism which threatens to swamp the whole of aboriginal Africa. In North America totemism seems to have been universal among the settled and agricultural tribes of the East and South; to have occurred among some of the hunting tribes of the great central prairies; and to have been wholly unknown to the much ruder savages who occupied the rich and beautiful country, the garden of the United States, which stretches from the Rocky Mountains to the waters of the Pacific. Further to the north totemism reappears among some of the fishing and hunting tribes of British Columbia and Alaska, who are either hemmed in between the rainy, densely wooded mountains and the sea or roam the dreary steppes of the interior. But it vanishes again among their neighbours, the Eskimo, on the icy shores of the Arctic Ocean. In tropical South America totemism has been detected among the Goajiros of Colombia and the Arawaks of Guiana; and perhaps it exists among the Araucanians or Moluches of Southern Chili. Judging by the analogy of their kinsmen in North America we may surmise that the institution is or has been practised by many more tribes of South America, though the traces of it among them are few and faint.

Totemism  
in North  
and South  
America.

Totemism  
has not  
been found  
in Europe  
and North  
Africa, nor  
in Asia,  
except in  
India, nor  
has it been  
proved to  
have been  
practised by  
the Aryan,  
Semitic, and  
Turanian  
families of  
mankind.

On the other hand, totemism has not been found as a living institution in any part of Northern Africa, Europe, or Asia, with the single exception of India; in other words, it appears to be absent, either wholly or for the most part, from two of the three continents which together make up the land surface of the Old World, as well as from the adjacent portion of the third. Nor has it been demonstrated beyond the reach of reasonable doubt that the institution ever obtained among any of the three great families of mankind which have played the most conspicuous parts in history—the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Turanian. It is true that learned and able writers have sought to prove the

former existence of totemism both among the Semites<sup>1</sup> and among the Aryans, notably among the ancient Greeks and Celts;<sup>2</sup> but so far as I have studied the evidence adduced to support these conclusions I have to confess that it leaves me doubtful or unconvinced. To a great extent it consists of myths, legends, and superstitions about plants and animals which, though they bear a certain resemblance to totemism, may have originated quite independently of it. Accordingly I have preferred not to discuss the difficult and intricate question of Semitic and Aryan totemism. In the body of facts which I have collected and presented to the reader future enquirers may find materials for instituting a comparison between the actual totemism of savages and the supposed vestiges of it among the civilised races of ancient or modern times. It is possible that their researches may yet shed light on this obscure problem and perhaps finally solve it. I shall be content if I have helped to smooth the way towards a solution.

At the same time I am bound to point out a serious obstacle which the theory of Semitic and Aryan totemism has to encounter, and with which its advocates appear not to have reckoned. That obstacle is the classificatory system of relationship. So far as the systems of relationship employed by totemic peoples are known to us, they appear to be without a single exception classificatory, not descriptive; and accordingly we may reasonably infer that wherever the classificatory system of relationship is absent, as it is among the Semites and the Aryans, there totemism is absent also. It is true that the classificatory system has apparently in itself no necessary connection with totemism, and that the

The system of relationship employed by all totemic peoples appears to be classificatory, not descriptive; the system of relationship of the Aryan and Semitic peoples is descriptive.

<sup>1</sup> The case for totemism among the Semites has been argued with his usual acumen and learning by W. Robertson Smith, in his book *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885; Second Edition, London, 1903).

<sup>2</sup> Among the advocates of Greek and Celtic totemism is my learned and ingenious friend M. Solomon Reinach. See his *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, i. (Paris, 1905) pp. 9 *sqq.*, 30 *sqq.* Mr. G. L. Gomme has collected what he

believes to be relics of totemism in the British Islands. See his articles "Totemism in Britain," *The Archaeological Review*, iii. (1889) pp. 217-242, 350-375; *id.*, *Folklore as an Historical Science* (London, 1908), pp. 276 *sqq.* Mr. N. W. Thomas has done the same for Wales. See his article "La Survivance du culte totémique des animaux et les rites agraires dans le pays de Galles," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xxxviii. (1898) pp. 295-347.

two things might, so far as we see, quite well exist apart. The necessary connection of the classificatory system, as I shall point out presently, is not with totemism but with exogamy. But to say this is only to raise the difficulty of Aryan and Semitic totemism in another form. For no Semitic people and no Aryan people, except the Hindoos, is known for certain to have been exogamous. Thus if the theory of Aryan and Semitic totemism is to be established, its advocates must shew, not only how the Aryans and the Semites have lost that institution, but how they have lost the institutions of exogamy and the classificatory system of relationship as well.

If we exclude hypotheses and confine ourselves to facts, we may say broadly that totemism is practised by many savage and barbarous peoples, the lower races as we call them, who occupy the continents and islands of the tropics and the Southern Hemisphere, together with a large part of North America, and whose complexion shades off from coal black through dark brown to red. With the somewhat doubtful exception of a few Mongoloid tribes in Assam, no yellow and no white race is totemic. Thus if civilisation varies on the whole, as it seems to do, directly with complexion, increasing or diminishing with the blanching or darkening of the skin, we may lay it down as a general proposition that totemism is an institution peculiar to the dark-complexioned and least civilised races of mankind who are spread over the Tropics and the Southern Hemisphere, but have also overflowed into North America.

The question naturally suggests itself, How has totemism been diffused through so large a part of the human race and over so vast an area of the world? Two answers at least are possible. On the one hand, it may have originated in a single centre and spread thence either through peaceful intercourse between neighbouring peoples or through the migrations and conquests of the people with whom the institution took its rise. Or, on the other hand, it may have sprung up independently in many different tribes as a product of certain general laws of intellectual and social development common to all races of men who are descended from the same stock. However, these two solutions of the

Totemism is peculiar to the dark-skinned and least civilised races of mankind, who occupy the Tropics, the Southern Hemisphere and North America.

Totemism appears to have originated independently in several centres.

problem are not mutually exclusive ; for totemism may have arisen independently in a number of tribes and have spread from them to others. There is some indication of such a diffusion of totemism from tribe to tribe on the North-West coast of America. But a glance at a totemic map of the world may convince us of the difficulty of accounting for the spread of totemism on the theory of a single origin. Such a theory might have been plausible enough if the totemic peoples had been congregated together in the huge compact mass of land which under the names of Europe, Asia, and Africa makes up the greater part of the habitable globe. But on the contrary the tribes which practise totemism are scattered far apart from each other over that portion of the world in which the ocean greatly predominates in area over the land. Seas which to the savage might well seem boundless and impassable roll between the totemic peoples of Australia, India, Africa, and America. What communication was possible, for instance, between the savage aborigines of Southern India and the savage aborigines of North-Eastern America, between the Dravidians and the Iroquois? or again between the tribes of New South Wales and the tribes of Southern Africa, between the Kamilaroi and the Herero? So far as the systems of totemism and kinship among these widely sundered peoples agree with each other, it seems easier to explain their agreement, on the theory of independent origin, as the result of similar minds acting alike to meet the pressure of similar needs. And the immense seas which divide the totemic tribes from each other may suggest a reason why savagery in general and totemism in particular have lingered so long in this portion of the world. The physical barriers which divide mankind, by preventing the free interchange of ideas, are so many impediments to intellectual and moral progress, so many clogs on the advance of civilisation. We need not wonder, therefore, that savagery has kept its seat longest in the Southern Hemisphere and in the New World, which may be called the Oceanic regions of the globe ; while on the contrary civilisation had its earliest homes in the great continental area of Europe, Asia, and North Africa, where primitive

Why savagery has lingered longest in the Oceanic regions of the world.

men, as yet unable to battle with the ocean, could communicate freely with each other by land.

The history of totemism is unknown ; but though it has only been discovered in modern times it is probably very ancient.

The history of totemism is unknown. Our earliest notices of it date only from the seventeenth century and consist of a few scanty references in the reports written from North America by Jesuit missionaries among the Indians. The eighteenth century added but little to our information on the subject. It was not until the great scientific Renaissance of the nineteenth century that men awoke to the need of studying savagery, and among the additions which the new study made to knowledge not the least important were the discoveries of totemism, exogamy, and the classificatory system of relationship. The discoveries of totemism and exogamy were the work above all of the Scotchman J. F. McLennan ; the discovery of the classificatory system of relationship was due to the American L. H. Morgan alone. Unfortunately neither of these great students appreciated the work of the other, and they engaged in bitter and barren controversy over it. We who profit by their genius and labours can now see how the work of each fits into and supplements that of the other. The history of the classificatory system, like that of totemism, is quite unknown ; civilised men seem to have had no inkling of its existence till the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Yet we cannot doubt that despite the shortness of their historical record both totemism and the classificatory system of relationship are exceedingly ancient. Of the two it is probable that totemism is much the older. For the classificatory system, as we shall see presently, is founded on exogamy, and there are good grounds for thinking that exogamy is later than totemism.<sup>2</sup>

Yet ancient as totemism appears to be, there is no reason to

A strong argument in favour of the antiquity both of totemism and of the classificatory system is their occurrence among some of the most savage and least progressive races of men ; for as these rude tribes cannot have borrowed the

<sup>1</sup> The earliest notice of it appears to be the one which the Indian agent, Major John Dougherty, supplied to Major Long's exploring expedition in 1819 or 1820. See above, vol. iii. pp. 114 *sq.* But this account was restricted to the Omaha form of the system ; Dougherty apparently did not

suspect that the system was widely spread among the Indian tribes, much less that it is diffused over a great part of the world. That discovery was reserved for L. H. Morgan.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 8-10, and below, pp. 112 *sqq.*

institutions from more civilised peoples, we are obliged to conclude that they evolved them at a level of culture even lower than that at which we find them. Yet it would doubtless be a mistake to imagine that even totemism is a product of absolutely primitive man. As I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> all existing savages are probably far indeed removed from the condition in which our remote ancestors were when they ceased to be bestial and began to be human. The embryonic age of humanity lies many thousands, perhaps millions, of years behind us, and no means of research at present known to us hold out the least prospect that we shall ever be able to fill up this enormous gap in the historical record. It is, therefore, only in a relative sense, by comparison with civilised men, that we may legitimately describe any living race of savages as primitive. If we could compare these primitive savages with their oldest human ancestors we should find no doubt that in the interval the progress of intelligence, morality, and the arts of life has been prodigious; indeed in all these respects the chasm which divides the modern from the ancient savage may very well be much deeper and wider than that which divides the lowest modern savage from a Shakespeare or a Newton. Hence, even if we could carry ourselves back in time to the very beginnings of totemism, there is no reason to suppose that we should find its authors to be truly primæval men. The cradle of totemism was not, so far as we can conjecture, the cradle of humanity.

At the present time the institution of totemism exists and flourishes among races at very different levels of culture. In Australia it is practised by the rudest of savages, who subsist purely by hunting and by the wild fruits of the earth, and who have never learned to till the ground or to domesticate any animal but the dog. In Torres Straits, New Guinea, Melanesia, and Polynesia the totemic tribes live chiefly by agriculture or horticulture. In North America some maintained themselves almost wholly by the chase or by fishing; many others eked out their subsistence by cultivating the soil; and some, such as the Pueblo Indians, were and are husbandmen pure and simple. In Africa

suppose that it is coeval with absolutely primitive man.

At the present time totemism exists among races at very different stages of culture, from hunting and fishing tribes up to pastoral, agricultural, commercial.

<sup>1</sup> *The Scope of Social Anthropology* (London, 1908), pp. 7 sqq.

and industrial peoples.

certain totemic tribes, such as the Herero, the Bahima, and some of the Banyoro, are purely pastoral, living on the products of their flocks and herds with very little admixture of vegetable food. Others unite the occupations of the herdsman and the farmer, or live chiefly, like the Baganda, on the fruits of the ground which they cultivate. In India the range of occupations followed by totemic tribes or castes is still greater; for it extends from hunting and the herding of cattle to agriculture, commerce, and the mechanical arts, such as weaving, leather-making, stone-cutting, and so forth. From this we may gather that, while totemism no doubt originated in the purely hunting stage of society, there is nothing in the institution itself incompatible with the pastoral, agricultural, even the commercial and industrial modes of life, since in point of fact it remains to this day in vogue among hunters, fishers, farmers, traders, weavers, leather-makers, and stone-masons, not to mention the less reputable professions of quackery, fortune-telling, and robbery.

In some totemic tribes there is an elementary division of labour between the clans; but this division, being based on magic, is economically barren.

A remarkable feature in the social system of some totemic tribes is an elementary division of labour between the clans which together compose the tribe. Each clan is believed to possess a magical control over its totem, and this magical power it is bound to exercise for the good of the community. As totems most commonly consist of edible animals and plants, the ceremonies performed by the totemic clans often, if not generally, aim at multiplying these animals and plants in order that they may be eaten by the people; in other words, the purpose of the ceremonies is to ensure a supply of food for the tribe. Not, however, that they are limited to this function. Other ceremonies are performed to make the rain to fall, the sun to shine, and the wind to blow.

✓ In short the various totemic clans perform their magical rites and chant their spells for the purpose of regulating the course of nature and accommodating it to the needs of man. Thus a totemic tribe organised on these principles may be described as a co-operative supply association composed of groups of magicians, each group charged with the management of a particular department of nature. Communities of this sort are best known to us among the tribes of Central Australia, but they have probably existed

in a more or less developed form wherever totemism has flourished.<sup>1</sup> The principle on which they are implicitly based is the division of labour, a sound economic principle which properly applied cannot fail to be fruitful of good results; but misapplied by totemism to magic it is necessarily barren. It is true that in Uganda, that remarkable African kingdom where the Bantu race has touched its high-water level of culture, the totemic clans have made some progress towards a system of hereditary professional castes or occupations based on a division of economic and fruitful labour between them.<sup>2</sup> But we have only to examine the tasks assigned to the various Baganda clans to perceive that these tasks have nothing to do with their totems. For example, the members of one clan have been from time immemorial hunters of elephants. But their totem is not the elephant, it is the reed-buck.<sup>3</sup> The members of another clan have been, father and son, smiths and workers of iron for generations. But their totem is not iron, it is a tailless cow.<sup>4</sup> The hereditary duty of another clan is to make bark-cloths for the king. But their totem is not bark-cloth, it is the otter.<sup>5</sup> And so with the rest. Thus the superficial resemblance which the totemic system of the Baganda presents to a true economic division of labour is in fact deceptive; the division of labour indeed exists but it is not totemic.

But if totemism as such has not fostered economic progress directly, it may have done so indirectly. In fact it might perhaps be argued that accidentally totemism has led the way to agriculture and the domestication of animals, possibly even to the use of the metals. Its claims to these great discoveries and inventions are indeed very slender, but perhaps they are not quite beneath notice. In regard to agriculture I have already pointed out how the magical ceremonies performed by the Grass-seed clan of the Kaitish might easily lead to a rational cultivation of grass.<sup>6</sup> The Kaitish, like all the aborigines of Australia, are in their native state totally ignorant of the simple truth that a seed planted in the ground will grow and multiply. Hence it

Theory that totemism may have led the way to agriculture, the domestication of animals, and perhaps to the use of the metals.

A rational system of agriculture may pos-

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 104-138.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 505.

<sup>3</sup> Above, vol. ii. p. 496.

<sup>4</sup> Above, vol. ii. p. 497.

<sup>5</sup> Above, vol. ii. p. 481.

<sup>6</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 214-218.

sibly have  
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in magical  
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seeds grow.

has never occurred to them to sow seed in order to obtain a crop. But though they do not adopt this rational mode of accomplishing their end, they have recourse to many irrational and absurd ceremonies for making the grass to grow and bear seed. Amongst other things the headman of the Grass-seed clan takes a quantity of grass-seed in his mouth and blows the seeds about in all directions. So far as the Grass-seed man's mind is concerned, this ceremony of blowing seeds about is precisely on a level with the ceremony of pouring his own blood on stones, which a man of the kangaroo totem performs with great solemnity for the purpose of multiplying kangaroos. But in the eyes of nature and in our eyes the two ceremonies have very different values. We know that we may pour our blood on stones till we die without producing a single kangaroo from the stones; but we also know that if we blow seeds about in the air some of them are very likely to sink into the ground, germinate, and bear fruit after their kind. Even the savage might in time learn to perceive that though grass certainly springs from the ground where the Grass-seed man blew the seed about, no kangaroos ever spring from the stones which have been fertilised with the blood of a Kangaroo man; and if this simple truth had once firmly impressed itself on a blank page of his mind, the Grass-seed man might continue to scatter grass-seed with very good effect long after the Kangaroo man had ceased to bedabble rocks with his gore in the vain expectation of producing a crop of kangaroos. Thus with the advance of knowledge the magic of the Grass-seed man would rise in public esteem, while that of the Kangaroo man would fall into disrepute. From such humble beginnings a rational system of agriculture might in the course of ages be developed.

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On the other hand it is possible that people who have animals for their totems may sometimes accidentally resort to more effective modes of multiplying them than pouring blood on stones. They may in fact capture and tame the animals and breed them in captivity. Totemism may thus have led to the domestication of cattle.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion that totemism may perhaps have led to the domestication of animals and plants was first, so far as I know, put forward by me in

some of the principal totemic areas of the world, such as Australia, Melanesia, and North America, have been very scantily furnished by nature with useful animals which are capable of domestication. In Australia the only animal which the aborigines commonly succeeded in domesticating was the dog, and the wild dog is a totem in many tribes.<sup>1</sup> But there is nothing to shew or to suggest that the domestication of the dog is due to the exertions of Wild Dog men. It is true that ceremonies for the multiplication of wild dogs were performed by people who had wild dogs for their totems, but these ceremonies appear to have been but little calculated to produce the desired result: at the best they were characterised by absurdity and at the worst by obscenity.<sup>2</sup> Similarly in the western islands of Torres Straits there was a Dog clan, the members of which were supposed to understand the habits of dogs and to exercise special control over them;<sup>3</sup> but in what these endowments consisted does not appear, and there is nothing to indicate that they included the art of taming and breeding the animals.

Again, we hear of an Australian medicine-man who had lace-lizards for his personal totem or guardian spirit and who accordingly kept a tame lizard; and we read of another medicine-man who had a tame brown snake for his familiar.<sup>4</sup> Both snakes and lizards of many kinds are common totems of Australian clans;<sup>5</sup> both animals are eaten, and ceremonies are performed for the multiplication of snakes;<sup>6</sup> but the natives seem never to have thought of keeping and breeding them for food. One cause which may have operated to prevent such an idea from crossing their minds might be sheer ignorance of the way in which animals are propagated; for ignorant as many of the

*Totemism* (see above, vol. i. p. 87). It has since been developed by Dr. F. B. Jevons (*Introduction to the History of Religion*, London, 1896, pp. 113 *sqq.*, 210 *sqq.*) and M. Salomon Reinach (*Cultes, Mythes et Religion*, i. Paris, 1905, pp. 86 *sqq.*).

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 768.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 209, 359 *sq.* That the obscene ceremony was in-

tended to multiply dogs is expressly affirmed; that the absurd one was so designed is not expressly affirmed but is highly probable.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Above, vol. i. p. 497.

<sup>5</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 770 *sq.*

<sup>6</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 222 *sqq.*, 359 *sq.*

may have brought about the domestication of cattle.

Tame dogs in Australia and Torres Straits.

Tame snakes and lizards in Australia.

Australian tribes are of the mechanism of propagation in the human species they could hardly understand it better in the lower animals. But the childish improvidence of these low savages might suffice, without any deeper cause, to exclude from their thoughts the notion of rearing animals and cultivating plants for food. A race which has never, so far as appears, laid up stores of food in a time of plenty to serve as a resource in a time of dearth was not likely to provide for a comparatively distant future by the domestication of animals and the cultivation of plants, two processes which require not only foresight but self-abnegation in those who practise them, since it is necessary to sacrifice an immediate gain, whether in the shape of seed or of breeding animals, for the sake of a remoter profit in the future. Of that foresight and that self-abnegation savages at the level of the Australian aborigines appear to be incapable.

Tame  
dogs in  
North  
America.

In North America, as in Australia, the only animal which the aborigines before the coming of the whites regularly tamed was the dog. The animal was occasionally one of their totems;<sup>1</sup> and the annual burnt-sacrifice of a white dog at the New Year was the most solemn religious rite of the Iroquois.<sup>2</sup> But the sacrifice had nothing to do with totemism, for the dog was not an Iroquois totem, and the animal appears to have played but an insignificant part in the life and religious beliefs of the American Indians. They sometimes ate dog's flesh at a banquet, but they reared the animals only for the purpose of the chase.<sup>3</sup> The enormous herds of buffaloes which roamed the great prairies furnished the wandering Indian tribes with a great part of their subsistence, but the animal was never tamed by them.

Tame  
cattle in  
Africa,  
especially  
among the  
Bantu  
peoples.

In Africa nature was far more bounteous to man than in the arid steppes of Australia or even in the plains and forests of North America. Besides the profusion of vegetable food with which she spread a table for him in the wilderness, she provided him with an abundant supply of

<sup>1</sup> For some examples see vol. iii. pp. 44, 78, 79.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois* (Rochester, 1851), pp. 207 sq., 215 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, v. 176; Th. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, iii. (Leipzig, 1862) p. 87.

animals capable of being broken in to his service, nor did he fail to take advantage of his opportunities. The Bantu peoples are pre-eminently breeders of cattle; with many of them the care of their herds is an absorbing pursuit and they lavish their affection on the animals. Accordingly some totemic tribes in Africa, such as the Herero, Wahehe, Bahima, and Banyoro, are mainly or exclusively herdsmen, and their totemic taboos refer in great measure to the different kinds or the different parts of their cattle.<sup>1</sup> But these pastoral peoples appear to have owned their herds from time immemorial, and the mode in which their forefathers acquired them is totally forgotten. At least I do not remember to have met with any tradition to the effect that a totemic regard for wild cattle was the motive which led them to capture and domesticate the ancestors of their present herds. Be that as it may, we can hardly doubt that the extraordinary richness of the African fauna and flora, as contrasted with the comparative meagreness of animal and plant life in Australia and North America, has been one of the chief factors in raising some of the totemic tribes of Africa to a higher level of culture, both material and political, than was ever reached by the Australian aborigines or the North American Indians. In these respects totemic society touched its highest points in the despotic kingdoms of Ashantee, Dahomey, and Uganda.

When we turn to the useful metals the advantage is again found to be with the natives of Africa as compared with their totemic brethren of Australia and North America. The Australian aborigines knew nothing of the metals; the North American Indians were indeed acquainted with copper, which occurs abundantly in a virgin state about Lake Superior and in some parts of North-West America, but they made little use of it except for ornament, unless we reckon among its uses the employment of large copper plates or shields as a species of currency.<sup>2</sup> In Africa on the other hand iron has been worked by the natives both

The  
metals.

Copper  
in North  
America.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 358, 362 sq., 404 sq., 516 sqq., 536.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 48, 262, with the note on p. 263. As to

copper in Alaska compare W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (London, 1870), p. 477.

Iron in  
Africa and  
India.

Gold and  
silver in  
India.

If totemism  
has done  
little  
to foster  
economic  
progress,  
it has done  
something  
to stimu-  
late art.

of the negro and of the Bantu stock time out of mind;<sup>1</sup> indeed a competent authority has lately argued that tropical Africa is the land from which the art of working the metal spread in the course of ages to Egypt, Western Asia, and Europe.<sup>2</sup> Iron is the totem of a Bechuana tribe; but far from being smiths by profession the members of the tribe are actually forbidden to work the metal.<sup>3</sup> Further, we have seen that among the Baganda the hereditary smiths belong to a clan which has for its totem not iron but a tailless cow,<sup>4</sup> an animal of which the relation to smithcraft is far from obvious. In India iron is a totem of an Oraon clan, and members of the clan may never touch iron with their tongue or lips.<sup>5</sup> Again, gold and silver are common totems in India; members of a Gold clan are sometimes forbidden to wear certain golden ornaments, and similarly members of a Silver clan are sometimes forbidden to wear certain silver ornaments.<sup>6</sup> These things do not suggest that mankind is in any way indebted to totemism for the discovery either of the useful or of the precious metals. Indeed they rather indicate a religious awe, approaching to positive aversion, for iron, gold, and silver; and such a feeling is hardly compatible with the business of an ironsmith, a goldsmith, or a silversmith.

On the whole, then, there is little to shew that totemism has contributed anything to the economic progress of mankind. Still from the nature of the case evidence would be hard to obtain, and from its absence we cannot safely conclude that the institution has been as economically barren as it seems to be. With the possible exception of the Battas of Sumatra, no totemic people has ever independently invented a system of writing,<sup>7</sup> and without written documents

<sup>1</sup> Th. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, ii. (Leipzig, 1860) pp. 97 sqq., 385 sq.

<sup>2</sup> F. von Luschan, "Eisentechnik in Afrika," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xli. (1909) pp. 22 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 374.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 497.

<sup>5</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 289.

<sup>6</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 231, 232,

245, 270, 271, 272, 277, 280, 295, 296.

<sup>7</sup> It is true that a Cherokee Indian invented an alphabet or syllabary of his native language, but he naturally borrowed the idea of it from the whites. See above, vol. iii. p. 184. As to the written language of the Battas, see above, vol. ii. p. 185. The origin of their alphabet appears to be unknown.

what accurate records could there be of events so remote in the past as the discovery of the metals, the domestication of animals, and the invention of agriculture? But while totemism has not demonstrably enlarged the material resources or increased the wealth of its votaries, it seems unquestionably to have done something to stir in them a sense of art and to improve the manual dexterity which is requisite to embody artistic ideals. If it was not the mother, it has been the foster-mother of painting and sculpture. The rude drawings on the ground, in which the natives of Central Australia depict with a few simple colours their totems and the scenes of their native land,<sup>1</sup> may be said to represent the germ of that long development which under happier skies blossomed out into the frescoes of Michael Angelo, the cartoons of Raphael, the glowing canvasses of Titian, and the unearthly splendours of Turner's divine creations. And among these same primitive savages totemism has suggested a beginning of plastic as well as of pictorial art; for in the magical ceremonies which they perform for the multiplication or the control of their totems they occasionally fashion great images of the totemic animals, sometimes constructing out of boughs the effigy of a witchetty grub in its chrysalis state, sometimes moulding a long tortuous mound of wet sand into the likeness of a wriggling water-snake.<sup>2</sup> Now it is to be observed that the motive which leads the Australian aborigines to represent their totems in pictorial or in plastic forms is not a purely aesthetic one; it is not a delight in art for art's sake. Their aim is thoroughly practical; it is either to multiply magically the creatures that they may be eaten, or to repress them magically that they may not harm their votaries. In short in all such cases art is merely the handmaid of magic; it is employed as an instrument by the totemic magicians to ensure a supply of food or to accomplish some other desirable object. Thus in Australia as in many other parts of the world magic may with some show of reason be called the nursing mother of art.

The magical totemic drawings of the Central Australian:

Magic the nursing mother of art.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 106, 223. On the relation of such magical pictures to the origin of art, see M. Salomon Reinach, "L'Art et la Magie," *Cultes*,

*Mythes, et Religions*, i. (Paris, 1905) pp. 125 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 106, 144 *sq.*

The Hebrew prohibition of images was probably directed against their use in magic.

We may suspect that the use which magicians make of images in order to compel the beings represented by them, whether animals, or men, or gods, to work their will, was the real practice which the Hebrew legislator had in view when he penned the commandment: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them."<sup>1</sup> The theory of Renan, that this commandment had no deeper foundation than the reluctance which a tribe of nomadic herdsmen would naturally feel to encumber themselves and their beasts with a useless load of images on their wanderings,<sup>2</sup> seems scarcely a sufficient explanation. Why solemnly forbid men to do what a simple regard for their own personal comfort and convenience would of itself prevent them from doing? On the other hand magicians of old really believed that by their magical images, their ceremonies and incantations, they could compel the gods to obey them; and in ancient Egypt, for example, this belief did not remain a mere theological dogma, it was logically carried out in practice for the purpose of wringing from a deity boons which he would only stand and deliver on compulsion.<sup>3</sup> These black arts of their powerful neighbours were doubtless familiar to the Hebrews, and may have found many imitators among them. But to deeply religious minds, imbued with a profound sense of the divine majesty and goodness, these attempts to take heaven by storm must have appeared the rankest blasphemy and impiety; we need not wonder therefore that a severe prohibition of all such nefarious practices should have found a prominent place in the earliest Hebrew code.

Totemic art reached its highest development among the Indians

If totemic art exists at its lowest stage among the aborigines of Australia it may be said to have attained its highest development among the Indians of North-West America, notably in the gigantic carved and painted totem-posts, of which specimens may be seen in our museums and

<sup>1</sup> Exodus, xx. 4 sq.

<sup>2</sup> E. Renan, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, i. 45 sq.

<sup>3</sup> For some evidence, see *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 16 sq., 66 sq., 443-446.

private collections. Among these Indians the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands appear to have surpassed their fellows both in the profusion and in the skill with which they depicted their totems on their houses and furniture, their tools and wearing apparel, as well as on their own persons.<sup>1</sup> No noble family of the Middle Ages perhaps ever blazoned its crest more freely on its castles, its equipages, and its liveries than these savages blazoned their totemic animals in crude colours and grotesque forms on their multifarious belongings. Yet for all this gay fantastic display it would seem that the spirit which first animated totemic art was dead among the Haidas. There is no hint that their blazonry served any other purpose than that of decoration, or at most of family or legendary history. So far as we know, these Indians never turned totemic art to the account of totemic magic, never carved or painted images of their totems for the purpose of multiplying or controlling the creatures in the interest of man.

On the growth of religion the influence exercised by totemism appears in some societies to have been considerable, but in others, perhaps in most, to have been insignificant. In the first place, as I have already observed, pure totemism is not in itself a religion at all ; for the totems as such are not worshipped, they are in no sense deities, they are not propitiated with prayer and sacrifice. To speak therefore of a worship of totems pure and simple, as some writers do, is to betray a serious misapprehension of the facts. Amongst the aborigines of Australia, who have totemism in its oldest and purest form, there are indeed some faint approaches to a propitiation, and hence to a worship of the totems.<sup>2</sup> But the process of evolution has been cut short by the advent of the whites, and the tendency towards a totemic religion in Australia accordingly remains abortive. Religion always implies an inequality between the worshippers and the worshipped ; it involves an acknowledgment, whether tacit or express, of inferiority on the part of the worshippers ; they look up to the objects of their worship as to a superior order of beings, whose favour they woo and whose anger they deprecate. But in pure totemism, as I have already pointed

of North-West America, especially among the Haidas.

Influence of totemism on the growth of religion. Pure totemism is not a religion ; in its nature it is democratic being a treaty of friendship and alliance on equal terms between a clan and a species of animals or things.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 288 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 144 sq.

out, no such inequality exists. On the whole the attitude of a man to his totem is that of a man to his peers ; the relationship between them is one of brotherhood rather than of homage on the man's side and of suzerainty on the side of the totem. In short, pure totemism is essentially democratic ; it is, so to say, a treaty of alliance and friendship concluded on equal terms between a clan and a species of animals or things ; the allies respect but do not adore each other. Accordingly the institution flourishes best in democratic communities, where the attitude of men to their totems reflects that of men to their fellows. It may survive, indeed, even under despotic governments, such as Ashantee, Dahomey, and Uganda, but it is not at home under them. It breathes freely, so to say, only in the desert.

In practice totemism is naturally allied with democracy, and in theory with magic.

And as in practice the institution of totemism is most compatible with democracy, not despotism, so in theory it is most compatible with magic, not religion ; since the mental attitude of the magician towards the natural and supernatural beings about him is that of a freeman to his equals, not that of a subject or a slave to his lords and masters. Hence three characteristic institutions of totemic society, of which aboriginal Australian society may be taken as a type, are totemism, democracy, and magic. The decay of any one of these three institutions seems to involve the decay of the other two. Primitive society advances simultaneously from democracy and magic towards despotism and religion, and just in proportion as despotism and religion wax, so totemism wanes. Though to many civilised men the personal and intellectual freedom implied by democracy and magic may seem preferable to the personal and intellectual subordination implied by despotism and religion, and though they may accordingly incline to regard the exchange of the former for the latter as rather a retrogression than an advance, yet a broad view of history will probably satisfy us that both despotism and religion have been necessary stages in the education of humanity and that for analogous reasons. Men are not born equal and never can be made so ; a political constitution which professes their natural equality is a sham. Subordination of some kind is essential to the very existence of society ; there

Primitive society advances simultaneously from democracy and magic to despotism and religion. Temporary advantages of despotism as a discipline in social subordination.

must be a government of some kind, the inferior must obey the superior ; and the best form of government is that in which folly and weakness are subordinated to wisdom and strength. Despotism seldom or never fully satisfies these conditions and therefore it is seldom or never a really good government. But it fosters the essential habit of subordination to authority, of obedience to the laws ; the laws may be bad, but any law is better than none, the worst government is infinitely preferable to anarchy. Thus at an early period of social evolution a certain measure of despotism may serve as a wholesome discipline by training men to submit their personal passions and interests to those of another, even though that other be a tyrant ; for a habit of submission and of self-sacrifice, once formed, may more easily be diverted from an ignoble to a noble object than a nature unaccustomed to brook restraints of any kind can be broken in to make those concessions without which human society cannot hold together. Reluctant submission to a bad government will readily be exchanged for willing submission to a good one ; but he who cannot subordinate his own wishes to the wishes of his fellows cannot live either under a good government or under a bad : he is an enemy to society and deserves to be exterminated by it.

Reasons like those which justify the existence of despotism at a certain point in the history of man's relations to his fellows may be adduced to justify the existence of religion<sup>1</sup> at a certain point in the history of man's relations to the world at large. The imperious attitude of the magician towards nature is merely a result of his gross ignorance both of it and of himself ; he knows neither the immeasurable power of nature nor his own relative weakness. When at last he gets an inkling of the truth, his attitude necessarily changes ; his crest droops, he ceases to be a magician and becomes a priest. Magic has given place to religion. The change marks a real intellectual and moral advance, since it rests on a recognition, tardy and incomplete though it be, of a great truth, to wit, the insignificance of man's place in the universe. The mighty beings whom the magician had

Tempor-  
advantage  
of religion  
as a recog-  
nition of  
man's  
insignifi-  
cance in th  
universe.

<sup>1</sup> By religion I here mean not an ideal religion as it may be conceived in the abstract, but merely religion as it has actually existed in history.

treated with lordly disdain the priest adores with the deepest humiliation. Thus the intellectual attitude fostered by religion is one of submission to higher powers and is analogous to the political attitude of obedience to an absolute ruler which is fostered by despotism. The two great changes, therefore, from democracy to despotism and from magic to religion, naturally proceed side by side in the same society.

Develop-  
ment of  
totemism  
into re-  
ligion in  
Melanesia  
and  
Polynesia.

The conclusions thus reached on general grounds are confirmed by an examination of totemic society in different parts of the world. At its lowest level in Australia totemic society is democratical and magical. At higher levels in Melanesia, Polynesia, America, and Africa it becomes more and more monarchical and religious, till it culminates in the absolute monarchies and bloody religious ritual of Ashantee, Dahomey, and Uganda. In India its natural development has been in large measure checked and obscured by contact with races which are not totemic; hence it is hardly safe to take Dravidian totemism into account in an attempt to arrange the totemic societies of the world in a series corresponding to their natural order of evolution. If now we look about for a stage of religion which may reasonably be regarded as evolved from totemism we shall perhaps find it most clearly marked in Melanesia and Polynesia, where answering to the religious evolution of gods there has been a political evolution of chiefs. The family and village gods of Samoa embodied in the shape of animals, plants, and other species of natural objects are most probably nothing but somewhat developed totems, which are on the point of sloughing off their old shapes and developing into anthropomorphic deities.<sup>1</sup> A more advanced phase of the same metamorphosis is exhibited by the village gods of Rewa in Fiji, who have definitely slipped off their animal envelopes but still possess the power of resuming them at pleasure, in other words, of transforming themselves back into the birds or beasts out of which they have been evolved.<sup>2</sup> Similarly in the island of Yam, between Australia and New Guinea, two totemic animals, the hammer-headed shark and the crocodile, had blossomed out into heroes named Sigai and Maiiau, and their animal origin was kept a profound secret

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 166 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 139 *sq.*

from women and uninitiated men, though in their sacred shrines the two worshipful beings were still represented by the images of a hammer-headed shark and a crocodile respectively. To these heroes prayers were put up and offerings of food were made, dances were danced, and songs sung in their honour. In short, in the island of Yam totemism had definitely passed into a rudimentary religion.<sup>1</sup>

In other parts of the world the evolution of religion on totemic lines is less apparent; indeed for the most part the evidence of such an evolution is almost wholly wanting. In North-West America the Raven hero, who plays a great part in the mythology of the Indian tribes, may very well have been originally a raven totem, since the bird is certainly one of the chief totems of this region. But apart from this instance it might be hard to mention a single North American Indian god or hero for whom a totemic pedigree could be made out with any high degree of probability. Indeed if we except the disputable and disputed figure of the Great Spirit, the theology of the American Indians north of Mexico is almost as meagre as that of the Australian aborigines or, at a higher level of culture, the nomadic Semites.<sup>2</sup> Yet to this general rule there is a significant exception. The Pueblo Indians, who unlike all other Indian tribes of North America subsist exclusively by agriculture and dwell in what may be called fortified towns, possess a copious mythology and an elaborate ritual. Thus they used to be to the wild Apaches and Navahoes who prowled in their neighbourhood what the agricultural Semites of the Babylonian cities were to their wandering kinsmen the Bedouins of the desert. In both cases we see, on the one side the godly well-to-do denizens of walled towns leading a settled comfortable life through the cultivation of the soil, with a comparatively developed art, a good larder, a well-stocked pantheon, and a regular cycle of religious ceremonies; and on the other side, roving bands of lean, hungry, empty-handed barbarians, with little art and less religion, who look up from afar with mixed feelings of

In North America there is very little evidence that totemism has developed into religion.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 18-21.

*Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, i. 30 sqq.,

<sup>2</sup> On the poverty of the theology of the nomadic Semites, see E. Renan,

43 sq.

disgust, wonder, and envy, at the high-piled masonry of the fortresses and at the well-fed burghers pacing the ramparts, their portly figures sharply cut against the sky. A vagrant life seems to be very unfavourable to the creation of deities. But while the Pueblo Indians believe in many gods and goddesses and celebrate their pompous rites in harlequin masquerades and solemn processions, there is little evidence that these tribal deities and their rituals have been evolved out of the totems and totemic ceremonies of the clans.<sup>1</sup>

In Africa also the links between a rudimentary totemism and a developed pantheon are almost wholly wanting. Among the Bantu tribes the principal element of religion appears to be the worship of the dead.

In Africa also the links which might connect a developed pantheon with a rudimentary totemism are almost wholly wanting. The theology of the Bantu tribes, especially of such of them as have remained in the purely pastoral stage, appears generally to be of the most meagre nature; its principal element, so far as we can judge from the scanty accounts of it which we possess, is the fear or worship of dead ancestors, and though these ancestral spirits are commonly supposed to manifest themselves to their descendants in the shape of snakes of various kinds,<sup>2</sup> there is no sufficient ground for assuming these snakes to have been originally totems.<sup>3</sup> Of all Bantu tribes the Baganda of Central Africa have made the greatest progress in material and mental culture, and fortunately we possess a full account

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 227 *sqq.* It is true that the Navahoes now have a somewhat elaborate religion with gods and ceremonies resembling in some respects those of the Pueblo Indians. But good authorities are of opinion that the worship has been at least partly borrowed by them from more civilised and settled tribes. See Washington Matthews, *Navaho Legends* (Boston and New York, 1897), pp. 33 *sqq.* Amongst the Navahoes, as amongst so many peoples, religion is a reflection of social life, the gods are the gigantic shadows cast by men. On this subject the observations of Dr. Washington Matthews (*Navaho Legends*, p. 33) may be quoted. He says: "The religion of this people reflects their social condition. Their government is democratic. There is no highest chief of the tribe, and all

their chiefs are men of temporary and ill-defined authority, whose power depends largely on their personal influence, their oratory, and their reputation for wisdom. It is difficult for such a people to conceive of a Supreme God. Their gods, like their men, stand much on a level of equality."

<sup>2</sup> One of the chief documents on this subject is Dr. Henry Callaway's *Religious System of the Amazulu, Part II., Amatongo, or Ancestor Worship as existing among the Amazulu* (Natal, Capetown, and London, 1869). See also J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (London, 1857), pp. 161 *sqq.*; G. M'Call Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. (London, 1901) pp. 399 *sqq.*; Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (London, 1904), pp. 85-95.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 388 *sqq.*

both of their totemism and of their theology derived from the lips of the best-informed natives by a highly competent scientific investigator.<sup>1</sup> Now it is highly significant that not one of the numerous gods and goddesses of the Baganda pantheon appears to have been developed out of a totem. Almost all the Baganda totems are animals or plants, but chiefly animals.<sup>2</sup> But the national Baganda gods (*balubare*) are not animals or plants, nor do they exhibit any affinity with animals or plants in myth and ritual. The legends told of these divine beings represent them as human in character; they marry wives and beget children and act in other ways like men and women, though they are supposed to be endowed with superhuman powers. One of them, for example, named Musoke is the god of the rainbow, thunder, lightning, and rain. Another, named Dungu, is the god of the chase and aids the huntsman who worships him. Another, called Kaumpuli, is the god of plague; and another, named Kawari, is the god of small-pox. The goddess Nagawonya, wife of Musoke, has power over the grain and the crops; and the god Kagera bestows offspring on women. All the national gods and goddesses had their temples, where they received offerings and gave oracles by the mouth of inspired mediums, who in their fine frenzy were believed to be actually possessed by the deities and to speak with their voices. In like manner the spirits of all the dead kings of Uganda were worshipped at their tombs. Each king in his lifetime prepared a stately house in which his spirit was to reside eternally after death. The house was larger and more commodious than any which he occupied in life; for what after all are the few short years which he might pass, a living man among the living, to the eternity which he must spend among the dead? Accordingly, like many other people in many countries and in many ages of the world, the kings of Uganda took more thought for

None of the Baganda gods seem to have been developed out of totems.

Baganda worship of dead kings.

<sup>1</sup> The detailed account of Baganda totemism which we owe to the researches of the Rev. John Roscoe has already been laid before the reader. See above, vol. ii. pp. 472 *sqq.* His account of the gods (*balubare*) of the Baganda remains in manuscript. For

a preliminary notice of them, see his "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 74 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 477 *sq.*

the long, long to-morrow than for the brief and fleeting to-day. If they did not lay up for themselves treasure in heaven, at least they laid it up in places where they thought it would be reasonably safe upon earth, and where they hoped to benefit by it when they had shuffled off the burden of the body. In the temple-tomb of a Baganda king were regularly deposited, not indeed his body, but his lower jaw-bone and his navel-string; and there on a throne, screened by a canopy and fenced off from the approach of the vulgar by a railing of glittering spears, these mortal relics were laid in state, whenever his subjects came to hold an audience with their departed monarch. There he communed with them through his inspired medium, the priest; and there, surrounded by his wives and nobles, who dwelt either in the tomb or in adjoining houses, he maintained a shadowy court, a faint reflection of the regal pomp which had surrounded him in life. When his widows died they were replaced by women from the same clans, and thus the dead king continued to be ministered to and to be consulted as an oracle at his tomb from generation to generation.<sup>1</sup>

The Baganda worship of dead kings seems to have grown out of the worship of dead commoners. It is probable that many, if not all, of the great national Baganda gods are merely dead men deified.

Now these temple-tombs of the kings of Uganda appear to be nothing more than greatly enlarged and glorified examples of the little huts (*masabo*) which the Baganda regularly erect near the graves of their relatives for the accommodation of the ghosts. At these small shrines, some two or three feet high by two feet wide, offerings of food, clothing, and firewood are made by the survivors, and beer is poured on the ground to slake the thirst of the poor souls in the grave.<sup>2</sup> But if the temple-tombs of Baganda kings are merely enlarged editions of the ghost-huts of Baganda commoners, is it not possible that the temples of some of the national Baganda gods (*balubare*) have the same origin? In other words, may not some of these national gods be, like

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 469 *sqq.* I have also drawn on the manuscript materials of the Rev. J. Roscoe, which he has placed at my disposal. For a similar worship of dead kings among another Bantu people, the Barotse, see below, pp. 306 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> From the Rev. J. Roscoe's papers. Compare his article, "Further Notes

on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 76. These *masabo* curiously remind us of the *mastaba* of the ancient Egyptians, which were sepulchral chambers built in graveyards for the service of the dead. See A. Erman, *Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, pp. 419 *sqq.*

the worshipful spirits of departed kings, nothing but dead men deified? In point of fact we have the best of evidence that the great war-god Kibuka, one of the chief deities of the Baganda, was once a man of flesh and blood; for his mortal remains, consisting of his jawbone, his navel-string, and his genital organs, were obtained a few years ago from the priest who had carefully buried them when the god's temple was burned by the Mohammedans, and they are now preserved in the Ethnological Museum at Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> When this instance is considered along with the worship of the deceased kings, about whose humanity there can be no doubt, it becomes highly probable that many, if not all, of the great national gods of the Baganda are simply men who have been raised to the rank of deities after their death or possibly even in their life. The inference is confirmed by the tradition that the greatest of all the Baganda gods, Mukasa, was a brother of the war-god Kibuka, and that two other powerful deities, Nende and Musoke, were sons of Mukasa; for if one of the divine brothers, Mukasa and Kibuka, was once a man, as we know him for certain to have been, a presumption is raised that the other brother and his two sons were originally men also.<sup>2</sup> In short, it would seem that the principal element in the religion of the Baganda, as perhaps of all other Bantu tribes, is not totemism but the worship of the dead. At the same time it is to be remembered that besides the gods of the Baganda nation there are gods of the clans, and it is possible that some of these clan gods may once have been totems. Yet no positive evidence of their totemic origin appears to be forthcoming. For example, there is a python god, but he is worshipped, not by members of the Python clan, but by members of the Heart clan; which seems to shew that the worship of the serpent has originated quite independently of

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Roscoe, "Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda," *Man*, vii. (1907) pp. 161-166. Compare above, vol. ii. p. 487.

<sup>2</sup> For the relationship of Mukasa and Musoke, see the Rev. J. Roscoe, "Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda," *Man*, vii. (1907) p. 161,

where we are told that "Kibuka and his brother Mukasa are the two principal gods of the Baganda; their home was on one of the islands of the Lake Victoria." That the two national deities Nende and Musoke are traditionally said to have been sons of Mukasa, I learn from Mr. Roscoe's unpublished papers.

totemism.<sup>1</sup> Hence, as I have already pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the example of the Baganda should warn us against the assumption that totemism normally and almost necessarily develops into a worship of anthropomorphic deities with sacred animals and plants for their attributes. In Uganda we find both totems and anthropomorphic deities; but the anthropomorphic deities have not, apparently, grown out of the totems, they are simply deified dead men. At least, this is quite certain for the kings and equally certain for one of the greatest of the national gods.

Again, among the totemic tribes of Guinea there is little to shew that the gods have grown out of totems.

The true negroes of the coast of Guinea have in like manner a system of totemism and a highly developed pantheon; but there is little to shew that the deities of the pantheon have been evolved out of totems. Thus among the Tshi-speaking negroes of the Gold Coast each town, village, or district has its local spirits or gods, generally malignant in character, who appear to be personifications of the chief natural features of the neighbourhood, especially such as excite the curiosity or awe of man, impress his imagination, and threaten his existence. Such are the rivers and streams, the hills and valleys, the rocks and the forests, the giant trees which fall and crush the passer-by, and not least of all the roaring surf and the stormy sea, which swamp the frail canoe of the mariner and drown him in the depths. The deities of these natural objects are ordinarily conceived in human shape, some male, some female, some black, some white, and many of gigantic size. Offerings of food and drink are made to them; priests and priestesses have charge of their worship and sometimes profess to have seen the divine beings in person.<sup>3</sup> Besides these local deities, who may be numbered by tens of thousands,<sup>4</sup> a few general deities are worshipped by whole tribes or groups of tribes in common; but they also are imagined to be of human shape, and there is nothing to indicate that they were formerly totems.<sup>5</sup> It is true that some of these Tshi

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 500 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Above, vol. ii. p. 504.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast* (London, 1887), pp. 12, 17, 34 *sqq.*, 39-78.

<sup>4</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London, 1890), p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 17, 22-33.

gods and goddesses, whether local or general, have certain species of sacred animals or birds associated with them. Thus crocodiles are sacred to the river gods Prah and Ahah and to the river goddess Katarwiri.<sup>1</sup> Driver ants, which march in armies, are sacred to Tando, the chief god of the Ashantees and of the northern Tshi-speaking tribes; and these insects may not be molested by their worshippers.<sup>2</sup> Water-wagtails are sacred to the god Adzi-anim and point out to his adorers where to dig in order to find good water, of which the deity himself is the local provider.<sup>3</sup> And antelopes are sacred to Brahfo, a popular god who dwells in a gloomy hollow of the forest near the town of Mankassim; hence no worshipper of Brahfo may harm an antelope or eat its flesh.<sup>4</sup> But none of these sacred animals appear to be totems. On the other hand it might plausibly be held that among the Ewe-speaking tribes of the adjoining Slave Coast the local worship of leopards, crocodiles, and pythons has been evolved out of totemism, since all three of these animals are totems of Ewe clans.<sup>5</sup> However, it is quite possible that the worship has had an independent origin. For the most part the gods of the Ewe-speaking peoples appear to be either local deities like those of the Tshi-speaking tribes, that is, personifications of particular natural features of the country, or else general deities, that is, personifications of certain great aspects or forces of nature, such as the sky, the lightning, the rainbow, the sun, the ocean, small-pox, and the reproductive principle in mankind.<sup>6</sup> But these deities are to all appearance independent of totemism.

On the whole, if we may judge by the accounts which we possess of totemic tribes in Africa and America, we can hardly help concluding that their religion or at least their

Thus in Africa and America totemism

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 33, 65, 67.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Ellis, *op. cit.* p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. Ellis, *op. cit.* p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> A. B. Ellis, *op. cit.* pp. 55 sq., 64.

<sup>5</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 583-587.

<sup>6</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London,

1890), pp. 31 sqq., 63 sqq., 77 sqq. Much valuable information as to the religion of the Ewe tribes is contained in the work of the German missionary J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme* (Berlin, 1906), but totems and totemism are not so much as mentioned in it, a significant omission which shews how small a part the institution plays in the religious life of the people.

seems to have had little influence on the growth of religion.

theology has been little affected by their totemism ; totemic animals and plants shew few signs of blossoming out into gods and goddesses ; in short, totemism in these regions has been nearly as barren theologically as economically. This conclusion agrees with the result of our study of the Australian aborigines, who along with the most fully developed system of totemism known to us exhibit only a few rudimentary germs of a theology.<sup>1</sup>

But if totemism has done little to foster the growth of religion, it has probably done much to knit men together in society, and has thus served a useful purpose ; since in the struggle for existence union is strength and victory, disunion is weakness and defeat. Totemism has stood for the principle of collective responsibility, which though theoretically unjust has been practically beneficial.

If totemism has apparently done little to foster the growth of higher forms of religion, it has probably done much to strengthen the social ties and thereby to serve the cause of civilisation, which depends for its progress on the cordial co-operation of men in society, on their mutual trust and good-will, and on their readiness to subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the community. A society thus united in itself is strong and may survive ; a society rent by discord and dissension is weak and likely to perish either through internal disruption or by the impact of other societies, themselves perhaps individually weaker, yet collectively stronger, because they act as one. The tendency of totemism to knit men together in social groups is noticed again and again by the writers who have described the institution from personal observation. They tell us that persons who have the same totem regard each other as kinsmen and are ready to befriend and stand by one another in difficulty and danger. Indeed the totemic tie is sometimes deemed more binding than that of blood. A sense of common obligations and common responsibility pervades the totem clan. Each member of it is answerable even with his life for the deeds of every other member ; each of them resents and is prompt to avenge a wrong done to his fellows as a wrong done to himself. In nothing does this solidarity of the clan come out more strikingly than in the law of the blood feud. The common rule is that the whole of a clan is responsible for a homicide committed by any of its members, and that if the manslayer himself is for any reason beyond the reach of

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 141-153. Professor E. B. Tylor protested long ago against the exaggerated estimate which some writers have formed of the religious importance of totemism. See

his article, "Remarks on Totemism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) p. 144. With that protest I entirely agree.

vengeance, his crime may and should be visited by the clan of his victim on any member of the murderer's clan, even though the person to be punished may have had no hand whatever in the murder.<sup>1</sup> To civilised men it seems unjust that the innocent should thus be made to suffer for the guilty, and no doubt, if we regard the matter from a purely abstract point of view, we must affirm that the infliction of vicarious suffering is morally wrong and indefensible; no man, we say, and say rightly, ought to be punished except for his own act and deed. Yet if we look at the facts of life as they are and not as they ought to be, we can hardly help concluding that the principle of collective responsibility, with its necessary corollary of vicarious suffering, has been of the greatest utility, perhaps absolutely essential, to the preservation and well-being of society. Nothing else, probably, could have availed to keep primitive men together in groups large enough to make headway against the opposition of hostile communities; in the struggle for existence a tribe which attempted to deal out even-handed justice between man and man on the principle of individual responsibility would probably have succumbed before a tribe which acted as one man on the principle of collective responsibility. Before the champions of abstract justice could have ascertained the facts, laid the blame on the real culprit, and punished him as he deserved, they must have run a serious risk of being exterminated by their more impetuous and less scrupulous neighbours.

However much, therefore, the principle of collective responsibility may be condemned in theory, there can hardly be a doubt that it has been very useful in practice. If it has done great injustice to individuals, it has done great service to the community; the many have benefited by the sufferings of a few. Men are far readier to repress wrongdoing in others if they think that they themselves stand a chance of being punished for it than if they know that the punishment will only fall on the actual offender. Thus a habit is begotten of regarding all misdemeanours with severe

The principle of collective responsibility favours the growth of moral virtue.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, above, vol. iii. p. 563. The collective responsibility of the family in West Australia is well

stated by Sir George Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery*, ii. 239 sq.

disapprobation as injuries done to the whole society ; and this habit of mind may grow into an instinctive condemnation and abhorrence of wrong-doing, apart from the selfish consideration of any harm which the wrong may possibly entail on the person who condemns and abhors it. In short, the principle of collective responsibility not only checks crime but tends to reform the criminal by fostering a disinterested love of virtue and so enabling society to adopt in time a standard of justice which approaches more nearly to the ideal.

So far, therefore, as totemism has drawn closer the bonds which unite men in society it has directly promoted the growth of a purer and higher morality. An institution which has done this has deserved well of humanity. Its speculative absurdities may be forgiven for the sake of its practical good, and in summing up judgment we may perhaps pronounce that sentence of acquittal which was pronounced long ago on another poor sinner: *Remittuntur ei peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum.*

Totemism may be forgiven its speculative errors for the sake of its practical good.

## § 2. *The Origin of Totemism*

Since the institutions of totemism and exogamy are found to prevail so widely among mankind, the question of their origins has naturally attracted the attention of students, and various theories have been put forward to account for them. The enquiry is beset with difficulties ; for both the customs are very foreign to our civilised modes of thinking and acting, they have all the appearance of being very ancient, and the savage and barbarous peoples who practise them have no accurate record of their origin. Hence in default of positive testimony we are obliged to have recourse to general considerations and to arguments drawn from probability. As it is almost certain that both totemism and exogamy must have originated at a very low level of savagery, the causes which gave rise to them must be sought in the conditions of savage life and in the beliefs, prejudices, and superstitions of the savage mind. It is only within recent years that savagery has been made a subject of scientific study, and we are still far from understanding it

The problem of the origins of totemism and exogamy, in the absence of historical records, can only be solved by general considerations and arguments drawn from probability. Both institutions originated in savagery and cannot be understood with-

fully. But we have learned enough about it to perceive the wide interval which separates the thought of the savage from our own, and accordingly to be distrustful of rationalistic theories which explain the customs of uncivilised peoples on the assumption that primitive man thinks and acts precisely in the way in which we should think and act if we were placed in his circumstances. No doubt it is hard for us to put ourselves at the point of view of the savage, to strip ourselves, not merely of the opinions imprinted on us by education, but also of the innate tendencies which we have inherited from many generations of civilised ancestors, and having thus divested ourselves of what has become a part of our nature to consider what we should do under conditions of life very different from those by which from infancy we have been surrounded. None of us can ever do this perfectly; at the most we can only do it approximately. But it cannot be done at all by deductive reasoning; the only hope of success lies in the inductive method. If we are to penetrate into the mind of the savage and understand its working, we must impartially consider the actual beliefs and customs of the lower races, we must survey them as widely and study them as minutely as possible, and just in so far as we have satisfied these conditions are we justified in forming and expressing an opinion as to how uncivilised man would think and act under certain circumstances, what he would be likely to do and what he could not possibly think of doing in such and such a situation. Many people, indeed, seem to be unaware of the long course of study which must be undertaken, the wide range of comparisons which must be drawn, before we are fitted to pass a judgment on theories of the origin of ancient institutions. They think that anybody may do so on the strength of what is called common sense, which generally means little more than the personal prejudices of the speaker. The problems of totemism and exogamy can never be solved by such methods.

Three different theories of the origin of totemism have at different times occurred to me as possible or probable. Two of them I have seen reason to abandon; the third I still regard as probably true. I might content myself with

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The writer  
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several theories of totemism, two of which he has since abandoned.

referring the reader to the passages in this and my other writings in which these theories have been explained; but it may be well to restate them, if possible, more clearly, together with the reasons which have led me to reject two of them and to adhere to the third. And in order to allow my readers to judge for themselves of the relative value of these hypotheses I shall briefly state and discuss a few of the principal theories which have been broached by others on the subject, lest, misled by the partiality of an author for his own views, I should unwittingly overlook and suppress elements of truth which my fellow-workers in this difficult branch of knowledge have brought to light. And in like manner with regard to exogamy I shall state some of the more notable opinions which have been held, giving my reasons for agreeing with or dissenting from them, and finally indicating what seem to me the most probable conclusions.

It is possible that both totemism and exogamy have originated in different ways among different peoples, but it is more probable that each of them has everywhere had a similar origin.

At the outset we shall do well to bear in mind that both totemism and exogamy may possibly have originated in very different ways among different peoples, and that the external resemblances between the institutions in different places may accordingly be deceptive. Instances of such deception might easily be multiplied in other fields of science. Nothing can externally resemble the leaves or branches of certain trees more exactly than certain insects; yet the things which bear such an extraordinary resemblance to each other are not even different species of the same genus; they belong to totally different natural orders, for the one is an animal and the other is a plant.<sup>1</sup> So it may possibly be both with totemism and with exogamy. What we call totemism or exogamy in one people may perhaps be quite different in its origin and nature from totemism or exogamy in another people. This is possible. Yet on the other hand the resemblances between all systems of totemism and all systems of exogamy are so great and so numerous that the presumption is certainly in favour of the view that each of them has

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection* (London, 1871), pp. 56 *sqq.* As to what is called mimicry in insects, see further Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*,

Sixth Edition (London, 1878), pp. 181 *sq.*; A. R. Wallace, *Darwinism* (London, 1889), pp. 239 *sqq.*; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, xvi. 341 *sqq.*

everywhere originated in substantially the same way, and that therefore a theory which satisfactorily explains the origin of these institutions in any one race will probably explain its origin in all races. The burden of proof therefore lies on those who contend that there are many different kinds of totemism and exogamy rather than on those who hold that there is substantially only one of each. In point of fact most writers who have set themselves to explain the rise of the two institutions appear to have assumed, and in my judgment rightly assumed, that the solution of each problem is singular.

With these preliminary cautions we will now take up some theories of the origin of totemism.

The man who more than any other is entitled to rank as the discoverer both of totemism and of exogamy, J. F. McLennan, never published any theory of the origin of totemism, though he did publish and strongly held a theory of the origin of exogamy. But if he did not himself speculate on the causes which led to the institution of totemism his remarkable essays on "The Worship of Animals and Plants"<sup>1</sup> soon set others speculating on the subject. Amongst the first to enter the field was Herbert Spencer. His view was that totemism originated in a misinterpretation of nicknames. He thought that the imperfections of primitive speech prevented savages from clearly distinguishing between things and their names, and that accordingly ancestors who had been nicknamed after animals, plants, or other natural objects on the ground of some imaginary resemblance to them, were confused in the minds of their descendants with the things after which they had been named; hence from revering his human progenitors the savage came to revere the species of animals or plants or other natural objects with which through an ambiguity of speech he had been led to identify them.<sup>2</sup> A similar, though not identical, explanation of totemism was independently

Herbert Spencer's theory that totemism originated in a misinterpretation of nicknames.

<sup>1</sup> Published in *The Fortnightly Review* for October and November 1869 and February 1870. The papers are reprinted in McLennan's posthumous book, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1896), pp. 491 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> This theory was put forward first and most clearly by Herbert Spencer in an essay entitled "The Origin of Animal Worship," which was published in *The Fortnightly Review* for May 1870. The essay, suggested by J. F.

Similar theory proposed by Lord Avebury.

suggested by Lord Avebury. He regards totemism as a worship of natural objects, and thinks it may have arisen through the practice of naming, first individuals, and then their families, after particular animals, plants or other natural objects; for from naming themselves thus people might gradually come to look upon their namesakes, whether animals, plants, or what not, with interest, respect, and awe.<sup>1</sup>

The objection to such theories is that they attribute too great influence to purely verbal misunderstandings.

The fundamental objection to both these theories has been already stated.<sup>2</sup> They attribute to verbal misunderstandings far more influence than verbal misunderstandings ever seem to have exercised. It is true that names are to the savage more substantial and vital things than they are to us. Yet even when we have allowed for the difference the alleged cause seems totally inadequate to account for the actual effects. At the time when, many years ago, these theories were propounded, speculation as to the origins of religion was unduly biassed by the teaching of a brilliant school of philologists, of whom in this country Max Müller was the leader. These scholars, starting with a natural and excusable partiality for words, discovered in them the principal source of mythology, which they imagined to flow from the turbid spring of verbal misapprehension. That many blunders and many superstitions have originated in this way, it would be vain to deny; but that a great social institution such as totemism, spread over a large part of the globe, had no deeper root seems very improbable. It is true that neither Herbert Spencer nor Lord Avebury so far yielded to the seductions of the philological school

McLennan's recent papers on "The Worship of Animals and Plants," was afterwards republished by Spencer in his *Essays, Scientific, Political, and Speculative*, vol. iii. Third Edition (London, 1878), pp. 101-124. The substance of the theory was afterwards embodied by the author in his large work *The Principles of Sociology*, vol. i. §§ 169-176, 180-183 (pp. 331-346, 354-359, Third Edition, 1904).

<sup>1</sup> Lord Avebury, *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man*, Sixth Edition (London, 1902), pp. 217, 275 *sqq.* The

theory was first briefly indicated by Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock) in an Appendix to the Second Edition of his *Pre-historic Times*, published in 1869. The passage, reprinted in the Fifth Edition of that work (London, 1890, p. 610), runs thus: "In endeavouring to account for the worship of animals, we must remember that names are very frequently taken from them. The children and followers of a man called the Bear or the Lion would make that a tribal name. Hence the animal itself would be first respected, at last worshipped."

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 87.

as to follow it in all its exaggerations ; both these eminent thinkers had too firm a grasp on the realities of life to be thus duped by words. Yet we may surmise that their views of totemism were unduly tinged by the colours of the fashionable mythological theory of the day. These colours have long faded. Even the rosy pink of dawn, which the leading artist of the school applied with a too liberal brush to the face of nature, has mostly weathered away ; and we are left to contemplate the grim realities of savage life in duller, sadder hues.

A different explanation of totemism was suggested by the eminent Dutch scholar G. A. Wilken, who possessed an unrivalled acquaintance with the extensive literature in which the ethnology of the East Indian Archipelago has been described by his fellow-countrymen. After giving an account of the doctrine of the transmigration of human souls into animal bodies, as that doctrine is held in Indonesia, he proceeds as follows : " Thus we see that amongst the peoples of the Indian Archipelago the doctrine of the transmigration of souls has generally led to an idea of the relationship of the man with, or his descent from certain animals, which animals, thus raised to the rank of ancestors, are revered just as other ancestors are revered. In a certain sense we have here what in the science of religion we are accustomed to call totemism. The word is, as we know, derived from the North American Indians. Every tribe here has, under the name totem, one or other animal which is revered as a fetish, after which the tribe is named and from which its members trace their descent. The Redskin who, for example, recognises the wolf as his totem, has also the wolf for his guardian spirit, bears its name, and regards himself as related to the whole species. What we have found among the peoples of the Indian Archipelago answers to this completely. Only they have not come to the pitch of naming themselves after the animals which they thus revere as their ancestors." Then after quoting Herbert Spencer's theory of totemism, which has already been laid before the reader,<sup>1</sup> Wilken adds : " Without controverting Spencer's theory, for which this is not the place, we only wish to observe that in our opinion

G. A. Wilken's theory that totemism originated in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 43.

totemism among the North American Indians, or wherever it may be found, may have sprung from the transmigration of souls in the same way in which we have indicated among the peoples of the Indian Archipelago: the animal in which the souls of the dead are thought by preference to be incarnate becomes a kinsman, an ancestor and as such is revered. Thus it is not, as Spencer supposes, a 'misinterpretation of nicknames,' but the transmigration of souls which forms the connecting link between totemism on the one side and the worship of the dead on the other, which link, while it has dropped out among many peoples, is still for the most part clearly observable in the Archipelago."<sup>1</sup>

This theory of totemism is not, like the theories of Herbert Spencer and Lord Avebury, open to the objection that the alleged cause appears inadequate to produce the effect. If people really believe the souls of their dead to be lodged in certain species of animals and plants, the belief would be a quite sufficient reason why they should respect these animals and plants and refrain from killing, eating, and injuring them. But on this point we are not left to balance mere speculative possibilities. We know as a matter of fact that many peoples in many parts of the world have respected animals for this very reason.<sup>2</sup> Such respect certainly resembles the attitude of totemic peoples towards their totems, yet it seems to differ from it. For on the one hand the theory of the transmigration of human souls into animals is held by many peoples who do not, or at all events who are not known to practise totemism; and on the other hand the theory in question is not held by those totemic peoples as to whose systems we possess the fullest information such as the Australian aborigines, the Baganda of Central Africa, and most, if not all, of the North American Indians.<sup>3</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> G. A. Wilken, "Het Animisme bij de Volken van den Indischen Archipel," *De Indische Gids*, June 1884, pp. 997-999. Wilken's theory of totemism was afterwards taken up by Professor E. B. Tylor, who supported it by Mr. Sleigh's evidence as to certain Melanesian beliefs. See E. B. Tylor, "Remarks on Totemism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*,

xxviii. (1899) pp. 146-148. For Mr. Sleigh's evidence, see above, vol. ii. p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> For examples, see *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, ii. 430 *sqq.* Many more instances will be cited in the Third Edition of that book.

<sup>3</sup> An early authority on the Hopi or Moqui Indians, Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, informs us that their totemic clans are

It is true that the doctrine of transmigration has led various peoples to respect certain species of animals; but this respect seems to differ from totemism, for the doctrine of transmigration is not held by the totemic tribes with which we are best acquainted.

seems to shew that the two things, totemism and the doctrine of metempsychosis, are distinct and independent. If a belief in the transmigration of souls had been the origin of totemism, surely that belief would have been found lingering among the Australian aborigines, the most primitive totemic race with which we are acquainted. Why should it have vanished from among them, leaving its supposed product totemism in full bloom behind, and should have reappeared among higher races which know nothing of totemism? The natural inference seems to be that metempsychosis is a later product of social evolution than totemism, of which indeed it may sometimes be an effect rather than the cause.

On the other hand it is to be observed that the hypothesis which derives totemism from metempsychosis is supported by the accounts of certain totemic tribes in Africa. We have seen that the historian of South Africa, Dr. Theal, bases the totemism of the Bantu tribes not as a theory but as a fact on their belief in the reincarnation of their dead in the form of animals,<sup>1</sup> and similar statements have been made as to various tribes in the west and centre of the continent.<sup>2</sup> But all these statements are somewhat loose and vague; our information as to the totemic system of the tribes in question is for the most part very meagre, and till it is much fuller and more precise we shall do well not to draw inferences from it. Even if it should turn out that many Bantu tribes, unlike the Baganda, do actually explain their totemism by a belief that the souls of their dead are incarnate in their totems, I should still, for the reasons I have given, incline to regard that belief as a later development rather than as the source of totemism.

However, the theory which derives totemism from metempsychosis supported by the reported beliefs of certain totemic tribes in Africa.

supposed to be descended from ancestors who had been transformed by the great Mother into human shape after having been up to that time identical with their totems, namely, the deer, the bear, the hare, the prairie-wolf, the rattle-snake, the tobacco-plant, the reed-grass, sand, and water. The writer then proceeds as follows: "They are firm believers in metempsychosis, and say that when they die, they will resolve into their original forms, and become bears, deer, etc., again." See Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, "Manners

and Customs of the Moqui and Navajo Tribes of New Mexico," in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 86. This important statement seems not to have been confirmed or noticed by later authorities on the Hopi Indians, but it well deserves attention. I regret that it was overlooked by me in my account of the totemic system of these tribes (above, vol. iii. pp. 195 *sqq.*).

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 388 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 398, 551 *sq.*, 560, 626, 629.

Theory that the totems of clans are merely the guardian spirits of ancestors transmitted by inheritance to their descendants. This theory is held by some American anthropologists.

Another theory of the origin of totemism is that the institution grew out of the personal guardian spirits of individuals. On this view the totem of a clan is simply the guardian spirit or personal totem of an ancestor, who acquired it for himself in a dream at puberty and through his influence and credit succeeded in transmitting it by inheritance to his descendants. These descendants form a clan, and revere as their totem the species of animals or plants or other objects in which the guardian spirit of their ancestor manifested itself. This theory is held by some eminent American anthropologists, including Dr. Franz Boas, Miss Alice C. Fletcher, Mr. C. Hill-Tout, and Father A. G. Morice.<sup>1</sup> It has the advantage of explaining very simply how a whole clan came to possess a common totem, for nothing seems more natural than that the totem should have spread to a kindred group by inheritance from a common ancestor. Indeed, whatever theory we adopt of the origin of totemism we can hardly help supposing that the totem, guardian spirit, or whatever we may call it, of the individual preceded the hereditary totem of a group or clan and was in some way its original.

This American theory flows naturally from the American facts, since both clan totems and personal guardian spirits are common in North America.

Further, this American theory, as we may call it, of the origin of totemism flows very naturally from the American facts. For amongst the North American Indians the two institutions of clan totemism and personal guardian spirits are both widely prevalent, and the attitude of men to their clan totems on the one side and to their guardian spirits or personal totems on the other is very similar. What therefore can seem more obvious than that the two institutions are in origin identical, and that the clan totem is simply the guardian spirit or personal totem become hereditary?

<sup>1</sup> F. Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 336, 393, 662; *id.* in "Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada," *Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898, pp. 674-677; Miss Alice C. Fletcher, *The Import of the Totem* (Salem, Mass., 1897), pp. 8 *sqq.*; C. Hill-Tout,

"The Origin of Totemism among the Aborigines of British Columbia," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Second Series, 1901-1902, vol. vii. Section ii. pp. 6 *sqq.*; *id.* "Some Features of the Language and Culture of the Salish," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vii. (1905) pp. 681 *sqq.*; Father A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto, 1906), p. 205.

Yet there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting a theory which at first sight has so much to commend it. So long as we confine our view to American totemism, the hypothesis is plausible, and if we knew nothing about totemism except what we can learn about it in America we might well be disposed to acquiesce in it as satisfactory and sufficient. But when we turn to the totemic systems of tribes in other parts of the world, doubts inevitably arise. For the custom of possessing individual guardian spirits, apart from the totems of the clans, is very rare in Australia,<sup>1</sup> unknown in India, and almost unknown among the Bantu tribes of Africa ;<sup>2</sup> unless we except the taboos imposed on individuals among some Bantu tribes of the lower Congo,<sup>3</sup> who may, however, have borrowed them from their negro neighbours. On the other hand the guardian spirits of the American Indians have to a certain extent their analogies in the individual fetishes and bush-souls, which are common among the true negroes of West Africa.<sup>4</sup> But unlike the guardian spirits of the American Indians these African fetishes and bush-souls appear not to be acquired by individuals for themselves in dreams at puberty. Hence surveying the facts of totemism as a whole we seem driven to conclude that the system of personal guardian spirits obtained by dreams at puberty is almost confined to America,<sup>5</sup> and that therefore it cannot have been the general source of totemism.

But it is not borne out by the evidence of totemic tribes elsewhere, with whom personal guardian spirits appear for the most part to be wanting.

Even if we confine ourselves to the American facts we shall find a difficulty in the way of the theory which derives the totem of the clan from the guardian spirit of the individual. For it is to be observed that amongst the North American Indians, while we hear a great deal about the guardian spirits of men, we hear very little about the guardian spirits of women.<sup>6</sup> This seems to shew that the guardian spirits of women were of little importance by comparison with those of men. Hence it appears to follow that if the

Even in America the theory encounters a serious difficulty in the comparative insignificance of the guardian spirits of women.

<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Australian aborigines personal guardian spirits in animal form seem to be chiefly confined to medicine-men. See above, vol. i. pp. 412 sq., 448 sq., 482 sq., 489 sq., 497 sq.

<sup>2</sup> For some evidence of guardian spirits among the Bantus see above, vol. ii. pp. 453, 627.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 615 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 572 sqq., 593 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> However, Kurnai medicine-men acquired their guardian spirits in dreams. See vol. i. pp. 497 sq.

<sup>6</sup> For the evidence see above, vol. iii. pp. 370-456.

which is hard to reconcile with descent of the clan totem in the female line.

clan totem is nothing but the guardian spirit become hereditary, it ought to be inherited generally, perhaps always from the father and not from the mother. How then are we to explain the large number of totemic clans in North America which are hereditary in the maternal, not in the paternal line? If the theory which we are discussing is correct we must assume that amongst all the many Indian tribes which retain female descent of the totem far more importance was formerly attributed to the guardian spirits of women than of men. But such an assumption is not supported by any evidence and is in itself improbable.

On the whole then we conclude that the totems of clans are not to be identified with the guardian spirits acquired by individuals in dreams at puberty.

Theory of Dr. A. C. Haddon that totems were originally the animals or plants on which local groups of people chiefly subsisted, and after which they were named by their neighbours.

Another explanation of the origin of totemism has been suggested by Dr. A. C. Haddon. He supposes that each primitive local group subsisted chiefly on some one species of animal or plant, and that after satisfying their own wants the members of the group exchanged their superfluity for the superfluities of other neighbouring groups. In this way each group might come to be named by its neighbours after the particular kind of food which formed its staple article of diet and of exchange. Thus "among the shore-folk the group that lived mainly on crabs and occasionally traded in crabs might well be spoken of as 'the crab-men' by all the groups with whom they came in direct or indirect contact. The same would hold good for the group that dealt in clams or in turtle, and reciprocally there might be sago-men, bamboomen, and so forth. It is obvious that men who persistently collected or hunted a particular group of animals would understand the habits of those animals better than other people, and a personal regard for these animals would naturally arise. Thus from the very beginning there would be a distinct relationship between a group of individuals and a group of animals or plants, a relationship that primitively was based, not on even the most elementary of psychic concepts, but on the most deeply seated and urgent of human claims, hunger."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, "Address to the Anthropological Section," *Report of the*

*British Association*, Belfast, 1902, pp. 8-11 (separate reprint).

To this theory it has been objected by Professor Baldwin Spencer that if we may judge by the Australian aborigines, who have totemism in the most primitive form known to us, there is no such specialisation of diet between the local groups as Dr. Haddon assumes. The district occupied by a local totemic group is small; the animals and plants in it do not as a rule differ from those of neighbouring districts; and the natives of each district do not confine themselves exclusively or principally to any one article of diet, but eat indifferently anything edible that they can lay hands on. Hence in every district we find totemic groups bearing the names of all the edible animals and plants that live and grow in it.<sup>1</sup> Thus the state of things postulated by Dr. Haddon's theory does not exist in Australia, which may be regarded as the most typically totemic country in the world. And the view that the names of the totem clans were originally nicknames applied to them by their neighbours, which the persons so nicknamed adopted as honourable distinctions, appears to be very unlikely. Strong evidence would be needed to convince us that any group of men had complacently accepted a nickname bestowed on them, perhaps in derision, by their often hostile neighbours; nay, that they had not only adopted the nickname as their distinctive title and badge of honour, but had actually developed a religion, or something like a religion, out of it, contracting such a passionate love and admiration for the animals or plants after which they were nicknamed that they henceforth refused, at the risk of dying of hunger, to kill and eat them,

But the specialisation of diet assumed by the theory does not exist amongst the most primitive totemic tribes; and it is unlikely that nicknames should be accepted as badges of honour and should contribute to the evolution of a religion.

<sup>1</sup> Baldwin Spencer, "Totemism in Australia," *Transactions of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Dunedin, 1904, p. 417: "At the present day, except that, of course, sea-fish do not exist in the interior, and so the interior tribes do not have totemic groups of this name, nor *vice versa* do the coastal tribes have groups named after certain grass-seeds which only grow in the centre, in every part we find that there are totemic groups bearing the names of all edible animals and plants, and, so far as we can judge, every group of Natives has simply used as food all the

edible objects which were to be found in its district. Kangaroos and emus are met with everywhere in Australia, but they have never been the exclusive or even chief food of any one group of Natives. We may feel certain that the origin of totemic names is not associated in the first instance with the staple food of local groups of individuals, because the Native—and the more primitive he is the more likely is this to be the case—feeds upon everything edible which grows in his country." Compare Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 767 sq.

though formerly these same animals or plants had been the very food on which they chiefly subsisted. The theory that nicknames are the root of totemism is, as I have already pointed out,<sup>1</sup> improbable enough in itself, but the improbability is multiplied tenfold when it is assumed that these nicknames did not originate with the persons themselves but have been borrowed by them from their neighbours. In point of fact no single instance of such an adoption of nicknames from neighbours was known to Dr. Howitt, the most experienced of Australian anthropologists, in the whole of Australia.<sup>2</sup>

The three theories of totemism proposed by the author.

When I first published my small work on totemism in 1887 I had no theory of totemism to suggest and confined myself to collecting and stating the facts. Since then the subject has continued to engage my attention, many new facts have come to light, and after prolonged study I have proposed three several explanations of totemism, of which, on mature reflection, I have discarded two as inadequate. The third, to which I still adhere, has been already stated in this book and I shall revert to it presently. But it may be worth while here to notice the two discarded hypotheses, as both of them, if they do not go to the root of totemism, may serve to illustrate some of its aspects.

The author's first theory, that totemism originated in the doctrine of the external soul or the supposed possibility of

My first suggestion was that the key to totemism might be found in the theory of the external soul, that is, in the belief that living people may deposit their souls for safe keeping outside of themselves in some secure place, where the precious deposit will be less exposed to the risks and vicissitudes of life than while it remained in the body of its owner. Persons who have thus stowed away their souls apart from their bodies are supposed to be immortal and

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 154: "To me, judging of the possible feelings of the pristine ancestors of the Australians by their descendants of the present time, it seems most improbable that any such nicknames would have been adopted and have given rise to totemism, nor do I know of a single

instance in which such nicknames have been adopted." It is true that in West Australia some totemic groups are said to have been named after the animals or plants on which they at one time chiefly subsisted. See above, vol. i. pp. 547 *sq.*, 555 *sq.* But these explanations of the names are probably afterthoughts, and it is not suggested that the names were adopted from other people.

invulnerable so long as the souls remain intact in the places where they have been deposited; for how can you kill a man by attacking his body if his life is not in it? The first in England to collect evidence of this widespread belief in external souls was my friend Mr. Edward Clodd, who read a paper on the subject before the Folk-lore Society in 1884.<sup>1</sup> Simultaneously or nearly simultaneously the same belief was illustrated, to some extent with the same evidence, by the learned Dutch ethnologist Professor G. A. Wilken in Holland.<sup>2</sup> But neither Mr. Clodd nor Professor Wilken associated the belief in the external soul with totemism. Each of them discussed the two subjects independently, without so much as mentioning the one in their discussion of the other.<sup>3</sup> Arguing from the facts collected by these

depositing the souls of living people for safety in external objects, such as animals or plants.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Clodd, "The Philosophy of Punchkin," *The Folk-lore Journal*, ii. (1884) pp. 289-303. The substance of this essay was afterwards republished by Mr. Clodd in his *Myths and Dreams* (London, 1885), pp. 188-198. Mr. Clodd illustrates the belief by folk-tales, beginning with the story of Punchkin in Miss Deccan's *Old Deccan Days* and citing as further examples the Norse tale of "The giant who had no heart in his body"; the Russian tale of "Koshchei the Deathless"; the Celtic tale, from Mr. J. F. Campbell's collection, of the king whose soul was in a duck's egg; and the ancient Egyptian story of "The Two Brothers"; the tale in the *Arabian Nights* of the jinnee whose soul was in the crop of a sparrow; and many more. "The central idea of the Punchkin group of stories," says Mr. Clodd, "is the dwelling apart of the soul or heart, as the seat of life, apart from the body, in some secret place in some animate or inanimate thing, often an egg or a bird, sometimes a tree, flower, or necklace, the fate of the one involving the fate of the other. Now, stripped of all local additions and detail, this notion of the soul existing apart from the body and determining its fortunes is the survival of primitive belief in one or more entities in the body, yet not of it, which may leave that body at will during life, and which perchance leaves it finally, to return not, at death"

("The Philosophy of Punchkin," *The Folk-lore Journal*, ii. (1884) p. 302).

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Wilken, "De betrekking tusschen menschen-dieren-en plantleven naar het volksgeloof," *De Indische Gids*, November 1884, pp. 595-612. Wilken, like Mr. Clodd, starts from the story of Punchkin in Miss Frere's *Old Deccan Days*, and adds the Russian tale of "Koshchei the Deathless," the ancient Egyptian story of "The Two Brothers," etc. The same evidence was afterwards reproduced by Wilken, with fresh matter, in his essay "De Simsonsage," which was published in *De Gids*, 1888, No. 5. A copy of the latter paper was sent on publication to me by the author, with whom I had been in friendly correspondence since 1885 or 1886, and I used it with advantage in my discussion of the external soul in *The Golden Bough* (London, 1890), ii. 296 sqq. But Wilken's earlier paper on the same subject was unknown to me until Professor E. B. Tylor drew my attention to it in 1898.

<sup>3</sup> We have seen that Wilken explained totemism by the doctrine of metempsychosis (above, pp. 45 sq.). Mr. Clodd seems to have inclined to the view that totemism was rather the cause than the effect of a belief in the transmigration of souls. See his *Myths and Dreams* (London, 1885), pp. 99 sqq.

writers and from others which I cited, I conjectured that the relation of a man to his totem is explicable on the supposition that he supposes his soul to be lodged for safety in some external object, such as an animal or plant, but that not knowing which individual of the species is the receptacle of his soul he spares the whole species from a fear of unwittingly injuring the particular one with which his fate is bound up.<sup>1</sup> Further, I suggested that a widespread rite of initiation at puberty, which consists in a pretence of killing the novice and bringing him to life again, may have been the ceremony by which his soul is definitely transferred for safety to his totem, the notion perhaps being that an interchange of life is effected such that the man dies as a man and comes to life again as an animal, a plant, or whatever his totem may be. This transference was, on my theory, accomplished at puberty for the sake of guarding the individual against the mysterious dangers which the savage mind associates with sexual relations.<sup>2</sup>

On the whole this theory has not been confirmed by subsequent research, though the doctrine of external souls appears to be combined with totemism by some tribes in Central Australia and West Africa.

On the whole the results of subsequent research and increased knowledge of totemism have not confirmed this theory. It is true that amongst the most primitive totemic tribes known to us, the aborigines of Central Australia, there are traces of a doctrine of external souls associated with totemism; for there is some evidence that the ancestors of the present totemic clans are supposed to have transferred their souls to certain sacred implements of wood and stone which they call *churinga* and *nurtunjas*.<sup>3</sup> But the evidence is ambiguous and the connection of these sacred implements with totems is far from clear. Again, in West Africa totemism appears to be combined or entangled with the doctrine of the external soul among the Siena of the Ivory Coast and the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast.<sup>4</sup> Further, the same doctrine seems to be widely spread, whether with or without totemism is uncertain, among the tribes of Southern Nigeria and Cameroon; for we read again and again of a belief entertained by these peoples that the souls of living men and women are lodged in the

<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Bough* (London, 1890), ii. 332 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* ii. 242-359.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 124-128.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 551, 552, 560.

bodies of animals, and that when the animals are killed the men and women die simultaneously.<sup>1</sup> Such beliefs would certainly furnish an adequate motive for sparing the species of animals with which a man believed his own life to be indissolubly linked; they would therefore explain the common attitude of people towards their totems. Yet the evidence which connects this theory of external human souls in animal bodies with totemism appears to be insufficient to justify us in regarding it as the source of the whole institution.

My second theory of totemism was suggested by the epoch-making discoveries of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia, which threw a flood of new and unexpected light on the subject. For the first time totemism was presented to us as a system essentially rational and practical in its aims, though certainly not in the means which it takes to compass them. For as totemism is worked at present by the tribes of Central Australia, its main business appears to be to supply the community with an abundance of food and of all the other necessaries and comforts of life, so far as these can be wrung from the penurious hand of nature in the desert. The object is excellent, but the measures which the natives have adopted to attain it are lamentably and absurdly inadequate. Each tribe is subdivided into a large number of totemic clans, and each clan is charged with the duty of manipulating for the general good of the community a particular department of nature which we call its totem. Nothing could be better in theory or worse in practice. A tribe so organised presents indeed a superficial resemblance to a modern industrial community organised on the sound economic principle of the division of labour. But the resemblance is deceptive. In reality the workers in the totemic hive are busily engaged in doing nothing. The bees are industrious, and there is a loud buzz, but unfortunately there is no honey. They spend their labour in vain. Rigged out in motley costumes of paint and birds' down, they weary themselves in the performance of elaborate mummeries which come to nothing; they waste their breath in the utterance of spells

The author's second theory, that totemism originated as a system of magic designed to supply a community with the necessaries of life, especially with food and drink.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 593-600.

which die away ineffectually on the wind. In short they seek to accomplish their ends by means of magic, and magic has always deceived those who trusted in it. All its reasonings are fallacious, all its high-sounding promises false and hollow. Yet nature in a manner conspires to maintain the delusion; for sooner or later she always works the effect which the magician commands her to perform, and so he mistakes her for his servant. If we compare the face of nature to an illuminated screen on which figures pass to and fro, we may liken magicians to men gesticulating and shouting at the figures and imagining that they come and go at their bidding; while all the time the phantasmagoria is worked by a Master of the Show smiling invisible behind the screen.

This theory was suggested to the author by the discoveries of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia.

This remarkable revelation of totemism existing at the present day in Central Australia as an organised system of co-operative magic naturally suggested the thought, Do not these magical ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems furnish the clue to the origin of the institution? May not totemism simply be a system of magic designed to supply a community with all the necessaries of life and especially with the chief necessary of all, with food? The thought occurred to me in reading the proofs of Spencer and Gillen's first great book, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, and I communicated it by letter to my friend Professor Baldwin Spencer. From him I learned that he had been coming independently to a similar conclusion, and accordingly when he visited England soon afterwards he read at my suggestion a paper to the Anthropological Institute in which he set forth the views of himself and his colleague Mr. F. J. Gillen on the subject.<sup>1</sup> On the same occasion I sketched briefly the theory as it presented itself to me at the time,<sup>2</sup> and I afterwards published it more at length in two papers which are reprinted in the first volume of this book.<sup>3</sup> It would be superfluous, therefore, to repeat here the arguments by which I supported the hypothesis.

<sup>1</sup> Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, "Some Remarks on Totemism as applied to Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) pp. 275-280.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Frazer, "Observations on Central Australian Totemism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) pp. 281-286.

<sup>3</sup> Above, vol. i. pp. 91-138.

Rather it is incumbent on me to state the reasons which have since led me, on mature reflection, to abandon it as unsatisfactory.

Briefly stated, these reasons are two. The motive which the theory assigns for the origin of the institution is too rational, and the social organisation which it implies is too complex, to be primitive. It is unlikely that a community of savages should deliberately parcel out the realm of nature into provinces, assign each province to a particular band of magicians, and bid all the bands to work their magic and weave their spells for the common good. Communities of this general pattern do certainly exist among the Australian aborigines, and so far the theory rests not on a flimsy structure of hypotheses but on a solid basis of fact. But probably these co-operative communities of totemic magicians are developments of totemism rather than its germ. It may be possible to go behind them and to discover the elements out of which they have been evolved. We must seek for some simpler idea, some primitive superstition, and for some correspondingly simpler form of society, which together may have developed into the comparatively elaborate totemic system of the Central Australian tribes.

After long reflection it occurred to me that the simple idea, the primitive superstition at the root of totemism, may perhaps be found in the mode by which the Central Australian aborigines still determine the totems of every man, woman, and child of the tribe. That mode rests on a primitive theory of conception. Ignorant of the true causes of childbirth, they imagine that a child only enters into a woman at the moment when she first feels it stirring in her womb, and accordingly they have to explain to themselves why it should enter her body at that particular moment. Necessarily it has come from outside and therefore from something which the woman herself may have seen or felt immediately before she knew herself to be with child. The theory of the Central Australians is that a spirit child has made its way into her from the nearest of those trees, rocks, water-pools, or other natural features at which the spirits of the dead are waiting to be born again; and since only the spirits of people of one particular totem are believed

But the motive which this theory assigns for the origin of totemism is too rational, and the social organisation which it assumes is too complex, to be primitive.

The author's third theory, that totemism originated in a primitive explanation of conception and childbirth. The theory was suggested by the beliefs of the Central Australian aborigines.

to congregate at any one spot, and the natives well know what totemic spirits haunt each hallowed plot of ground, a woman has no difficulty in determining the totem of her unborn child. If the child entered her, that is, if she felt her womb quickened, near a tree haunted by spirits of Kangaroo people, then her child will be of the kangaroo totem; if she felt the first premonitions of maternity near a rock tenanted by spirits of Emu people, then her child will be of the emu totem; and so on throughout the whole length of the totemic gamut. This is not a matter of speculation. It is the belief held universally by all the tribes of Central and Northern Australia, so far as these beliefs are known to us.<sup>1</sup>

But the beliefs of the Central Australian aborigines as to child-birth appear to be one stage removed from absolutely primitive.

Obviously, however, this theory of conception does not by itself explain totemism, that is, the relation in which groups of people stand to species of things. It stops short of doing so by a single step. What a woman imagines to enter her body at conception is not an animal, a plant, a stone or what not; it is only the spirit of a human child which has an animal, a plant, a stone, or what not for its totem. Had the woman supposed that what passed into her at the critical moment was an animal, a plant, a stone, or what not, and that when her child was born it would be that animal, plant, or stone, in human form, then we should have a complete explanation of totemism. For the essence of totemism, as I have repeatedly pointed out, consists in the identification of a man with a thing, whether an animal, a plant, or what not; and that identification would be complete if a man believed himself to be the very thing, whether animal, plant, or what not, which had entered his mother's womb at conception and had issued from it at childbirth. Accordingly I conjectured<sup>2</sup> that the Central Australian beliefs as to conception are but one remove from absolutely primitive totemism, which, on my theory, ought to consist in nothing more or less than in a belief that women are impregnated without the help of men by something which enters their womb at the moment when they

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 155 *sqq.*, 188 *sqq.*, 576 *sqq.* essay there reprinted was first published in 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Above, vol. i. pp. 157 *sqq.* The

first feel it quickened; for such a belief would perfectly explain the essence of totemism, that is, the identification of groups of people with groups of things. Thus, if I was right, the clue to totemism was found just where we might most reasonably expect to find it, namely, in the beliefs and customs of the most primitive totemic people known to us, the Australian aborigines. In fact the clue had been staring us in the face for years, though we did not recognise it.

But a link in the chain of evidence was wanting; for, as I have just pointed out, the Australian beliefs cannot be regarded as absolutely primitive.<sup>1</sup> Three years after I propounded my theory, the missing link was found, the broken chain was completed, by the researches of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers; for in the Banks' Islands he discovered a series of beliefs and customs which fulfil exactly my theoretical definition of absolutely primitive totemism. The facts have already been fully laid before the reader;<sup>2</sup> here I need only briefly recapitulate them. In some of these islands many people identify themselves with certain animals or fruits and believe that they themselves partake of the qualities and character of these animals or fruits. Consistently with this belief they refuse to eat animals or fruits of these sorts on the ground that to do so would be a kind of cannibalism; they would in a manner be eating themselves. The reason they give for holding this belief and observing this conduct is that their mothers were impregnated by the entrance into their wombs of spirit animals or spirit fruits, and that they themselves are nothing but the particular animal or plant which effected a lodgment in their mother and in due time

The absolutely primitive beliefs as to conception and child-birth have since been found by Dr. Rivers among the Banks' Islanders, whose system of totemism accordingly appears to be that absolutely primitive system which the author had theoretically postulated.

<sup>1</sup> However, according to the German missionary Mr. C. Strehlow absolutely primitive totemism does occur in the Loritja (Luritcha) tribe of Central Australia. He says: "When a woman on her wanderings catches sight of a kangaroo, which suddenly vanishes from her sight, and she at the same moment feels the first symptoms of pregnancy, then a kangaroo *ratapa* (germ) has entered into her, not indeed the very kangaroo itself, for that was surely rather a kangaroo ancestor in animal form. Or a woman may find *lalitja* fruits and after a copious repast on

them may feel unwell; in that case the *ratapa* (germ) of a *lalitja* has entered into her through her hips, not through the mouth. Both cases accordingly belong to the first mode in which children originate, namely, by the entrance of a *ratapa* (germ) into a woman who passes by a totem place." See the passage quoted by von Leonhardi in his Preface (the pages of which are not numbered) to Mr. C. Strehlow's *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien*, i. (Frankfurt am Main, 1907).

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 89 *sqq.*

was born into the world with a superficial and deceptive resemblance to a human being. That is why they partake of the character of the animal or plant; that is why they refuse to eat animals or plants of that species. This is not called totemism, but nevertheless it appears to be totemism in all its pristine simplicity. Theoretically it is an explanation of childbirth resting on a belief that conception can take place without cohabitation; practically it is respect paid to species of animals, plants, or other natural objects on the ground of their assumed identity with human beings. The practice has long been known as totemism; the theory which explains the practice has now been disclosed by the discoveries of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia and of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers in the Banks' Islands.

The conceptual theory of totemism seems to explain all the facts of totemism in an easy and natural way.

Here at last we seem to find a complete and adequate explanation of the origin of totemism. The conceptual theory, as I have called my third and so far as I can see my final theory of totemism, accounts for all the facts in a simple and natural manner. It explains why people commonly abstain from killing and eating their totemic animals and plants or otherwise injuring their totems. The reason is that identifying themselves with their totems they are naturally careful not to hurt or destroy them. It explains why some people on the other hand consider themselves bound occasionally to eat a portion of the totemic animal or plant. The reason again is that identifying themselves with their totem they desire to maintain and strengthen that identity by assimilating from time to time its flesh and blood or vegetable tissues. It explains why people are often supposed to partake of the qualities and character of their totems. The reason again is that identifying themselves with their totems they necessarily partake of the totemic qualities and character. It explains why men often claim to exercise a magical control over their totems, in particular a power of multiplying them. The reason again is that identifying themselves with their totems they naturally suppose themselves invested with the like powers for the multiplication or control of the species. It explains why people commonly believe themselves to be descended from their totemic animals and plants,

and why women are sometimes said to have given birth to these animals or plants. The reason is that these animals or plants or their spirits are supposed to have actually entered into the mothers of the clan and to have been born from them in human form. It explains the whole of the immense range of totems from animals and plants upwards or downwards to the greatest works of nature on the one side and to the meanest handiwork of man on the other. The reason is that there is nothing from the light of the sun or the moon or the stars down to the humblest implement of domestic utility which may not have impressed a woman's fancy at the critical season and have been by her identified with the child in her womb. Lastly, it explains why totemic peoples often confuse their ancestors with their totems. The reason is that regarding their ancestors as animals or plants in essence, though human in form, they find it hard to distinguish even in thought between their outward human appearance and their inward bestial or vegetable nature; they think of them vaguely both as men and as animals or plants; the contradiction between the two things does not perplex them, though they cannot picture it clearly to their minds. Haziness is characteristic of the mental vision of the savage. Like the blind man of Bethsaida he sees men like trees and animals walking in a thick intellectual fog. Thus in the conceptional theory we seem to find a sufficient explanation of all the facts and fancies of totemism.

We conclude, then, that the ultimate source of totemism is a savage ignorance of the physical process by which men and animals reproduce their kinds; in particular it is an ignorance of the part played by the male in the generation of offspring. Surprising as such ignorance may seem to the civilised mind, a little reflection will probably convince us that, if mankind has indeed been evolved from lower forms of animal life, there must have been a period in the history of our race when ignorance of paternity was universal among men. The part played by the mother in the production of offspring is obvious to the senses and cannot but be perceived even by the animals; but the part played by the father is far less obvious and is indeed a matter of inference only, not of perception. How could the infantine intelligence of

Thus the ultimate source of totemism is a savage ignorance of paternity. Such ignorance must at one time have been universal among men; and the totemic theory of conception and child-birth is one which

would naturally suggest itself to the mind of the savage ; in particular it would find support in the common fancies of pregnant women.

the primitive savage perceive that the child which comes forth from the womb is the fruit of the seed which was sowed there nine long months before? He is ignorant, as we know from the example of the Australian aborigines, of the simple truth that a seed sowed in the earth will spring up and bear fruit. How then could he infer that children are the result of a similar process? His ignorance is therefore a natural and necessary phase in the intellectual development of our race.<sup>1</sup> But while he could not for long ages divine the truth as to the way in which children come into the world, it was inevitable that so soon as he began to think at all he should turn his thoughts to this most important and most mysterious event, so constantly repeated before his eyes, so essential to the continuance of the species. If he formed a theory about anything it would naturally be about this. And what theory could seem to him more obviously suggested by the facts than that the child only enters into the mother's womb at the moment when she first feels it stirring within her? How could he think that the child was there long before she felt it? From the standpoint of his ignorance such a supposition might well appear unreasonable and absurd. And if the child enters the woman only at the first quickening of her womb, what more natural than to identify it with something that simultaneously struck her fancy and perhaps mysteriously vanished? It might be a kangaroo that hopped before her and disappeared in a thicket ; it might be a gay butterfly that flickered past in the sunshine with the metallic brilliancy of its glittering wings, or a gorgeous parrot flapping by resplendent in soft plumage of purple, crimson, and orange. It might be the sunbeams streaming down on her through an opening in a forest glade, or the moonbeams sparkling and dancing on the water, till a driving cloud suddenly blotted out the silvery orb. It might be the sighing of the wind in the trees, or the surf on some stormy shore, its hollow roar

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written I have received Mr. E. S. Hartland's book *Primitive Paternity* (London, 1909), in which the view expressed in the text is supported by a large array of evidence. Though the book bears date 1909 it was

not published, at least it did not reach me, till February 1910. So far as I have as yet read it I have found no reason to alter anything which I had written on the subject.

sounding in her ears like the voice of a spirit borne to her from across the sea. Anything indeed that struck a woman at that mysterious moment of her life when she first knows herself to be a mother might easily be identified by her with the child in her womb. Such maternal fancies, so natural and seemingly so universal, appear to be the root of totemism.

Thus the present diffusion of totemism over a large part of the world is explained by causes which at a very remote time probably operated equally among all races of men, to wit, an ignorance of the true source of childbirth combined with a natural curiosity on the subject. We need not suppose that the institution has been borrowed to any great extent by one race from another. It may have everywhere sprung independently from the same simple root in the mental constitution of man. But it would be a great mistake to imagine that the cause which originated the institution has survived wherever the institution itself still lingers, in other words, that all totemic peoples are totally ignorant of paternity. In the history of society it constantly happens that a custom, once started, continues to be practised long after the motive which originated it has been forgotten; by the mere force of inertia an institution goes sliding along the old well-worn groove though the impetus which first set it in motion may have died out ages ago. So it has been with totemism. The institution is still observed by many tribes who are perfectly familiar with the part which the father plays in the begetting of children. Still even among them the new knowledge has not always entirely dispelled the ancient ignorance. Some of them still think that the father's help, though usual, is not indispensable for the production of offspring. Thus we have seen that the Baganda firmly believe that a woman may be impregnated by the purple flower of the banana falling on her shoulders or by the spirits of suicides and misborn infants which dart into her from their dishonoured graves at the cross-roads.<sup>1</sup> Even among civilised races which have long sloughed off totemism, if they ever had it, traces of the same primaeval ignorance survive in certain marriage customs which are still observed in England, in certain rites which barren women still perform

But while totemism may have originated in ignorance of paternity, it has survived among many peoples to whom the fact of paternity is well known, though some of them still continue to believe that women may occasionally conceive children without the help of the other sex.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp 507 *sq.*

in the hope of obtaining a mother's joys, and in a multitude of popular tales, which set forth how a virgin conceived and brought forth a child without contact with the other sex.<sup>1</sup> Ages after such stories cease to be told of common people they continue to be related with childlike faith of heroes and demigods. The virgin birth of these worshipful personages is now spoken of as supernatural, but to the truly primitive savage it seems perfectly natural; indeed he knows of no other way in which people are born into the world. In short a belief that a virgin can conceive and bring forth a son is one of the last lingering relics of primitive savagery.

Thus the fancies and longings of pregnant women may have had a preponderant influence in the creation of totemism. Such fancies and longings are not confined to savages but are commonly shared by civilised women.

If we ask what in particular may have suggested the theory of conception which appears to be the tap-root of totemism, it seems probable that, as I have already indicated, a preponderant influence is to be ascribed to the sick fancies of pregnant women, and that so far, therefore, totemism may be described as a creation of the feminine rather than of the masculine mind. It is well known that the minds of women are in an abnormal state during pregnancy, nor is this strange; the presence of a living being within them, drawing its nourishment from their blood and growing day by day, must necessarily affect their whole bodily organism and disorder in some measure the mental processes which depend on it. One of the commonest symptoms of this partial mental derangement is a longing for a special and sometimes unusual kind of food. At such times a woman will feel a craving for some particular viand for which in her normal state she has no decided liking. She will consume large quantities of the food, if she can get it, and many people deem it a duty to supply her with that for which she craves. In Chili, for example, if a woman with child looks longingly at some dainty which tempts her fancy in a shop window, the shopman, perceiving her condition, will give it to her for nothing.<sup>2</sup> And it very

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 258-263. Many superstitious rites practised by women in all parts of the world for the purpose of obtaining offspring clearly imply an ignorance of the necessity of male co-operation. A large collection of examples will be found in Ploss and

Bartels's book *Das Weib*<sup>9</sup> (Leipzig, 1908), i. 772-791. On the whole subject I may now refer readers to Mr. E. S. Hartland's book *Primitive Paternity*.

<sup>2</sup> This touching civility was communicated to me by my wife, who lived for several years in Chili. Similarly in

often happens that after her child is born a woman associates it in some way with the food for which she had longed, and which had supported and solaced her in the weary, hazardous months of pregnancy. For example, to take an actual case which happened not very long ago, Mrs. H. told a friend of mine, Mr. Walter Heape, F.R.S., that when her sister, who is many years younger than herself, was born, she had marked, in clear outline on the back of her neck, a raspberry: this mark still persists and the lady is about thirty years of age. The mother explained the mark by saying that she ate largely of raspberries during her pregnancy. As a matter of fact Mr. Heape was assured that she did so, that she had an extraordinary longing for the fruit and ate them continuously for many weeks; for her husband and she being rich, she was provided with raspberries as long as it was possible to obtain them.<sup>1</sup> Similar cases, I am told, are very common among women. To take another and somewhat different case. Captain W. told Mr. Walter Heape that while he was in China his wife was sleeping lightly in bed one hot night without bedclothes and with her nightgown open and her chest exposed. A lizard fell from the roof on her chest between the breasts; she woke with a start and saw the animal running away. She foretold that the child she was with would be marked on the chest, and Captain W. assured Mr. Heape that when the child was born it bore the mark of a lizard, with long body, four outstretched legs, and tail, on the very part corresponding to the part of its mother's chest on which the lizard had fallen. He added that the mark was red and that it persisted, though for how long it persisted Mr. Heape does not know.

Examples supplied by Mr. Walter Heape. The raspberry mark.

The lizard mark.

Cases of both sorts could be multiplied without difficulty. I have cited these two merely as typical and as reported, though not at first hand, by an entirely trustworthy witness. The first case illustrates the belief that a child may resemble

Such maternal fancies might among a totemic

the Black Forest it is said that pregnant women are allowed to gather fruit from other people's gardens provided that they eat it on the spot. See Ploss und Bartels, *Das Weib*,<sup>9</sup> i. 918, where more evidence on the subject will be found (pp. 916-920).

F.R.S., M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, dated 20th January 1910. Mr. Heape is now resident at Greyfriars, Southwold. He has paid special attention both to gynæcology and to cattle-breeding and is an acknowledged authority on both subjects.

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Mr. Walter Heape,

people determine a child's totem.

a fruit which the mother partook of freely during her pregnancy; the other case illustrates the belief that a child may resemble an animal which fell on the mother while she was big. Such fancies, whether well or ill founded, are exactly analogous to the fancies by which in the Banks' Islands women determine what may be called the conceptional totems of their children.<sup>1</sup> Can we doubt that, if totemism had not gone out of fashion in England, Mrs. H.'s child would have had a raspberry for its totem and Captain W.'s child a lizard? Thus while totemism either never existed among the civilised races or has long been extinct, the causes which in the remote past probably gave rise to the institution persist in the midst of our civilisation to this day.

Breeders of cattle, horses, and fowls are also firmly convinced that the offspring of animals is affected by impressions made on the mother animal at conception and pregnancy.

The belief that the unborn young is affected by impressions of sight made on the pregnant mother is not confined to women; it is commonly shared by breeders of cattle, horses, and fowls. On this subject Mr. Walter Heape writes to me: "Many breeders of prize fowls, I am told, will not allow their breeding hens to mix with badly marked fowls, will even take care to remove any of the latter from a neighbouring pen which is in sight of their perfect birds. Breeders of horses, too, when breeding for pure colour, will not allow their pregnant mares to mix with white-faced horses or even allow a white-faced horse to run in the next field where it can be seen over the fence. They assert that if they do so they run great risk of getting foals with white faces or otherwise badly marked. I may quote, as a further modern example of this firmly established view, the well known breeder of black polled cattle who would not have any white or coloured article on his farm, but who had all his fences, gates, etc., all painted black. The influence of surroundings in this respect is of course a very ancient belief, it existed in the time of Jacob. But another perhaps even still more remarkable belief among many breeders is exemplified in the following. A well known breeder in the North of England told me, he set himself the task of improving his stud many years ago, and for that purpose employed as sires certain horses very markedly superior in looks to his breeding mares. For two or three years he was

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 89 *sqq.*

greatly disappointed in the result; the foals, he said, invariably took after their mothers. He spoke especially of their outward appearance, which was of particular importance to him as he was breeding good class carriage horses, and stylish looking horses command a high price in this business. It occurred to him that it was the custom in his stables to have his mares covered in a loose-box which was rather dark, and that possibly this fact affected the result. He therefore arranged that the mares should be daily led about a yard, from whence they could see the stallion, for some days before they were covered, and further that they should be covered in the open yard after being near to the stallion for some time previously. The result he told me was extraordinary: the foals so produced almost invariably took after the sires. This belief in the transmission of maternal mental impressions to the young is not confined to stock, and is gravely referred to in medical books of about a hundred years ago and possibly later than that. You will understand that so far as the truth of these stories is concerned I can give you no assurance, indeed so far as is actually known there is no evidence in favour of their truth, and much evidence to induce one to believe they may all be otherwise explained. But I understand you are not concerned with the truth of these matters but only with the belief in their truth, and I have no hesitation in saying that both as regards women and as regards stock-breeders it is very widely and very firmly believed.”<sup>1</sup>

The difficulty in the way of accepting such widespread beliefs as true is this. There is no known means of communication by which sensations, ideas, or emotions can be conveyed from a woman either to the unfertilised ova in her ovary or to a fertilised ovum, that is, to an embryo in her womb. For so far as we are aware the only channel by which sensations, ideas, and emotions can be transmitted is a nerve, and there is no nerve connecting the nervous system of a woman either with the ova or with the embryo. An ovum is an isolated cell enclosed by a specially thick membrane and lying in a specially produced cavity or follicle in the ovary. It absorbs nourishment from the surrounding

Difficulty in understanding how mental impressions made on a mother can be conveyed to her unborn young.

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Mr. Walter Heape to me, dated 20th January 1910.

cells; for processes of these cells are in direct communication with the protoplasm of the ovum, being projected through minute pores in its thick enclosing membrane. The mother's blood nourishes directly the cells and through them indirectly the ovum; but there is no nervous connection between the ovum and her. When the ovum has been fertilised by union with the male germ and has passed from the ovary into the uterus, the resulting embryo continues to be at least as much isolated from the mother's body as the unfertilised ovum in the ovary had been. No nerve connects the embryo with the mother, and the blood of the mother does not circulate in the blood-vessels of the child. But its constituents pass indirectly into the blood of the embryo through the walls of the blood-vessels. That, so far as we know, is the only communication which takes place between a mother and her unborn infant.<sup>1</sup>

If such mental impressions are really conveyed to the embryo it must be by some agency of which at present we know nothing.

Thus it is difficult to understand how any mental impressions made on a woman either before or after conception can be transmitted by her to her offspring, since the physical mechanism by which alone, so far as we know, the transmission could take place is wholly wanting. Yet the widespread belief of women, and still more perhaps the almost universal belief of experienced breeders, in the frequent occurrence of such transmission is certainly deserving of attention. If the belief is indeed well founded, it would seem necessary to conclude that mind can act on mind through a channel other than that of the nervous system. "So far as I can see," writes Mr. Walter Heape, "if there is such a thing as the transference of mental impressions from mother to ovum in ovary or from mother to embryo in uterus, it is brought about by means of some force or agency of which we know nothing. I think we may say that most scientific men are inclined to deny that such transference really occurs. Personally I am not prepared to deny it, but if it is true I cannot explain how it is done."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These physiological details I derive from explanations given me by Mr. Walter Heape in conversation and in two letters dated 20th and 24th January 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Mr. Walter Heape to

me dated 24th January 1910. Mr. F. H. A. Marshall, of Christ's College, Cambridge, who has made a special study of sexual physiology, informed me in conversation that he agrees with Mr. Heape.

It is to be hoped that science may yet enlighten us as to the dark border line which divides what we call mind from what we call matter, and may inform us how the mysterious transition is made from the one to the other. If it should turn out that mind may communicate with mind by means of which we as little dream now as we lately dreamed of the existence of radium, it may follow as a corollary that the impressions made on a mother's mind are really imprinted, as so many people firmly believe, on the mind and body of her unborn offspring. To demonstrate this would in a sense be to supply a physical basis for totemism; for it would shew that the resemblances which women often trace between their children and the things which struck their fancy during pregnancy may be real, not merely fanciful; that the figure of a raspberry or a lizard, for example, may actually be printed on the body of an infant whose mother ate raspberries or was visited by a lizard while she had the child in her womb. Thus what appears to be the essence of totemism, namely, the identification of human beings with species of animals, plants, or other things, would be intelligible and to a certain extent excusable, since it might often rest on a real, not merely an imaginary, similarity between the two. Further, we should then understand why each totemic clan, while it is compelled to draw all its wives from other clans, may nevertheless preserve a distinct physical type of its own, unaffected by the stream of alien blood which is constantly pouring into its veins. This remarkable preservation of the clan type under a rigorous rule of clan exogamy is exemplified by the Baganda in Central Africa and is reported of some Tinneh clans in North-West America.<sup>1</sup> On the hypothesis which I have indicated we may suppose that the children of each clan take after their mothers or their fathers, as the case may be, according as the mental impressions made on pregnant women are derived mainly from their own clan or from the clan of their husband. Where husbands live with the families of their wives, the impressions made on a mother would naturally be derived chiefly from her own family and clan, and consequently the children would

If the belief in such impressions should turn out to be well founded, it would supply a physical basis for totemism, and might explain the preservation of distinct physical types in exogamous clans.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 505 *sq.*, vol. iii. pp. 355, 356.

resemble their mothers; where the wives live with their husbands' families, the impressions made on a mother would naturally be derived chiefly from her husband's family and clan, and consequently children would resemble their fathers. But where the husband lives with his wife's family, descent is usually, perhaps invariably traced in the maternal line; where the wife lives with the husband's family there is a tendency, by no means invariably carried out, to trace descent in the paternal line. Thus it would often, though certainly not always, happen that with maternal descent the children would resemble their mothers, and that with paternal descent they would resemble their fathers. But all this must remain a matter of speculation until the fundamental question of the possible influence of a mother on her unborn child has been definitely answered by biology.

Even if the belief should prove to be baseless, it may still have been the source of totemism; since many great institutions have been founded on superstition.

Even if the answer should be negative—that is, even though it should be demonstrated that the supposed influence is a pure superstition, and that all the numerous instances which have been alleged of it are apocryphal—the theory which derives totemism from a belief in such influence would not be affected thereby. That belief may be utterly false, yet still it has been held by a great part of mankind, and may therefore, like many other false beliefs, have served as the base of a great institution. If human institutions were built only on truth, no doubt they would be better and more durable; but taking the world as it is we must acknowledge that many showy structures have been piled high on rotten foundations; that error dies hard, and that systems founded on it have too often a very long lease of life. Amongst such systems the institution of totemism has been one. For even if it could be proved to have a physical basis in certain real resemblances between people and things, the theoretical inferences which it has drawn from these resemblances are always false, and the practical rules which it has deduced from them are generally absurd.

But while the conceptual theory seems to explain

On the whole, then, the conceptional theory of totemism appears to satisfy all the conditions of a reasonable hypothesis, and we may acquiesce in it till a better shall have been suggested. But the theory throws no light on the

origin of the other great social institution which is generally associated with totemism, I mean the custom of exogamy. In order to complete our view of the two institutions it only remains to enquire how exogamy arose and how it has so often become almost inextricably entangled with totemism.

### § 3. *The Origin of Exogamy*

The same acute mind which discovered totemism discovered exogamy. It was the Scotchman John Ferguson McLennan who first perceived and proclaimed the historical importance of these two great institutions. The discoveries reflect all the greater credit on his acumen because the evidence by which he supported them was both scanty in amount and for the most part indifferent in quality. But the defect has been amply supplied by subsequent researches, which his far-seeing genius did more than anything else to stimulate and direct. An immense body of evidence, of which a large part has been placed before the reader in the preceding volumes, establishes the widespread existence and the powerful influence of the two institutions beyond the reach of doubt and cavil. Later writers may indeed, dazzled by the novelty and the range of the vista thus opened up into the human past, have exaggerated the impulse which the institutions in question, and particularly totemism, have given to the growth of society and religion; but that they have both, and particularly exogamy, been factors of great moment in the moral and social evolution of humanity can hardly be disputed by any candid enquirer who is acquainted with the facts. Therefore among the pioneers who have explored that dark region of primitive human thought and custom which lies beyond the pale of written history, and which but for him and a few like him might have seemed a limbo never to be lighted by the student's lamp, a foremost place must always be assigned to John Ferguson McLennan.

His discovery of exogamy preceded his discovery of totemism and was first given to the world in his book *Primitive Marriage*. He was led to the discovery by a study of the curious marriage ceremony which consists

totemism,  
it does not  
explain  
exogamy.

J. F.  
McLennan  
the dis-  
coverer  
both of  
exogamy  
and of  
totemism.

He was led  
to his dis-  
covery of  
exogamy  
by an

attempt to explain the form of capture as a marriage ceremony.

in a pretence of carrying off the bride by violence even when the families on both sides have consented to the wedding and have indeed arranged it between them. This ceremony, which he called the form of capture at marriage, he found to be practised by many different peoples in many parts of the world; and searching for a cause which might explain it he came to the conclusion that the form or pretence of capturing wives must everywhere have been preceded by the reality of it, in other words, that at some time in the history of society there must have been a wide-spread custom of capturing women from other and hostile tribes in order to serve as wives to their captors. Pursuing this line of enquiry he next asked why men should carry off wives from other communities instead of marrying those whom they had at home. It was at this point that he made the discovery of exogamy. He found, that is to say, that it is a common rule with savage and barbarous peoples never to marry a woman of their own tribal subdivision or group but always to marry a woman of a subdivision or group different from their own. This newly discovered rule he called by the name of exogamy or "marrying out," an excellent and appropriate word which is now practically indispensable in this branch of study.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> McLennan's first book, *Primitive Marriage*, in which the discovery of exogamy was announced, and of which the preface was dated January 1865, was afterwards reprinted with other essays in a volume called *Studies in Ancient History*, of which the first edition appeared in 1876 and the second in 1886 (Macmillan and Co., London). I have used the second edition of the *Studies*, and my references will be to it. For the account which I have given of the way in which McLennan was led to the discovery of exogamy, see his *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. xvi. sq., 9 sqq., 22 sqq., 31 sqq. The adoption of the terms exogamy and endogamy ("marrying out" and "marrying in") is mentioned and justified on p. 25 of that work. It is fair to add, and McLennan himself pointed it out (*op. cit.* p. 56), that the discovery of exogamy had

been anticipated by the acute Cambridge ethnologist, R. G. Latham, in a passage which for the sake of its historical interest I will transcribe. Speaking of the Magars, a tribe of Nepaul, Latham says: "Imperfect as is our information for the early history and social constitution of the Magar, we know that a trace of a tribal division (why not say an actual division into tribes?) is to be found. There are twelve *thums*. All individuals belonging to the same *thum* are supposed to be descended from the same male ancestor; descent from the same great mother being by no means necessary. So husband and wife must belong to different *thums*. Within one and the same there is no marriage. Do you wish for a wife? If so, look to the *thum* of your neighbour; at any rate look beyond your own. This is the first time I have found occasion to

McLennan did more than reveal the existence of exogamy as an institution which has deeply affected the evolution of marriage and of the family. He also put forward a carefully considered hypothesis to explain its origin; and as he was a man of a cautious temper and a singularly clear and penetrating mind, his theory of the rise of the great institution which he discovered deserves respectful attention. But while he believed that he could explain exogamy he renounced the attempt to explain totemism, and contented himself with collecting facts and tracing, as far as he could, the influence of totemism on religion and society without lifting the veil which shrouded its origin. On this subject his brother writes: "It may here be said that he had for a time a hypothesis as to the origin of Totemism, but that he afterwards came to see that there were conclusive reasons against it. At last, as far as I know, he had none—which should be easily intelligible to any one who knows the subject and knows what, on his view, was involved in Totemism. To show its prevalence, to establish some leading points in its history, to exhibit it in connection with kinship and with Exogamy, and to make out its connection with worship appeared to him to be the matters primarily important."<sup>1</sup>

McLennan's caution in refusing to speculate on the origin of totemism at a time when the evidence at his disposal did not admit of a correct solution of the problem can only be commended. It was not his fault if many others rushed in where he feared to tread. Thick darkness continued to cover the beginning of totemism till the epoch-making discoveries of Spencer and Gillen threw a flood of light upon it; though, as I have pointed out, their light shone steadily on totemism for years before any one

mention this practice. It will not be the last; on the contrary, the principle it suggests is so common as to be almost universal. We shall find it in Australia; we shall find it in North and South America; we shall find it in Africa; we shall find it in Europe; we shall suspect and infer it in many places where the actual evidence of its existence is incomplete." (R. G.

Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology*, London, 1859, vol. i. p. 80.) But the brief flash of Latham's somewhat meteoric genius cannot eclipse the star of McLennan.

<sup>1</sup> Donald McLennan, *The Patriarchal Theory, based on the Papers of the late John Ferguson McLennan* (London, 1885), pp. vi. sq.

While McLennan put forward a theory to explain exogamy, he put forward no theory to explain totemism.

Both McLennan and W. Robertson Smith held that totemism is older than exogamy.

perceived, lying full within its radiant circle, the missing clue, the scarlet thread, which was to guide us to the heart of the labyrinth.<sup>1</sup> But while the discoverer of totemism was content to confess his ignorance of its origin, he formed a clear and definite opinion as to its relation to exogamy. To quote his brother again: "As the theory of the Origin of Exogamy took shape, and the facts connected with it reduced themselves to form in his mind, the conclusion was reached that the system conveniently called Totemism—from which his essay on the Worship of Animals and Plants took its departure—must have been established in rude societies prior to the origin of Exogamy. This carried back the origin of Totemism to a state of man in which no idea of incest existed."<sup>2</sup> Similarly McLennan's equally acute and far more learned disciple, W. Robertson Smith, wrote: "Totemism is generally found in connection with exogamy, but must, as J. F. McLennan concluded, be older than exogamy in all cases; indeed it is easy to see that exogamy necessarily presupposes the existence of a system of kinship which took no account of degrees but only of participation in a common stock. Such an idea as this could not be conceived by savages in an abstract form; it must necessarily have had a concrete expression, or rather must have been thought under a concrete and tangible form, and that form seems to have been always supplied by totemism. The origin of this curious system, lying as it does behind exogamy, is yet more obscure than the origin of the latter."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 57-59.

<sup>2</sup> Donald McLennan, *The Patriarchal Theory* (London, 1885), p. vi. Compare J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, Second Series (London, 1896), pp. 58 sq.: "Unless the totem bond had been fully established in the stock-groups before they became to any great extent interfused in local tribes, it could not have been established at all. It is the test, and apart from the memory of individuals, the only test, of blood-relationship among the lower races; and without it, as far as we know, there is absolutely nothing which could hold together, as a body of kindred, persons descended from

the same stock-group, but living in different local tribes, or even the same persons living in the same local tribe. We have, then, the inference that the religious regard for the totem, the blood-feud, and of course the system of female kinship—without which no commencement of the transfusion could have taken place—were firmly established in the original stock-groups, before the appearance of the *system* of capture or exogamy."

<sup>3</sup> W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885), p. 187 (pp. 218 sq. of the Second Edition, London, 1903).

The course of subsequent research, which has immensely enlarged the evidence for the practice both of totemism and of exogamy, has strongly confirmed the conclusion reached by these eminent scholars and thinkers as to the priority of totemism to exogamy. Any theory based on the assumption that the two things have from the first existed together as different sides of the same institution, or that totemism is derived from exogamy, is founded on misapprehension and can only end in confusion and error. If we are to understand the rise and history of totemism and exogamy, we must clearly apprehend that totemism existed in all its essential features before exogamy was thought of, in other words, that exogamy was an innovation imposed on communities which were already divided into totemic clans. The totemic clan is a totally different social organism from the exogamous class, and we have good grounds for thinking that it is far older.

The theory by which J. F. McLennan attempted to explain the origin of exogamy is very simple and at first sight very persuasive. The general cause of exogamy, according to him, was a scarcity of women, which obliged men to go outside of their own group for wives and so gradually established a prejudice in favour of foreign women so strong that in time men were strictly forbidden to marry women of their own group. "The scarcity of women," he says, "within the group led to a practice of stealing the women of other groups, and in time it came to be considered improper, because it was unusual, for a man to marry a woman of his own group."<sup>1</sup> Further, he explained this assumed scarcity of women by a general practice of female infanticide. He supposed that savages, unable to support all the children that were born, systematically murdered a large number of female infants, because they foresaw that both in the search for food and in fights with hostile groups females would be far less useful than males. Accordingly by commonly killing female children and sparing male children they produced such a want of balance between the sexes and such a numerical preponderance of males over

Subsequent research has confirmed the view of the priority of totemism to exogamy.

McLennan supposed that exogamy arose through a scarcity of women caused by female infanticide, which obliged men to steal wives from other groups and so gradually established a prejudice in favour of marriage with foreign women.

<sup>1</sup> J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), p. 160; compare *id.* pp. 75 *sq.*, 90 *sq.*, 115, 124.

females that there were not women enough in the group to supply all the men with wives. Hence in order to obtain wives it was necessary to go to other groups, and as the relations between neighbouring groups were, on McLennan's hypothesis, uniformly hostile, the men could only obtain the women they needed by forcible capture. Thus a regular system of capturing wives was established; men came to think that marriage by capture was the only true marriage; and in time the practice of marrying women of their own group not only went out of fashion but was rigorously prohibited. This was, according to McLennan, the origin of exogamy. And after peaceful relations had been established between neighbouring groups, men had become so innured to the habit of stealing wives from their enemies that they continued to regard robbery as the only legitimate title to marriage; hence even when a marriage had been arranged between two families with the consent and approval of all the parties concerned, it was still, for the sake of decency and propriety, deemed necessary for the bridegroom's family to make a great show of carrying off the bride by violence and for the bride's family to make a corresponding show of desperate resistance. This was, according to McLennan, the origin of the form of capture at marriage.<sup>1</sup>

The theory is open to grave objections.

Plausible as McLennan's theory of the origin of exogamy may seem at first sight to be, it is open to grave objections. I propose to shew briefly, first, that the facts which it assumes are not sufficiently attested to make them a sound basis for a theory; and, second, that even if they were well attested they would not explain exogamy.

It turns entirely on the assumption that in primitive society there are commonly more men than women.

First, as to the supposed facts, McLennan's whole theory turns on an assumption that in primitive society there is a serious want of balance between the sexes and that the numerical preponderance is generally, if not invariably, on the side of the males. This is an essential point in the theory. If it is not established, the whole theory remains a mere hypothesis suspended in the air without any solid foundation in fact. For it was just this numerical preponderance of males, in other words, the scarcity of women,

<sup>1</sup> J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. 9 sqq., 22 sqq., 50 sqq., 72 sqq., 90 sq., 115, 124, 160.

which according to McLennan led or compelled men to go abroad for their wives and so gave rise to the practice of exogamy. Hence it is of the first importance to enquire, Does this assumed numerical superiority of males over females commonly exist in primitive communities? are men generally much more numerous than women in savage tribes?

The proposition that they are so, which is the crucial point in his hypothesis, was not proved by McLennan. Exact statistics as to the proportions of the sexes in primitive communities are indeed almost wholly wanting, and in their absence it is necessarily impossible to prove directly that men usually far exceed women in number among savage tribes. Accordingly McLennan endeavoured to establish it indirectly by adducing evidence that in savage society the balance of the sexes is artificially disturbed and the number of women greatly reduced by a widespread practice of female infanticide.<sup>1</sup> That this cause has in some cases produced the assumed effect appears to be well attested. Infanticide is known, for example, to have been exceedingly prevalent in Polynesia, where the smallness of the islands and the impossibility of finding room for an expanding population probably furnished the chief motive for murdering children at birth. Indeed this motive was alleged by the natives themselves as an excuse for the crime. They have been heard to say that if all the children born were allowed to live, there would not be food enough produced in the islands to support them.<sup>2</sup> Now with regard to the choice of victims we are told that "during the whole of their lives, the females were subject to the most abasing degradation; and their sex was often, at their birth, the cause of their destruction: if the purpose of the unnatural parents had not been fully matured before, the circumstance of its being a female child was often sufficient to fix their determination on its death. Whenever we have asked them, what could induce them to make a distinction so invidious, they have generally

McLennan supposed that a numerical preponderance of males was caused by a practice of female infanticide.

This cause appears to have produced the supposed effect in Polynesia.

<sup>1</sup> J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. 75 sq., 90 sq.; *id.*, *Studies in Ancient History*, Second Series (London, 1896), pp. 74-111. For a large collection of evidence on infanticide in general, see

E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. (London, 1906) pp. 394 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, i. (London 1832) p. 257.

answered, that the fisheries, the service of the temple, and especially war, were the only purposes for which they thought it desirable to rear children; that in these pursuits women were comparatively useless; and therefore female children were frequently not suffered to live. Facts fully confirm these statements."<sup>1</sup>

In other parts of the world also female infanticide seems to have resulted in a numerical superiority of men over women.

In Vanua Levu, one of the two greatest of the Fijian Islands, a large proportion, nearer two-thirds than half, of the children born are said to have been murdered within two days of birth. Infanticide was reduced to a system. There were professional practitioners of it in every village. "All destroyed after birth are females, because they are useless in war, or, as some say, because they give so much trouble. But that the former is the prevailing opinion appears from such questions as these, put to persons who may plead for the little one's life: 'Why live? Will she wield a club? Will she poise a spear?'"<sup>2</sup> Again, among the Guanas of Paraguay the number of women is said to be much less than that of the men, and the disproportion is attributed to female infanticide, the women murdering most of their female children in order, on the principle of supply and demand, to enhance the value of those that remain.<sup>3</sup> Again, female infanticide has been and perhaps still is commonly practised by the Todas of Southern India, with the result that the men considerably exceed the women in number.<sup>4</sup> Again, among the Loucheux of North-West America women are said to be fewer than men, and in this tribe also female infanticide appears to be one cause of the disproportion between the sexes.<sup>5</sup> Again, female infanticide used to be practised among several of the Naga tribes in Assam, and there was consequently a great deficiency of women.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, i. (London, 1832) p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, Second Edition (London, 1860), i. 180 *sq.* If the estimate of the number of children slain is correct, we must suppose that girls were born in much larger numbers than boys in Vanua Levu. The example of some

African tribes, including the Baganda, shews that there is nothing improbable in this supposition. See below, pp. 86 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale* (Paris, 1809), ii. 93 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 263.

<sup>5</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 358.

<sup>6</sup> *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by

Thus there can be little doubt that in some savage or barbarous communities female infanticide has actually produced the effect assumed by McLennan. On the other hand, it is to be observed that in other communities a contrary practice of male infanticide has produced the contrary result, namely, a numerical preponderance of women over men. Thus among the Abipones of South America the custom of infanticide was very common. The motive assigned for the custom by the acute and observant missionary, Dobrizhoffer, was not any provident Malthusian fear of the population exceeding the means of subsistence. It was a rule, he tells us, with these savages that women suckled their children for three years, and that during this long period of lactation they might have no commerce with their husbands. The result was that the men, impatient of so long an abstention from the marriage bed, took to themselves other women in the interval. This excited the jealousy of their first wives, and accordingly in order to avoid a prolonged separation from their husbands they commonly murdered their infants at birth. The same customs of lactation prolonged for years and of chastity compulsory on nursing mothers are exceedingly common among savages<sup>1</sup> and are indeed one of the most frequent causes of polygamy;<sup>2</sup> hence it is probable that these customs, rather than a prudent calculation of the ratio between the population and the means of subsistence, often furnish the real motive for infanticide. Be that as it may, among the Abipones the mothers more usually spared their female than their male infants, not because daughters were dearer to them than sons, but because they were much more profitable in the marriage market; for whereas a wife had to be bought for a son, daughters could always be sold for a good price to husbands. Hence Dobrizhoffer conjectured, though he did not affirm, that in this tribe the women outnumbered the men. However, he did not attribute their assumed numerical superiority purely to male infanticide; he set it down partly to the death

On the other hand, in some communities a practice of male infanticide seems to have resulted in a numerical superiority of women over men. Custom of the Abipones.

E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 120, note\*. But the writer adds that polyandry never resulted from these causes.

*Das Weib*<sup>9</sup> (Leipsic, 1908), i. 903 *sqq.*, ii. 478 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Compare E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (London, 1891), pp. 483 *sq.*

<sup>1</sup> For examples see Ploss und Bartels,

of men in the skirmishes which were constantly taking place with hostile tribes.<sup>1</sup> And it is obvious that this latter cause must tend to diminish the number of males by comparison with females in all tribes which live in a perpetual state of warfare with their neighbours.

Custom of  
the Banks'  
Islanders.

Amongst the Banks' Islanders a similar cold calculation of profit induced women to spare their infant daughters oftener than their infant sons. "Male children were killed," says Dr. Codrington, "rather than female in that group; if there were female children already, another would not be desired; but the females were rather preserved, as it is important to observe, because of the family passing through the female side, as well as with the prospect of gain when the girl should be betrothed and married."<sup>2</sup>

Even  
among low  
savages  
who do  
not sell  
their  
daughters  
to hus-  
bands  
women  
are still  
valuable,  
because  
they can be  
exchanged  
for wives;  
hence in  
such com-  
munities  
it is by  
no means  
clear that  
more girls  
than boys  
would be  
killed at  
birth.

It may be said that tribes like the Abipones and the Banks' Islanders, among whom women rank as a marketable commodity, so that it becomes worth their parents' while to rear them like turkeys for sale, have made some progress on at least the strictly economic side of civilisation, and that therefore their example proves nothing for savages lower in the scale of culture, who have no property which they can exchange for wives. Hence it might be inferred that where the purchase of wives is not in vogue, one of the best guarantees for the preservation of female infants is absent, and that accordingly in such communities the practice of female infanticide may rage unchecked. But this is by no means true of the lowest savages whom we know well, the Australian aborigines. Among them the women are certainly not sold, for the simple reason that men have no property which would be accepted as a commercial equivalent for a wife. But if wives are not bought they are bartered. The commonest of all modes of obtaining a wife in aboriginal Australia appears to be to give a sister, daughter, or other female relative in exchange. A man who has not a sister, daughter, or other female relative to give away stands little chance of getting a wife at all. On the other hand if a man is well provided with sisters and other womenkind he can acquire many wives by barter, and since this is an object of

<sup>1</sup> M. Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus* (Vienna, 1784), ii. 107.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melan- esians* (Oxford, 1891), p. 229.

ambition with the Australians, as with most savages, every man has a powerful motive for rearing as many daughters as he can with a view to swelling his harem or providing his sons with mates.<sup>1</sup> Thus even among the lowest savages it is by no means clear that a practice of infanticide would tell more heavily against females than against males.

In point of fact, though infanticide is common among the Australian aborigines there is very little evidence that more girls than boys are murdered at birth. On the contrary, if we may judge by the evidence of the best authorities, no distinction is made between the sexes in this respect, and that because the practice is not resorted to, as McLennan supposed, from a provident desire to keep down the population within the limits of the food supply, but simply under the pressure of immediate need, such as famine or the difficulty a mother finds in carrying and providing for two infants at the same time. Hence it is usually a mere chance whether a male child or a female child will be destroyed. For example, if a woman's first child is a female and she has afterwards a male child before the first is weaned and able to shift for itself, then the male child will probably be killed and the female child spared. But if the elder child was a boy and the younger a girl, then it is the girl who must go to the wall.<sup>2</sup>

Among the Australian aborigines there is little evidence that more girls than boys are murdered at birth; according to some of the best authorities no distinction is made between the sexes.

<sup>1</sup> See P. Beveridge, "Of the Aborigines inhabiting the Great Lacustrine and Riverine Depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Murrumbidgee, Lower Lachlan, and Lower Darling," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales for 1883*, xvii. (1884) p. 23: "Polygamy is allowed to any extent, and this law is generally taken advantage of by those who chance to be rich in sisters, daughters, or female wards, to give in exchange for wives. No man can get a wife unless he has a sister, ward, or daughter, whom he can give in exchange. Fathers of grown-up sons frequently exchange their daughters for wives, not for their sons, however, but for themselves, even although they already have two or three." As to the practice of exchanging sisters or other female relatives for wives, see above, vol. i. pp. 409, 460, 463, 483, 491, 540, vol. ii. pp. 18,

26, 28 sq., 40.

<sup>2</sup> E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845), ii. 324: "Infanticide is very common, and appears to be practised solely to get rid of the trouble of rearing children, and to enable the woman to follow her husband about in his wanderings, which she frequently could not do if encumbered with a child. The first three or four are often killed; no distinction appears to be made in this case between male or female children"; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 749: "In the Wotjobaluk tribe infants were killed in the old times, no difference being made between boys and girls. If a couple had a child, either boy or girl, say ten years old, and a baby was then born to them, it might be killed and cooked for its elder brother or sister to eat";

Again, in times of famine it seems to have been a frequent practice with the Australian savages not only to kill but to eat their children;<sup>1</sup> but we are not told that they killed or spared either sex by preference at such a pinch. All this is in harmony with the improvident nature of low savages, who think that sufficient unto the day is the evil therefore and take no thought for the morrow. The long-headed, cold-hearted calculation, which spares boys because in years to come they will grow up to fight and hunt, or girls because they will fetch a round price in the marriage market, belongs to a higher stage of intellectual, if not of moral, evolution than the rude savagery to which the origin of exogamy must be referred. "An Australian native," we are told, "never looks far enough ahead to consider what will be the effect on the food supply in future years if he allows a particular child to live; what affects him is simply the question of how it will interfere with the work of his wife so far as their own camp is concerned; while from the woman's side the question is, can she provide food enough for the new-born infant and for the next youngest?"<sup>2</sup> Indeed when we remember that no Australian tribe is known ever to have stored food for use at a time of dearth, we may dismiss as improbable the supposition that they commonly killed their

Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 264: "It is infanticide which is resorted to for the purpose of keeping down the number of a family. And here we may say that the number is kept down, not with any idea at all of regulating the food supply, so far as the adults are concerned, but simply from the point of view that, if the mother is suckling one child, she cannot properly provide food for another, quite apart from the question of the trouble of carrying two children about"; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 608: "In all of the tribes infanticide is practised. There is no difference made in respect of either sex. The usual reason given for killing the child is that there is another one still being suckled by the mother." On the other hand Mr. E. M. Curr gave it as his opinion "that the Australian females bear on an

average six children, or did before the advent of the Whites, and whilst living in their natural state; and that they reared two boys and one girl, as a rule; the maximum being about ten. The rest were destroyed immediately after birth" (E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 70).

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 261 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 264. However, the Mining tribe, which practised infanticide to a certain extent, alleged as a reason "that if their numbers increased too rapidly there would not be enough food for everybody" (A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 748). But this may be only a white man's way of saying what is said more exactly by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen from the native point of view.

female children lest in years to come they should imperil the means of subsistence of the family or tribe.

Thus, in ascribing the origin of exogamy to a system of female infanticide conceived and executed on the politic principles of Malthus by rude savages,<sup>1</sup> McLennan appears to have greatly overrated the intelligent foresight of primitive man. The practice of female infanticide has unquestionably been common among many races, but there is great force in Mr. Fison's contention that it has prevailed chiefly among more advanced tribes and not among the very low savages, to whom the origin of exogamy must be referred. It is not merely that the advanced tribes are in general more provident and therefore more capable of carrying out a far-seeing, if cruel, policy which aims at adjusting the population to the means of subsistence; they have often special motives for killing their female children which do not apply to peoples at a lower grade of culture.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, then, we may set aside as unproved and improbable the theory which finds the origin of exogamy in a scarcity of women caused by female infanticide.

On the whole, the theory that exogamy originated in a scarcity of women caused by female infanticide is unproved and improbable.

But the proportion of the sexes in any community may vary from many causes besides a systematic destruction of infant girls; and if it should appear that from any cause whatever there are generally many more men than women in savage tribes, McLennan's hypothesis would still be theoretically tenable, since it depends simply on a general disproportion between the sexes in favour of males, and not at all on any particular cause of that disproportion. Unfortunately exact information as to the proportions of the sexes in the lower races is for the most part wanting, and the causes which determine the relative numbers of

But McLennan's hypothesis would still be theoretically tenable if it should appear that for any cause whatever there are generally more men than

<sup>1</sup> Compare what McLennan says on this subject (*Studies in Ancient History*, Second Series, p. 83): "Put in this point of view, a system of infanticide appears as embodying a policy of despair, developed from point to point, through trials and errors that no doubt were sometimes fatal to the groups making them, but which contributed to forward the thinking out by them of what was the best form of the policy, its best practical

expression. We may believe that no animal below the rank of man in the full possession of his reasoning powers could have thought out such a policy, and for the credit of human nature that such a policy would never have been thought out or acted upon except in the most desperate circumstances."

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. L. Fison's criticisms of McLennan's theory in Fison and Howitt's *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 134-138.

women in  
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than men.

men and women in any community are to a great extent obscure.<sup>1</sup> These causes are of two sorts, according as they operate before birth to settle the sex of the offspring or during life to preserve members of one sex rather than of the other. Causes of the latter kind are by far the more obvious, and on the whole they appear in all communities, whether savage or civilised, to tell against the survival of men and in favour of the survival of women, that is, they tend to make the adult women outnumber the adult men. "The normal state of every population," says Darwin, "is an excess of women, at least in all civilised countries, chiefly owing to the greater mortality of the male sex during youth, and partly to accidents of all kinds later in life."<sup>2</sup> Thus in most European countries the females outnumber the males,<sup>3</sup> although the male births exceed the female births by five or six per cent.<sup>4</sup> The reasons why nevertheless women considerably preponderate over men are, as Darwin has pointed out, first, that far more male than female children die at birth or in the first few years of life, and, second, that in after-life men are exposed to more dangers and hardships than women.<sup>5</sup> Thus the greater mortality of the males during life more than counterbalances their numerical preponderance at birth, and leaves the adult women more numerous than the adult men. But if this is so in Europe, where life is most secure, it seems clear that in a state of savagery the mortality of the men is likely to be still greater through their exposure to the manifold risks of war and of the chase by land and sea. Amongst the American Indians, for example, females used to be more numerous than males on account of the destruction of the men in war. In some fighting tribes, such as the Blackfeet and Cheyennes, the women are said to have outnumbered the men by two to one.<sup>6</sup> Hence we may lay

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of this subject, with the evidence, see E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1891), pp. 460 *sqq.* Compare Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, Second Edition (London, 1879), pp. 215 *sq.*, 242 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, Second Edition, p. 257; compare *id.* p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, i. (Oxford, 1909) p. 479.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. Darwin, *The Descent of Man*,<sup>2</sup> p. 243; E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 469.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. Darwin, *op. cit.* pp. 243 *sq.*, 257; E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 465.

<sup>6</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human*

it down as probable that the causes which affect the proportion of the sexes during life are even more unfavourable to an excess of males over females among savage than among civilised peoples; and that accordingly they tell heavily against the theory which assumes a numerical superiority of men to women as the basis of exogamy.

It is otherwise, however, with the causes which determine the proportion of the sexes at birth. For Düsing "brings overwhelming evidence to show that while want and privation are constantly correlated with an increase of male births, prosperity is associated with an increase of female births; that while starvation and an unfavourable climatic condition are inimical to the development of females, a plentiful supply of nutritious food and specially favourable physical conditions result in the survival of an increased proportion of that sex."<sup>1</sup> If this conclusion is correct, it seems clear that the scarcity of food, the hardships and privations of all sorts to which savages are much more exposed than civilised men must tend to prevent the birth of females and to favour the birth of males. Now although we have little exact information as to the birth-rate in savage communities, there is a certain amount of evidence that in point of fact the men are more numerous than the women in some of the rudest tribes known to us. Thus we are told that among the Tasmanians the men greatly exceeded the women in number.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, among the Australian aborigines the males are said by several authorities to preponderate considerably over the females; one writer even puts the proportion at three to one.<sup>3</sup> However, one

However, it seems probable that the hardships of savage life favour the birth of males rather than of females.

*Family*, p. 477 (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii.).

<sup>1</sup> Walter Heape, M.A., F.R.S., "The Proportion of the Sexes produced by Whites and Coloured Peoples in Cuba," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, Series B, vol. 200, p. 275. Düsing's conclusions are on the whole accepted by Dr. E. Westermarck (*History of Human Marriage*, pp. 470 *sqq.*).

<sup>2</sup> E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 462.

<sup>3</sup> J. Cassady, quoted by E. M.

Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 424 ("the common proportion in our tribes being about three males to one female"); P. Beveridge, "Of the Aborigines inhabiting the Great Lacustrine and Riverine Depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Murrumbidgee, Lower Lachlan, and Lower Darling," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales for 1883*, xvii. (Sydney, 1884) p. 21; A. Oldfield, "The Aborigines of Australia," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, iii. (1865)

of these authorities tells us that this excess of males is not due to a paucity of female children born, for at birth the sexes are about equal; the cause, according to him, is the far greater mortality of females after puberty, which in turn he attributes in some measure to their too early maternity.<sup>1</sup> Statistics are said to shew an excess of male over female births among the Todas and the Maoris, and an excess of living males over living females among the Hawaiians.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from favourable or unfavourable conditions of life, some races seem to have a tendency to produce more males than females, and others to produce more females than males.

But there are grounds for thinking that the proportion of males and females at birth varies not merely with favourable or unfavourable conditions in respect to climate, food, and so forth, but that it is in some measure predetermined by a racial tendency to produce either an excess of males or an excess of females. We have seen that European races produce more males than females by about five or six per cent. In India women are distinctly more numerous among the black aborigines, the Dravidians, than among the castes of Aryan or semi-Aryan descent.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, in Cuba the black race tends to produce an excess of females and the white race an excess of males,<sup>4</sup> which seems to prove that the result is not determined merely by local and climatic conditions, but that a racial predisposition must also be reckoned with. In Africa also it appears that among the black races women considerably outnumber men, and that this disproportion is due in some measure to the greater number of female children which are born.<sup>5</sup> Mr. C. W. Hobley formerly estimated that in the Bantu tribes of

p. 250; C. Wilhelmi, quoted by R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 51.

<sup>1</sup> P. Beveridge, *l.c.* "I have seen girls frequently, of not more than eleven or twelve years old, becoming mothers; and child-bearing at these tender years entails future infirmities, which materially assist in carrying them off ere they have well reached maturity."

<sup>2</sup> Chas. Darwin, *Descent of Man*, Second Edition (London, 1879), pp. 256-258.

<sup>3</sup> *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire* (Oxford, 1909), i. 480. Compare the *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. Part i. (Calcutta, 1903)

pp. 107 *sqq.*, where it is said (p. 107) that "the dearth of women is greatest in the north-west of India, and gradually becomes less noticeable towards the east and south, where it is eventually replaced by a deficiency of males. Women are also in a clear minority in the extreme east—in North Bengal, Assam, and Burma."

<sup>4</sup> W. Heape, M.A., F.R.S., "The Proportion of the Sexes produced by Whites and Coloured Peoples in Cuba," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, Series B, vol. 200, pp. 318 *sq.*, 321.

<sup>5</sup> E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 464, 468 *sq.*

Kavirondo there were three or four times as many women as men.<sup>1</sup> But he afterwards saw reason to reduce this estimate of their numerical superiority; indeed, statistics collected by him shewed a higher birth-rate for males among the Bantu tribes, but on the other hand a higher birth-rate for females among the Nilotic negroes of Kavirondo.<sup>2</sup> Among the Baganda the number of females born in former days is said to have exceeded the number of males born by at least two to one; but recent statistics shew that the numbers are now about equal.<sup>3</sup> If this apparent fall in the birth-rate of females could be proved, it would confirm the view that polygamy leads to the production of a greater number of female births; <sup>4</sup> since in the old days the Baganda were polygamous but have now under the influence of Christian teaching become monogamous.

On the whole we may conclude that the evidence as to the proportions of the sexes in savage tribes is too uncertain and conflicting to allow any far-reaching conclusions to be safely built upon it; and that accordingly the general scarcity of women in primitive communities, on which McLennan rested his whole theory of the origin of exogamy, has not been proved to exist.

Further, it may be doubted whether primitive groups are always, as McLennan assumed, mutually hostile and ready to carry off each other's women by force whenever an opportunity offers. Certainly this assumption does not hold good at present of some savages who rank low in the scale of culture. Thus in regard to the aborigines of Central Australia we are told that "the different local groups within the one tribe and the members of contiguous

The evidence as to the proportions of the sexes among savages is too conflicting to form the base of a theory. McLennan assumed that primitive human groups are always mutually hostile; but this

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda* (London, 1902), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. Hobley, "Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) pp. 353 sq.

<sup>3</sup> I owe this information to the Rev. J. Roscoe. Speaking of the Baganda in the past, Messrs. Felkin and Wilson say: "Careful observation has established the fact that there are a good many more female births than male,

and on taking the groups of children playing by the roadside there will always be found to be more girls than boys" (*Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan*, i. 150 sq.). These writers estimated the proportion of women to men in Uganda at three and a half to one; but this great numerical preponderance they traced in part to the influx of female captives taken in war.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. Darwin, *The Descent of Man*,<sup>2</sup> p. 245; E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 470.

assumption does not hold good of some of the rudest savages at the present day.

tribes, where they are in contact, live for the most part in a state of mutual friendship. . . . To judge from ordinary accounts in popular works, one would imagine that the various tribes were in a state of constant hostility. Nothing could be further from the truth."<sup>1</sup> Again, no race of men lives under such hard conditions as the Eskimo and the Fuegians; nowhere is the struggle for existence sharper than in the frozen regions of the Arctic circle or on the desolate snow-beaten, rain-drenched coasts of Tierra del Fuego. Nowhere, accordingly, should we expect to find more fierce and relentless warfare waged than between neighbouring groups of the miserable inhabitants of these inhospitable lands. But on the contrary both of these races are reported to be ignorant of war.<sup>2</sup>

The pacific character of some low races seems to flow from the absence of sexual jealousy among them.

It is probably no mere accident that two of the most pacific races of the world, the Eskimo of the Arctic regions and the Todas of Southern India, neither of whom are known to have ever engaged in war, should at the same time be also two of the most immoral races on record, as we count immorality in sexual matters. The reason is simple. Both these tribes appear to be almost free from that passion of sexual jealousy which has always been one

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 31. Compare *id.*, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 32: "As a general rule the natives are kindly disposed to one another, that is of course within the limits of their own tribe, and, where two tribes come into contact with one another on the border land of their respective territories, there the same amicable feelings are maintained between the members of the two. There is no such thing as one tribe being in a constant state of enmity with one another so far as these central tribes are concerned." Elsewhere Prof. Baldwin Spencer observes: "Curiously enough, we find, judging by such accounts as we have of them, that there was much more hostility amongst the much-modified groups of tribes in the south-eastern part of the continent than there is to-day amongst the much more primitive tribes of the centre." See his Presidential Address, "Totemism

in Australia," *Transactions of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Dunedin, 1904, p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> As to the Eskimo see J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 521. Speaking of the Yaghans of Tierra del Fuego Mr. Bridges, quoted by Dr. E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 466, says: "War was unknown, though fightings were frequent, but women took part in them as energetically as the men, and suffered equally with them—if anything more." Similarly the members of the French expedition to Cape Horn report that "there are never expeditions of war among the Yaghans, but they are very touchy and therefore inclined to quarrels and brawls." See *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn, 1882-1883*, vii., *Anthropologie, Ethnographie*, par P. Hyades, J. Deniker (Paris, 1891), p. 374.

of the most fruitful causes of dissension and quarrelling, of secret murder and open war among mankind. While we gratefully acknowledge the domestic happiness of which the love of the sexes is a principal source, we must not blind ourselves to the heavy price of sorrow, tears, and blood by which that domestic happiness has been bought.<sup>1</sup>

Thus neither a general preponderance of the female sex over the male nor a general state of hostility between neighbouring groups can be assumed to be characteristic of primitive human society. Now McLennan's theory of exogamy was based on these assumptions, and if they are unproved the theory must rank as an hypothesis insufficiently supported by the facts.

But even if for the sake of argument we suppose with McLennan that primitive savage communities regularly suffer from a scarcity of women and are constantly at war with each other, it may still be maintained that under these assumed conditions the rise of exogamy would be neither necessary nor probable. It would not be necessary; for if women were scarce in any group, some of the men of that group might prefer to do without wives rather than incur the risk of extermination by capturing them from their neighbours. In point of fact this is what happened among many tribes of the Australian aborigines, who, as we have seen, lived on friendly terms with each other. Speaking of

Thus McLennan's theory rests on unproved assumptions.

Even if primitive communities suffered from a scarcity of women, it does not follow that they would capture wives from their neighbours; some men might

<sup>1</sup> As to the Todas, their moral laxity and their freedom from jealousy, see above, vol. ii. pp. 256, 264 *sq.* As to the Eskimo it may suffice to quote a passage from Captain G. F. Lyon's *Private Journal* (London, 1824), pp. 353-355: "Even those men and women who seem most fond of each other, have no scruples on the score of mutual infidelity, and the husband is willingly a pander to his own shame. A woman details her intrigues to her husband with the most perfect unconcern, and will also answer to any charge of the kind made before a numerous assemblage of people. Husbands prostitute wives, brothers sisters, and parents daughters, without showing the least signs of shame. It is considered extremely friendly for two men

to exchange wives for a day or two, and the request is sometimes made by the women themselves. . . . When parties are out fishing, such young men as are at home make no scruple of intriguing with others' wives, yet if the injured husband hears of it, it gives him little or no uneasiness. Divorced women and widows, and even young and well-looking girls, are equally liberal of their persons. There is one very remarkable fact attached to this general depravity, which is that we never heard of any quarrels arising respecting women, and this may be attributed to the men being totally unacquainted with such a passion as love, or its frequent attendant, jealousy."

prefer to do without wives rather than incur the risks of war by abducting women from other tribes.

the natives who inhabited the great lacustrine and riverine depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Lachlan, and Lower Darling Rivers, a well-informed writer, who knew the aborigines before they were contaminated by contact with the whites, tells us that "fathers of grown-up sons frequently exchange their daughters for wives, not for their sons, however, but for themselves, even although they already have two or three. Cases of this kind are indeed very hard for the sons, but being aboriginal law they must bear it as best they can, and that too without murmur; and to make the matter harder still to bear, the elders of a tribe will not allow the young men to go off to other tribes to steal wives for themselves, as such measures would be the certain means of entailing endless feuds with their accompanying bloodshed, in the attempts that would surely be made with the view of recovering the abducted women."<sup>1</sup> To the same effect another writer on the Australian aborigines tells us that "at present, as the stealing of a woman from a neighbouring tribe would involve the whole tribe of the thief in war for his sole benefit, and as the possession of the woman would lead to constant attacks, tribes set themselves very generally against the practice."<sup>2</sup>

Or again, if women were scarce in a tribe, several men might share one wife between them. In this way polyandry might prevent the rise of exogamy.

Again, when women are scarce an obvious expedient for remedying the deficiency without incurring the enmity of neighbouring groups by the capture of wives is for several men to share one wife. Hence with tribes of pacific temper the natural outcome of a numerical preponderance of males is not exogamy but polyandry; indeed McLennan himself admitted that polyandry may thus retard or even prevent the establishment of exogamy.<sup>3</sup> In point of fact the Todas, who suffer from a deficiency of women, practise polyandry, but being an eminently peaceful people they seem never to have made war on their neighbours or to have captured women

<sup>1</sup> P. Beveridge, "Of the Aborigines inhabiting the Great Lacustrine and Riverine Depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Murrumbidgee, Lower Lachlan, and Lower Darling," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales for 1883*, xvii. (Sydney, 1884) p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*,

i. 108.

<sup>3</sup> "Polyandry supplied a method whereby the want of balance might be the less felt, and may thus have retarded, and in some cases prevented, the establishment of exogamy" (J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, London, 1886, p. 124).

from them. The same observation applies to the Tibetans. The severe climate and barren nature of the country in which they live render a large increase of population undesirable if not impossible, and the prudent inhabitants have taken measures to prevent it by consigning many of their women to nunneries and by sharing the remainder among polyandrous groups of husbands. Apart from the scarcity of women thus artificially created it is said that in every Tibetan family there are more males than females.<sup>1</sup> Yet being a peaceful people they have never sought to furnish themselves with wives and booty by preying on their neighbours; with them, as with the Todas, a dearth of women has not given rise to a systematic capture of women and hence to exogamy. Indeed the evidence adduced by McLennan<sup>2</sup> seems quite inadequate to support his inference, that a systematic capture of women has been common among mankind and that it has exercised a momentous influence on the development of marriage. Even in Australia, the classical land of exogamy as well as of totemism, though the practice exists, it is a rare and exceptional mode of obtaining a wife.<sup>3</sup>

But the fatal objection to McLennan's theory is that, even if we grant him all his premises, the conclusion does not follow from it. Let us suppose that a tribe has many males and few females, that the tribesmen are of a warlike and predatory character and surrounded by hostile tribes, whom they systematically plunder of their women. Still this does not explain why, because their own women are few in number, the men should abdicate the use of them entirely. As a rule the scarcity of an article enhances its value; why should it be different with women? On McLennan's theory the scarcity of an article ought,

And if women are scarce in a tribe, is that any reason for refusing to make use of them? As a rule, the scarcity of an article enhances its value. Why should it be different with women?

<sup>1</sup> P. Du Halde, *The General History of China* (London, 1741), iv. 444.

<sup>2</sup> J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. 31-49. No doubt the evidence could be much enlarged. See, for example, E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 383 *sqq.* But even so it appears insufficient to justify McLennan's conclusion.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 108; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 104, 554 *sq.* The latter writers speak here of the Central tribes, but their observations probably apply to the Australian aborigines in general. For some cases of wife-capture in Australia, see above, vol. i. pp. 426 *sq.*, 450, 475, 476, 541.

instead of enhancing its value, to deprive it of all value whatever and decide the people who suffer from the scarcity to make no use of what they have, but to beg, borrow, or steal the article from their neighbours. But it is absurd to suppose that men will renounce the use of the little they have got merely because it is little and because other people have more of it. In the British Islands at the present day the supply of home-grown corn and meat is totally inadequate to feed the existing population and immense quantities of foreign corn and meat have to be imported to make good the deficiency. But the importation of American wheat and Australian mutton shews no tendency to induce such a decided preference for these articles that the consumption of English wheat and English mutton by the English people is likely in time to be prohibited under pain of death. Yet that is what on McLennan's theory of exogamy we ought to expect. An hypothesis which logically leads to such a conclusion may safely be dismissed as unsatisfactory.

Thus McLennan's theory of the origin of exogamy assumes the existence of conditions which have not been proved to exist; and even if we grant all its assumptions it fails to give a reasonable and probable solution of the problem.

Dr. Westermarck's theory of the origin of exogamy.

An entirely different theory has been proposed by Dr. Edward Westermarck. He finds the origin of exogamy in an instinctive or innate aversion to marriage and sexual intercourse in general between persons who have lived closely together from early youth, and he supposes that since the persons who thus live closely together are commonly blood relations, the instinct in question finally took the form of an aversion to marriage with near kin. To quote his latest exposition of his view :

He holds that exogamy originated in a natural aversion to sexual intercourse between

"I pointed out that there is an innate aversion to sexual intercourse between persons living very closely together from early youth, and that, as such persons are in most cases related by blood, this feeling would naturally display itself in custom and law as a horror of intercourse between near kin. Indeed, an abundance of ethnographical

facts seem to indicate that it is not in the first place by the degrees of consanguinity, but by the close living together, that prohibitory laws against intermarriage are determined. Thus many peoples have a rule of 'exogamy' which does not depend on kinship at all, but on purely local considerations, all the members of a horde or village, though not related by blood, being forbidden to intermarry. The prohibited degrees are very differently defined in the customs or laws of different nations, and it appears that the extent to which relatives are prohibited from intermarrying is nearly connected with their close living together. Very often the prohibitions against incest are more or less one-sided, applying more extensively either to the relatives on the father's side or to those on the mother's, according as descent is reckoned through men or women. Now, since the line of descent is largely connected with local relationships, we may reasonably infer that the same local relationships exercise a considerable influence on the table of prohibited degrees. However, in a large number of cases prohibitions of intermarriage are only indirectly influenced by the close living together. Aversion to the intermarriage of persons who live in intimate connection with one another has called forth prohibitions of the intermarriage of relations; and, as kinship is traced by means of a system of names, the name comes to be considered identical with relationship. This system is necessarily one-sided. Though it will keep up the record of descent either on the male or female side, it cannot do both at once; and the line which has not been kept up by such means of record, even where it is recognised as a line of relationship, is naturally more or less neglected and soon forgotten. Hence the prohibited degrees frequently extend very far on the one side—to the whole clan—but not on the other. . . .

“The question arises:—How has this instinctive aversion to marriage and sexual intercourse in general between persons living closely together from early youth originated? I have suggested that it may be the result of natural selection. Darwin's careful studies of the effects of cross- and self-fertilisation in the vegetable kingdom, the consensus of opinion among eminent breeders, and experiments made

persons who have been brought up together, and that as such persons are commonly blood relations the instinct finally took the form of an aversion to marriage with near kin.

According to him, the instinct in question resulted from natural selection, since marriages

with near kin appear to be injurious to the species.

with rats, rabbits, and other animals, have proved that self-fertilisation of plants and close interbreeding of animals are more or less injurious to the species; and it seems highly probable that the evil chiefly results from the fact that the uniting sexual elements were not sufficiently differentiated. Now it is impossible to believe that a physiological law which holds good of the rest of the animal kingdom, as also of plants, would not apply to man as well. But it is difficult to adduce direct evidence for the evil effects of consanguineous marriages. We cannot expect very conspicuous results from other alliances than those between the nearest relatives—between brothers and sisters, parents and children,—and the injurious results even of such unions would not necessarily appear at once. The closest kind of intermarriage which we have opportunities of studying is that between first cousins. Unfortunately, the observations hitherto made on the subject are far from decisive. Yet it is noteworthy that of all the writers who have discussed it the majority, and certainly not the least able of them, have expressed their belief in marriages between first cousins being more or less unfavourable to the offspring; and no evidence which can stand the test of scientific investigation has hitherto been adduced against this view. Moreover, we have reason to believe that consanguineous marriages are much more injurious in savage regions, where the struggle for existence is often very severe, than they have proved to be in civilised societies, especially as it is among the well-to-do classes that such marriages occur most frequently.

Hence the common horror of incest is an effect of the survival of the fittest. Races which had the instinct survived, races which had it not perished

“Taking all these facts into consideration, I am inclined to think that consanguineous marriages are in some way or other detrimental to the species. And here I find a quite sufficient explanation of the horror of incest; not because man at an early stage recognised the injurious influence of close intermarriage, but because the law of natural selection must inevitably have operated. Among the ancestors of man, as among other animals, there was no doubt a time when blood-relationship was no bar to sexual intercourse. But variations, here as elsewhere, would naturally present themselves—we know how extremely liable to variations the

sexual instinct is ; and those of our ancestors who avoided in-and-in breeding would survive, while the others would gradually decay and ultimately perish. Thus a sentiment would be developed which would be powerful enough, as a rule, to prevent injurious unions. Of course it would display itself, not as an innate aversion to sexual connections with near relatives as such, but as an aversion on the part of individuals to union with others with whom they lived ; but these, as a matter of fact, would be blood-relations, so that the result would be the survival of the fittest. Whether man inherited this sentiment from the predecessors from whom he sprang, or whether it was developed after the evolution of distinctly human qualities we cannot know. It must have arisen at a stage when family ties became comparatively strong, and children remained with their parents until the age of puberty or even longer. And exogamy, resulting from a natural extension of this sentiment to a larger group, would arise when single families united into hordes."<sup>1</sup>

To complete this statement of Dr. Westermarck's theory it should be added that by marriage he means monogamy, that is, "a more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring";<sup>2</sup> that "monogamy prevailed almost exclusively among our earliest human ancestors";<sup>3</sup> and that "in all probability there has been no stage of human development when marriage has not existed, and that the father has always been, as a rule, the protector of his

in the  
struggle for  
existence.

Dr. Westermarck holds that from the earliest times the normal type of human marriage has been the monogamous patriarchal family.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. (London, 1908), pp. 368-371. The theory is set forth in detail by the writer in his *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1891), ch. xv. pp. 320-355, 544-546. In his views on this subject Dr. Westermarck seems to agree substantially with Darwin, who in his book *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (Popular Edition, London, 1905), vol. ii. p. 128, writes as follows: "Although there seems to be no strong inherited feeling in mankind against incest, it seems possible that men during primeval times may have been

more excited by strange females than by those with whom they habitually lived ; in the same manner as, according to Mr. Cupples, male deerhounds are inclined towards strange females, while the females prefer dogs with whom they have associated. If any such feeling formerly existed in man, this would have led to a preference for marriages beyond the nearest kin, and might have been strengthened by the offspring of such marriages surviving in greater numbers, as analogy would lead us to believe would have occurred."

<sup>2</sup> E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 19 sq.

<sup>3</sup> E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 549.

family. Human marriage appears, then, to be an inheritance from some ape-like progenitor."<sup>1</sup>

Thus in Dr. Westermarck's opinion the monogamous patriarchal family has always been the normal type of married life from the very beginning of human history, though with the progress of civilisation the marriage bond has generally become more durable than it was amongst our earliest ancestors.<sup>2</sup>

The chief objection to Dr. Westermarck's theory is that it does not explain how an aversion to marriage between housemates changed into an aversion to marriage between blood-relations; in other words, how local exogamy changed into kinship exogamy.

The fundamental difficulty in the way of accepting Dr. Westermarck's theory appears to be analogous to the one which besets the theory of McLennan. Even if we grant all the premises, the conclusion does not seem to follow necessarily from them. Suppose we admit, as there seems to be some ground for doing, that there is a natural aversion to, or at least a want of inclination for, sexual intercourse between persons who have been brought up closely together from early youth, it remains difficult to understand how this could have been changed into something very different, namely an aversion to sexual intercourse with persons near of kin. This change from local exogamy to kinship exogamy is clearly the crucial point of the whole theory. Yet Dr. Westermarck does not attempt to demonstrate it. He takes it for granted as a transition that would be made naturally and perhaps unconsciously. Yet if the natural and instinctive aversion, as Dr. Westermarck admits, is not to marriage with persons of the same blood but only to marriage with persons who have long lived together in the same place, why should this aversion have so entirely changed its character that it is now directed far more strongly against consanguineous marriages than against marriages with housemates? If the root of the whole matter is a horror of marriage between persons who have always lived with each other, how comes it that at the present day that horror has been weakened into a mere general preference for marriage with persons whose

<sup>1</sup> E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 50. Compare *id.* p. 538: "All the evidence we possess tends to show that among our earliest human ancestors the family, not the tribe, formed the nucleus of every social group, and, in many cases, was itself perhaps the only social group.

. . . The tie that kept together husband and wife, parents and children, was, if not the only, at least the principal factor in the earliest forms of man's social life. Human marriage, in all probability, is an inheritance from some ape-like progenitor."

<sup>2</sup> E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 549.

attractions have not been blunted by long familiarity? For we may safely affirm that if the deep horror which Dr. Westermarck assumes as the ultimate origin of exogamy ever existed, it no longer exists at the present day. Neither sentiment nor law forbids the marriage of persons who have been brought up from childhood together, and such marriages are probably not uncommon. Why then should the parent sentiment have grown so feeble while its bastard offspring has grown so strong? Why should the marriage of a brother with a sister, or of a mother with a son, excite the deepest detestation, furnish the theme for the most moving tragedy, and be most sternly forbidden by the law, while the origin of it all, the marriage between housemates, should excite at most a mild surprise too slight probably to suggest even a subject for a farce, and should be as legitimate in the eye of the law among all civilised nations as any other marriage? This Dr. Westermarck has yet to explain, and till he does so satisfactorily we must pronounce that the chain of reasoning by which he supports his theory breaks down entirely at the crucial point.

Quite apart from this fundamental difficulty, it is not easy to see why any deep human instinct should need to be reinforced by law. There is no law commanding men to eat and drink or forbidding them to put their hands in the fire. Men eat and drink and keep their hands out of the fire instinctively for fear of natural not legal penalties, which would be entailed by violence done to these instincts. The law only forbids men to do what their instincts incline them to do; what nature itself prohibits and punishes, it would be superfluous for the law to prohibit and punish. Accordingly we may always safely assume that crimes forbidden by law are crimes which many men have a natural propensity to commit. If there was no such propensity there would be no such crimes, and if no such crimes were committed what need to forbid them? Instead of assuming, therefore, from the legal prohibition of incest that there is a natural aversion to incest, we ought rather to assume that there is a natural instinct in favour of it, and that if the law represses it, as it represses other natural instincts, it does so because civilised men have come to the conclusion that

Moreover, if exogamy resulted from a natural instinct, what need was there to reinforce that instinct by legal pains and penalties?

the satisfaction of these natural instincts is detrimental to the general interests of society.

Dr. Westermarck's theory does not sufficiently take account of the factors of intelligence, deliberation, and will.

Lastly it may be observed that Dr. Westermarck's theory of the origin of exogamy appears to suffer from a weakness which has of late years vitiated other speculations as to the growth of human institutions. It attempts to explain that growth too exclusively from physical and biological causes without taking into account the factors of intelligence, deliberation, and will. It is too much under the influence of Darwin, or rather it has extended Darwin's methods to subjects which only partially admit of such treatment. Because, in treating of the physical evolution of man's body and his place in the animal creation, Darwin rightly reckoned only with physical and biological causes, it has seemed to some enquirers into the history of man's social evolution that they will best follow his principles and proceed most scientifically if they also reckon with nothing else. They forget the part that human thought and will have played in moulding human destiny. They would write the history of man without taking into account the things that make him a man and discriminate him from the lower animals. To do this is, to adopt a common comparison, to write the play of *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. It is to attempt the solution of a complex problem while ignoring the principal factor which ought to enter into the calculations. It is, as I have already said, not science but a bastard imitation of it.<sup>1</sup> For true science reckons with all the elements of the problem which it sets itself to solve, and it remembers that these elements may differ widely with the particular nature of the subject under investigation. It does not insist on reducing the heterogeneous at all costs to the homogeneous, the multiformity of fact to the uniformity of theory. It is cautious of transferring to one study the principles and methods which are appropriate to another. In particular the science which deals with human society will not, if it is truly scientific, omit to reckon with the qualities which distinguish man from the beasts.

Besides the particular difficulties which encumber Dr.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 281.

Westermarck's theory of exogamy his general view of the history of marriage is open to very serious objections. If the normal human family from the earliest times down to the present day has been the monogamous patriarchal family with the father as guardian of his own children, how comes it that throughout a large part of mankind, especially among savages, descent has been traced through the mother and not through the father; that property, where it exists, has been inherited from her and not from him; and that the guardian of the children has not been their father but their mother's brother? To these questions Dr. Westermarck makes no satisfactory answer,<sup>1</sup> and I do not see how on his hypothesis a satisfactory answer is possible. The system of mother-kin and the position of the mother's brother in savage and barbarous society are formidable obstacles to a theory which represents patriarchal monogamy as the primitive and generally persistent form of the family for the whole human race. Further, it is to be remembered that Dr. Westermarck's theory was formulated at a time when it was still possible to affirm that "there does not seem to be a single people which has not made the discovery of fatherhood."<sup>2</sup> Now, however, we know that many tribes of Central and Northern Australia, who practise exogamy in its most rigid form, are still wholly ignorant of the fact of physical paternity;<sup>3</sup> from which we may safely infer that physical paternity was equally unknown to the still more primitive savages with whom the system of exogamy originated. Such ignorance is not indeed fatal to the mere existence of a monogamous family of the type supposed by Dr. Westermarck; for the connubial relations of the husband to his wife need not be affected by it, and even the social bond which unites him to his children is not necessarily dissolved because he happens to be unaware of the bodily relation in which he stands to them. But surely the social tie must at least be sensibly weakened when its physical basis is unknown.

Further, his theory of a primitive patriarchal family fails to explain the custom of mother-kin and the position of the maternal uncle in early society.

<sup>1</sup> E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1891), p. 105.  
*Human Race*, pp. 41, 539 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 93 sq.,

<sup>2</sup> E. Westermarck, *History of* 155 sqq., 188-193, 576 sqq.

Prof. E. Durkheim's theory of exogamy. He holds that exogamy originated in a religious respect for the blood of the totemic clan, especially for the menstuous blood of women, which prevents men from having any sexual relations with them.

A theory of exogamy entirely different from the preceding theories has been put forward by Professor Emile Durkheim. He would derive exogamy from a religious sentiment based on certain occult or magical virtues which the savage attributes to blood, above all to the menstuous blood of women.<sup>1</sup> This religious reverence or awe for blood is in its turn traced by Professor Durkheim to totemism, which is, on his view, the ultimate source of exogamy.<sup>2</sup> According to him, the totem is not only the ancestor but the god of every true totemic clan; all the members of the clan are derived from him and share his divine substance. "The totemic being is immanent in the clan, he is incarnate in every individual, and it is in the blood that he resides. He is himself the blood. But while he is an ancestor, he is also a god; born the protector of the group, he is the object of a veritable worship; he is the centre of the religion peculiar to the clan. It is on him that depend the destinies of individuals as well as of the whole. Consequently there is a god in each individual organism (for he is wholly and entirely in each), and it is in the blood that the god resides; from which it follows that the blood is a thing divine. When it flows, it is the god who is spilled. . . . The religious respect which it inspires forbids all idea of contact, and, since woman passes, so to say, a part of her life in blood, the same feeling extends to her, stamps her with its impress, and isolates her."<sup>3</sup> But a totem is only sacred to the members of one totemic clan; the prohibitions which hedge it round are observed by them

<sup>1</sup> E. Durkheim, "La Prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines," *L'Année sociologique*, i. (Paris, 1898) pp. 1-70. See particularly p. 40, "la nature religieuse des sentiments qui sont à la base de l'exogamie"; also p. 51, "les vertus magiques attribuées au sang expliquent l'exogamie"; also p. 65, "les préjugés relatifs au sang eurent amené les hommes à s'interdire toute union entre parents"; also p. 47, "seule, quelque vertu occulte, attribuée à l'organisme féminin en général, peut avoir déterminé cette mise en quarantaine réciproque. Un premier fait est certain: c'est que tout ce système de prohibitions

*doit tenir étroitement aux idées que le primitif se fait de la menstruation et du sang menstuel."*

<sup>2</sup> E. Durkheim, *op. cit.* p. 51, "Mais si les vertus magiques attribuées au sang expliquent l'exogamie, d'où viennent elles-mêmes? Qu'est-ce qui a pu déterminer les sociétés primitives à prêter au liquide sanguin de si étranges propriétés? La réponse à cette question se trouve dans le principe même sur lequel repose tout le système religieux dont l'exogamie dépend, à savoir le totémisme."

<sup>3</sup> E. Durkheim, *op. cit.* pp. 52 sq.

alone. Other people may violate these prohibitions with impunity, since the totem is not their totem; to them there is nothing divine in it, they may therefore deal with it as they please. That is why, according to Professor Durkheim, a man is forbidden to eat his own totem and to marry a woman of his own totemic clan; the god of the clan is in her, especially in her blood; hence no man of the clan may come into profane contact with a woman of the clan; above all, he may not enter into sexual relations with her, because in doing so he would be trespassing on the very spot where the divine manifestations of the sacred blood periodically occur. But on the other hand a man is free to marry or have intercourse with a woman of any totem other than his own, since her god is not his god, and he is therefore not bound to respect the divine life which resides in her blood.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Professor Durkheim finds the origin of exogamy in totemism, which he regards as a religion or worship of the totem. I have already pointed out that such a conception of totemism rests on a fundamental misapprehension of the nature of the institution as it exists in its purity, particularly among the Australian aborigines;<sup>2</sup> and I am the more concerned to emphasise the mistake because I formerly committed it myself and have drawn Professor Durkheim after me astray.<sup>3</sup> Since my original treatise on totemism, to which Professor Durkheim refers for proof of the worship of the totem, was published, the evidence as to the system has been greatly enlarged, especially by the researches of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, and when we consider all the facts and allow for the inevitable haziness and confusion of savage thought on the subject, the conclusion to which the facts point is that the relation between a man and his totem is one of simple friendly equality and brotherhood, and by no means one of religious adoration of a deity mysteriously incarnate not only in the whole totemic species of animals or plants, but also in the flesh and above

This theory of exogamy rests on an erroneous conception of totemism as a mystical religion

<sup>1</sup> E. Durkheim, "La Prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines," *L'Année sociologique*, i. (Paris, 1898) pp. 50, 53 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 4-6, 27 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> After giving his account of the

religion of the totem, which I have quoted (above, p. 100), Prof. Durkheim refers his readers for evidence to my original treatise *Totemism*, which is reprinted in the first volume of this work.

all in the blood of every man, woman, and child of the clan. A mystical religion of this abstract sort might be appropriate enough to sects like the Gnostics, the heirs of an ancient civilisation and of a long train of subtle philosophies; it is wholly foreign and indeed incomprehensible to the simple, concrete modes of thought of a savage, and to attribute it to the extremely rude savages with whom the system of exogamy must unquestionably have originated is to commit the serious mistake of interpreting primitive thought in terms of advanced thought; it is to invert the order of development. A theory of exogamy which rests on such a basis is wholly untenable.

In particular, Prof. Durkheim exaggerates the importance of menstruation, which appears to have nothing to do with exogamy.

Apart from the fundamental error which vitiates Professor Durkheim's ingenious speculations on this subject he has, as it seems to me, fallen into others hardly less serious. The importance which he assigns to menstruation as a principal factor in determining exogamy appears altogether exaggerated. Indeed it is very hard to see how the awe or horror which savages unquestionably entertain for menstruous blood<sup>1</sup> can have had anything whatever to do with exogamy. The essence of exogamy is a discrimination between women who are marriageable and women who are not marriageable; but all women menstruate; how then can the fact of menstruation serve to discriminate marriageable from non-marriageable women, in other words, how can it explain exogamy? We cannot explain a specific difference by means of a generic attribute: menstruation is a generic attribute of all women; how then can it be invoked to explain the specific difference which exogamy makes between marriageable and non-marriageable women? If the awe or horror of menstruous blood is a reason for avoiding marriage with any woman, it is a reason for avoiding marriage with all women, since all women menstruate. The logical conclusion from such premises is not exogamy but

<sup>1</sup> I am not likely to under-estimate the force and influence of this horror, as I was, I believe, among the first to draw attention to it, and to illustrate it by a large array of facts drawn from many parts of the world (*The Golden Bough*, First Edition, 1890, vol. i. pp. 169 *sq.*, vol. ii. pp. 225-242).

Indeed, just as in the case of the supposed totemic religion, Professor Durkheim himself appeals to my evidence on the subject of menstruation (E. Durkheim, *op. cit.* p. 42), but I cannot think him judicious in the inferences he has drawn from it.

celibacy. In short, menstruation appears to be wholly irrelevant to the question of exogamy.<sup>1</sup>

Again, Professor Durkheim errs in confusing exogamous classes or phratries with totemic clans; he is of opinion that the exogamous class or phratry is nothing but an original or primary totemic clan which has become subdivided into a number of secondary totemic clans.<sup>2</sup> It is the more incumbent on me to correct this confusion because I fear I am again at least partly responsible for it. In my original treatise, *Totemism*, I maintained the view of exogamous classes or phratries which was adopted some ten years later by Professor Durkheim. But the new evidence given to the world by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in the year after Professor Durkheim had published his theory induced me to abandon that view; it convinced me that, so far as Australia at least is concerned, exogamous classes or phratries are a totally different social organisation from totemic clans, that they are later in origin than the totemic clans, and have been superposed upon them; and that we shall never understand the relation of totemism to exogamy so long as we identify these two disparate institutions, the totemic clan and the exogamous class, in other words, so long as we suppose that totemic clans have been from the outset exogamous.<sup>3</sup> As Professor Durkheim adheres to the old view after the publication of the new evidence,<sup>4</sup> I am compelled to dissent from him on this as well as on the other points which I have indicated.

Further, Prof. Durkheim confuses the exogamous class with the totemic clan, which is a totally different social organisation.

A theory of the origin of exogamy different from all the preceding theories was suggested by the eminent American ethnologist, L. H. Morgan, to whom we owe the discovery of

L. H. Morgan's theory of the origin of exogamy.

<sup>1</sup> The same objection does not lie against the theory that exogamy was based on an aversion to shedding the blood of a woman of the same clan at defloration. See S. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, i. (Paris, 1905) p. 166. But though such an aversion might be a good reason for not deflowering a woman, it would be no reason for refusing to marry her afterwards. We know that many peoples have been in the habit of engaging

strangers to deflower their wives. See the references in my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, p. 52, note <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> E. Durkheim, "La Prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines," *L'Année sociologique*, i. (Paris, 1898) pp. 5 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 8-10, and above, vol. i. pp. 162 sq., 257 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> E. Durkheim, "Sur le totémisme," *L'Année sociologique*, v. (Paris, 1902) pp. 90 sqq.

the classificatory system of relationship. Unlike the other writers, whose hypotheses have been set forth, Morgan lived for many years on intimate terms with savages who still practised both totemism and exogamy; and in approaching the problem his practical familiarity with exogamous communities gave him a decided advantage over enquirers who had no such first-hand knowledge of the institution they discussed. It is significant that while Morgan's conclusions have been commonly rejected by anthropologists of the study, they have been accepted by men who have personally investigated totemism and exogamy among those tribes in which the two institutions still exist in the greatest perfection. No men have done more to advance our knowledge of exogamy than Messrs. Howitt, Fison, Spencer, and Gillen have done by their researches among the Australian aborigines; and their agreement with Morgan's opinion on the origin of the institution furnishes at least a certain presumption in favour of its truth.

Morgan held that exogamy was introduced to prevent the marriage or cohabitation of blood relations, especially of brothers with sisters, which had been common

Morgan held that sexual promiscuity prevailed universally at a very early period of human history, and that exogamy was instituted to prevent the marriage or cohabitation of blood relations, especially of brothers with sisters, which had been common under the preceding conditions.<sup>1</sup> "It is explainable," he says, "and only explainable in its origin, as a reformatory movement to break up the intermarriage of blood relatives, and particularly of brothers and sisters, by compelling them to marry out of the tribe who were constituted such as a band of consanguinei. It will be seen at once that with the prohibition of intermarriage in the tribe this result was finally and permanently effected. By this organization the cohabitation of brothers and sisters

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 484 sq., 487-490 (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii.); *id.*, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 58, 425, 426, 498-503. Morgan did not use the word exogamy, but described the institution in his earlier work by the phrase "tribal organization," and in his later work by the phrase "gentile organization." Both these expressions are

exceedingly vague and unsatisfactory, and it is much to be regretted that Morgan rejected the perfectly appropriate and indeed necessary term exogamy (*Ancient Society*, pp. 511 sqq.). Morgan was often unfortunate in his choice of words, and his inappropriate and pedantic terminology has probably done much to repel readers from a subject which is sufficiently unattractive in itself without the aid of gratuitous disfigurements.

was permanently abolished, since they were necessarily of the same tribe, whether descent was in the male or the female line. . . . It struck at the roots of promiscuous intercourse by abolishing its worst features, and thus became a powerful movement towards the ultimate realization of marriage between single pairs, and the true family state.”<sup>1</sup>

in a preceding state of sexual promiscuity.

This view furnishes, I believe, the true key to the whole system of exogamy. It was suggested to Morgan by his study of the classificatory system of relationship in its various forms, particularly by a comparison of the Polynesian form with the Asiatic and American forms.<sup>2</sup> It is true that he appears to have erred in treating the Polynesian form as primitive and as evidence of the former cohabitation of brothers with sisters, whereas there are grounds for thinking that the Polynesian form is on the contrary decadent, and that the former cohabitation of brothers with sisters cannot be inferred from it.<sup>3</sup> But while his theory has certainly been weakened at an important point by the correction of this error, it has on the other hand been greatly strengthened by the additional knowledge which we have since acquired of the social organisation of the Australian aborigines. These very primitive savages have carried out the principle of exogamy with a practical ingenuity and a logical thoroughness and precision such as no other known race of men exhibit in their marriage system ; and accordingly a study of their matrimonial institutions, which have been accurately described by highly competent observers, affords a better insight into the meaning of exogamy than can be obtained elsewhere. It is accordingly to Australia that we must look for a solution of the enigma of exogamy as well as of totemism.

This view is probably correct, and has been strongly confirmed by our new knowledge of the exogamous systems of the Australian aborigines.

Full details as to the Australian systems of marriage have already been laid before the reader, and I have exhibited their general principles in outline so as to bring out clearly their aim and purpose.<sup>4</sup> We have seen that these marriage systems fall into a series of varying complexity

The two-class, four-class, and eight-class systems of the

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 484 sq.

uses instead of Polynesian, Asiatic, and American.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii, pp. 169-172.

<sup>2</sup> Malayan, Turanian, and Gano-wanian are the terms which Morgan

<sup>4</sup> See vol. i, pp. 271-288, 399-402, 445 sq.

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from the two-class system, which is the simplest, to the eight-class system, which is the most complex, with a four-class system occupying an intermediate position between the two extremes. All three systems—the two-class system, the four-class system, and the eight-class system—are compatible either with male or with female descent; and in fact the two-class system and the four-class system are actually found sometimes with male and sometimes with female descent, while on the other hand the eight-class system has hitherto been discovered with male descent only. Further, I pointed out that these three systems appear to have been produced by a series of successive bisections of the community, the two-class system resulting from the first bisection, the four-class system resulting from the second bisection, and the eight-class system resulting from the third bisection. Further, we saw that the effect of these successive bisections of the community into exogamous classes, with their characteristic rules of descent, was to bar the marriage of persons whom the natives regard as too near of kin, each new bisection striking out a fresh list of kinsfolk from the number of those with whom marriage might be lawfully contracted; and as the effect produced by these means is in accordance with the deeply-rooted opinions and feelings of the natives on the subject of marriage, we appear to be justified in inferring that each successive bisection of the community was deliberately instituted for the purpose of preventing the marriage of near kin. In no other way does it seem possible to explain in all its details a system at once so complex and so regular. It is hardly too much to affirm that no other human institution bears the impress of deliberate design stamped on it more clearly than the exogamous classes of the Australian aborigines. To suppose that they have originated through a series of undesigned coincidences, and that they only subserve by accident the purpose which they actually fulfil and which is cordially approved of by the natives themselves, is to tax our credulity almost as heavily as it would be to suppose that the complex machinery of a watch has come together without human design by a mere fortuitous course of atoms, and that the purpose which it serves of

marking time on the dial, and for the sake of which the owner of the watch carries it about with him, is simply an accidental result of its atomic configuration. The attempt in the name of science to eliminate human will and purpose from the history of early human institutions fails disastrously when the attempt is made upon the marriage system of the Australian aborigines.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen, first, that the effect of the two-class system is to bar the marriage of brothers with sisters in every case, but not in all cases the marriage of parents with children, nor the marriage of certain first cousins, namely, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively; second, that the effect of the four-class system is to bar the marriage of brothers with sisters and of parents with children in every case, but not the marriage of first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively; thirdly, that the effect of the eight-class system is to bar the marriage of brothers with sisters, of parents with children, and of first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively.<sup>2</sup>

Hence if we are right in assuming that these three marriage systems were instituted successively and in this order for the purpose of effecting just what they do effect, it follows that the two-class system was instituted to prevent the marriage of brothers with sisters; that the four-class system was instituted to prevent the marriage of parents with children; and that the eight-class system was instituted to prevent the marriage of certain first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, the marriage of all other first cousins (the children of two brothers or of two sisters) having been already prevented by the institution of the two-class system.<sup>3</sup> If this inference is correct, we see that in Australia exogamy originated, just as Morgan supposed, in an attempt to prevent the marriage of brothers with sisters, and that the prohibitions of marriage with

Effects of the two-class, four-class, and eight-class systems.

Thus the exogamous systems of the Australians seem to have originated in an attempt to prevent the marriage of brothers with sisters. The aversion to these and similar marriages of near kin must have existed

<sup>1</sup> We have seen (vol. i. p. 514) that as a result of a lifetime of observation and reflection the shrewd and cautious Dr. A. W. Howitt firmly believed in the deliberate institution of the Australian marriage system; and the belief is shared by Professor Bald-

win Spencer. See his Presidential Address, "Totemism in Australia," *Transactions of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Dunedin, 1904, pp. 419 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 274-279.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 181.

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parents and with certain first cousins followed later. Thus the primary prohibition is that of marriage between brothers and sisters and not, as might perhaps have been expected, between parents and children. From this it does not necessarily follow that the Australian aborigines entertain a deeper horror of incest between brothers and sisters than of incest between parents and children. All that we can fairly infer is that before the two-class system was instituted incest between brothers and sisters had been commoner than incest between parents and children, and that accordingly the first necessity was to prevent it. The aversion to incest between parents and children appears to be universal among the Australian aborigines, as well among tribes with two classes as among tribes with four classes, although the two-class system itself is not a bar to certain cases of that incest. Thus we perceive, what it is important to bear steadily in mind, that the dislike of certain marriages must always have existed in the minds of the people, or at least in the minds of their leaders, before that dislike, so to say, received legal sanction by being embodied in an exogamous rule. In democratic societies, like those of the Australian savages, law only gives practical effect to thoughts that have been long simmering in the minds of many. This is well exemplified in the prohibition of marriage between certain first cousins as well as in the prohibition of marriage between parents and children. For many Australian tribes dislike and prohibit all marriages between first cousins,<sup>1</sup> even though they have not incorporated that dislike and prohibition in their exogamous organisation by adopting the eight-class system, which effectually prevents all such marriages.

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The aversion, whether instinctive or acquired, to the forbidden marriages shews itself markedly in the customs of social avoidance which in many savage communities persons who stand in the prohibited degrees of kinship or affinity observe towards each other; for the only reasonable explanation of such customs, which we have now traced throughout most of the exogamous and totemic tribes of the world,<sup>2</sup> is that they are precautions against unions which the

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 346, 439, 449 *sq.*, 459, 474 *sq.*, 483.

<sup>2</sup> See the references in the Index, *s.v.* "Avoidance."

people regard as incestuous. In some Australian tribes this custom of avoidance is observed between brothers and sisters,<sup>1</sup> although brothers and sisters are universally barred to each other in marriage by all the exogamous systems, the two-class system, the four-class system, and the eight-class system alike. No doubt it is possible theoretically to explain this avoidance as merely an effect of the exogamous prohibition. But this explanation becomes improbable when we observe that similar customs of mutual avoidance are frequently observed towards each other by persons who are not barred to each other by the exogamous rules of the classes. For example, the custom that a man must avoid his wife's mother is observed in Australia by tribes which have female descent<sup>2</sup> as well as by tribes which have male descent;<sup>3</sup> yet in tribes which have two classes with female descent a woman always belongs to the same exogamous class as her daughter, and is therefore theoretically marriageable with her daughter's husband. Similarly with first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, they are sometimes bound to avoid each other even although the exogamous system of the tribe interposes no barrier to their union.<sup>4</sup> Hence it is a legitimate inference that in all such customs of mutual avoidance between persons who are sexually marriageable, but socially unmarriageable, with each other, we see rather the cause than the effect of exogamy, the germ of the institution rather than its fruit. That germ, if I am right, is a feeling of dread or aversion to sexual union with certain persons, a feeling which has found legal or rather customary expression in the exogamous prohibitions. The remarkable fact that the custom of mutual avoidance is often observed between adult brothers and sisters and between parents and their adult children<sup>5</sup> seems

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<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 542, 565 *sq.* Compare E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 109. "The laws with respect to women are very stringent. A woman in most tribes, for instance, is not allowed to converse or have any relations whatever with any adult male, save her husband. Even with a grown-up brother she is almost forbidden to exchange a word."

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 395, 404 *sq.*, 416 *sq.*, 541, 565.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 440, 451.

<sup>4</sup> This is the case in Central New Ireland and Uganda. See above, vol. ii. pp. 130 *sq.*, 508. Compare above, vol. ii. pp. 629, 637 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> For instances of the mutual avoidance of brothers and sisters, see the references in the Index, s.v. "Avoid-

to tell strongly against the view of Dr. Westermarck, that sexual desire is not naturally excited between persons who have long lived together; for no classes of persons usually live longer together than brothers with their sisters and parents with their children; none, therefore, should be more perfectly exempt from the temptation to incest, none should be freer in their social intercourse with each other than brothers with sisters and parents with children. That freedom indeed exists among all civilised nations, but it does not exist among all savages, and the difference in this respect between the liberty granted to the nearest relations by civilisation and the restrictions imposed on them by savagery certainly suggests that the impulse to incest, which is almost extinct in a higher state of society, is so far from being inoperative in a lower state of society that very stringent precautions are needed to repress it.

The rise of exogamy was probably preceded by a period of sexual promiscuity.

Thus the exogamous system of the Australian aborigines, forming a graduated series of restrictions on marriage which increase progressively with the complexity of the system as it advances from two through four to eight classes, appears to have been deliberately devised for the purpose of preventing sexual unions which the natives regarded as incestuous. The natural and almost inevitable inference is that before the first bisection of a community into two exogamous classes such incestuous unions between persons near of kin, especially between blood brothers and sisters, were common; in short, that at some period before the rise of exogamy barriers between the sexes did not exist, or in other words there was sexual promiscuity. Under the influence of exogamy, which in one form or another is and probably has been for ages dominant in Australia, the age of sexual promiscuity belongs to a more or less distant past, but clear traces of it survive in the right of intercourse which in many

ance." For instances of the mutual avoidance of father and daughter, see above, vol. ii. pp. 189, 424. For instances of the mutual avoidance of mother and son, see above, vol. ii. pp. 77, 78, 189, 638. To the instances cited of mutual avoidance between parents and their adult children may be added the case of the Veddas of

Ceylon, among whom "a father will not see his daughter after she has attained the age of puberty, and a mother will not see her son after he has grown a beard." See "On the Veddas, by a Tamil native of Ceylon," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, iii. (1865) p. 71.

Australian tribes the men exercise over unmarried girls before these are handed over to their husbands.<sup>1</sup> That the licence granted to men on these occasions is no mere outburst of savage lust but a relic of an ancient custom is strongly suggested by the methodical way in which the right is exercised by certain, not all, of the men of the tribe, who take their turn in a prescribed and strictly regulated order. Thus even these customs are by no means cases of absolutely unrestricted promiscuity, but taken together with the converging evidence of the series of exogamous classes they point decidedly to the former prevalence of far looser relations between the sexes than are now to be found among any of the Australian aborigines.

But it must always be borne in mind than in postulating sexual promiscuity, or something like it, as the starting-point of the present Australian marriage system we affirm nothing as to the absolutely primitive relations of the sexes among mankind. All that we can say is that the existing marriage customs of the Australian aborigines appear to have sprung from an immediately preceding stage of social evolution in which marriage, understood as a lasting union between single pairs, was either unknown or rare and exceptional, and in which even the nearest relations were allowed to cohabit with each other. But as I have already pointed out,<sup>2</sup> though the Australian savages are primitive in a relative sense by comparison with ourselves, they are almost certainly very far indeed from being primitive in the absolute sense of the word; on the contrary, there is every reason to think that by comparison with truly primaevial man they have made immense progress in intelligence, morality, and the arts of life. Hence even if it could be proved that before they attained to their present level of culture they had passed through a lower stage in which marriage as we understand it hardly existed, we should have no right to infer that their still more remote ancestors had continued in a state of sexual promiscuity ever since man became man by a gradual evolution from a lower form of animal life. It is no doubt interesting to speculate on what may have been the relations

But though sexual promiscuity seems to have preceded exogamy, it need not have been characteristic of absolutely primitive man.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 311-313, 419, 499, 545.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 17, and above, vol. i. pp. 342 *sq.*

of the human sexes to each other from the earliest times down to the period when savage man emerges on the stage of history ; but such speculations are apparently destined to remain speculations for ever, incapable of demonstration or even of being raised to a high degree of probability.

The three typical marriage systems of the Australian aborigines considered as a series of reformations designed to remedy sexual promiscuity.

From the darkness of the absolutely unknown and the quicksands of the purely conjectural we emerge to something like daylight and firm ground when we reach the well-defined exogamous system of the Australian aborigines in its three forms of the two-class system, the four-class system, and the eight-class system. Let us accordingly consider these systems as a series of reformations designed successively to remedy a previous state of more or less unrestricted sexual promiscuity ; and let us see in detail how the actual rules of the three systems square with this hypothesis. The attempt may at least help to clarify our ideas on a somewhat abstruse subject, and to illustrate the mode in which a system of exogamy leads to its regular attendant, the classificatory system of relationship.

We will take up the three typical marriage systems of the Australian aborigines, the two-class system, the four-class system, and the eight-class system, in this order, beginning with the simplest and ending with the most complex.

It would seem that the division of a community into two exogamous classes was devised as a means of enabling people the more easily to avoid those marriages to which a strong aversion had already grown up in the community, especially the marriages of brothers

We start then by hypothesis with a state of society in which men and women had been allowed freely to cohabit with each other, but in which nevertheless in the minds of many, and especially of the most intelligent members of the community, there had, for some reason unknown to us, been long growing up a strong aversion to consanguineous unions, particularly to the cohabitation of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons. For we may safely assume that the recognition of these simplest and most obvious relationships preceded the rise of exogamy in any form. On the other hand, there can at the outset have been no scruple felt on the ground of consanguinity to the cohabitation of a father with his daughter, if we are right in assuming that when exogamy was instituted the physical relationship of fatherhood had not yet been recognised. Accordingly the aim of the more thoughtful part of the social group, probably consisting chiefly of the older men, was to devise some means of putting a stop to those sexual unions which

had come to be regarded as evil and detrimental to the community, especially the unions of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons. To us the obvious thing might appear to be simply to prohibit the unions in question. But for some reasons which we can only conjecture, there would seem to have been difficulties in the way of taking this course. With the undeveloped intelligence of the low savages, with whom exogamy must certainly have originated, it may well have been difficult for everybody to remember his individual relationships to everybody else, and accordingly to know whether he might or might not cohabit with any particular woman with whom he might chance to be thrown into contact ; for where the sexual relations were of so loose, vague, and temporary a character, it is likely enough that in later life mothers and sons, brothers and sisters would often drift apart and fail to remember or recognise each other when they met. To obviate the difficulty and to prevent the danger of incest, whether accidental or otherwise, it may accordingly have occurred to some primitive sages, of whom there must always have been at least a few, that instead of asking everybody to carry about in his head his own particular family tree, to be produced and consulted at sight whenever he fell in with an attractive woman, it would be much simpler to divide the whole community, probably a very small one, into two groups and two only, and to say that everybody in the one group might cohabit with everybody in the other group but with nobody in his own. And to prevent the consanguineous unions which had probably been the most frequent and were now the most disapproved of, to wit, the cohabitation of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons, it was only necessary to enact that a mother with her children should always be arranged together in one group. We may suppose, then, that the proposal to divide the community into two exogamous and intermarrying groups, with each mother and her children arranged together in one group, was approved by the community and put into practice. Henceforth the question with whom a man might cohabit and with whom he might not was greatly simplified. He had only to ascertain from any particular woman whether she belonged to his group or to the other group, and his

with sisters  
and of  
mothers  
with sons.

course was clear. The mental relief thus afforded to the scrupulous and superstitious but dull-witted savage was probably very considerable.

The two-class system with its classificatory relationships and rules of marriage.

Let us suppose that the two newly-created exogamous groups were called A and B, and let us now see the effects of this simplest of all forms of exogamy, the division of a community into two exogamous groups or classes with a rule that any man in one class may cohabit with any woman in the other class but with no woman in his own. As the children are, on our hypothesis, arranged in the same class with their mothers, the system which we are about to examine is a two-class system with female descent. We will first consider the relations of a man A to all the women of the community, and for the sake of simplicity we will suppose that there are only three generations alive, namely, A's own generation, the generation above him, and the generation below him. Then we obtain the following group or classificatory relationships and the following rules of marriage :—

The classificatory relationships of an A man to the A women.

(a) All the A women in the generation above the man A are his group mothers or his mother's sisters, and one of them is his actual mother, but he calls them all his mothers, not because he thinks he was born of them all, but because they are collectively the mothers of all the men and women of his class and generation. All the A women in his own generation are his sisters or cousins, the daughters either of his mother's sisters (for his mother's sisters are A and their daughters are A) or of his father's brothers (for his father's brothers are B and their children are A); but he calls them all his sisters. All the A women in the generation below his own are his sisters' daughters (for his sisters are A and their daughters are A) or his daughters-in-law (for his sons are B and their wives are A). All these A women belong to A's own class; hence by the rule of exogamy he may not marry nor cohabit with them. Thus he is forbidden to marry his group mothers (including his actual mother and her sisters), his group sisters (including his actual sisters and his cousins, the daughters either of his mother's sisters or of his father's brothers), the daughters of his group sisters, and his group daughters-

Prohibited degrees of marriage.

in-law (including his actual daughters-in-law, the wives of his sons).

(b) All the B women in the generation above A's own are his group mothers-in-law and one of them is his actual mother-in-law (since his wife is a B and her mother is a B), but he calls them all his mothers-in-law, because by the rule he is free to marry or cohabit with the daughters of any of them. All the B women in his own generation are his cousins, the daughters either of his father's sisters (for his father's sisters are B and their daughters are B) or of his mother's brothers (for his mother's brothers are A and their daughters are B). All the B women in the generation below his own are his daughters or the daughters of his brothers (for his brothers like himself are A and marry B women and their daughters are B); but he calls them all his daughters. The reason why he calls his brother's daughters his daughters may have been, as we shall see afterwards, because at this stage of social evolution a group of brothers commonly cohabited with a group of sisters and the individual fatherhood of the children was uncertain, though the group fatherhood was certain or probable. All these B women belong to the other class from A; hence by the rule of exogamy he may marry or cohabit with any of them. Thus he is allowed to marry his mother-in-law, his cousins (the daughters either of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers), his daughters, and his brothers' daughters. But of these women it is natural that he should marry or cohabit chiefly with the women of his own generation, and as these are his cousins (the daughters either of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers), it follows that his cousins (the daughters either of his father's brothers or of his mother's brothers) are his proper wives or mates, and consequently he calls them all his wives, because by the fundamental law of the classes he may marry any of them. That is why among the Urabunna, who have this simplest of all forms of exogamy, the two-class system with female descent, a man's proper marriage is always with his cousin, the daughter either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, but never with his cousin the daughter either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, since marriage with the

The classificatory relationships of an A man to the B women.

Permitted degrees of marriage.

daughter either of a father's brother or of a mother's sister is barred by the two-class system of exogamy, and that whether descent is traced in the male or in the female line.<sup>1</sup> The same reason doubtless explains the widespread preference for marriage with a cousin, the daughter either of a father's sister or of a mother's brother, combined with the strict prohibition of marriage with a cousin, the daughter either of a father's brother or of a mother's sister. Accordingly, wherever we find that preference combined with that prohibition we may reasonably infer that a two-class system of exogamy was once in force.<sup>2</sup>

The effect of the two-class system is to regulate satisfactorily all marriages between men and women of the same generation, but not all marriages between men and women of different generations; since with female descent the two-class system allows a man to cohabit with his mother-in-law and his own daughter, while with male descent it allows him to cohabit

What then were the results of this first attempt to bar sexual unions which had come to be viewed with general disapprobation as incestuous? Regarded from the standpoint of this growing moral sentiment, the results were partly satisfactory and partly unsatisfactory. They were satisfactory so far as they prevented cohabitation with mothers, sisters, and daughters-in-law; they were unsatisfactory so far as they permitted cohabitation with the wife's mother and with a man's own daughters; for with regard to father and daughter it seems probable that an aversion to their sexual union had grown up long before the physical relationship between the two was recognised, and while he still stood to her only in the position of her mother's consort and the guardian of the family. Thus in regard to the women of a man's own generation, amongst whom his wives or mates are most naturally sought, the system at first succeeded perfectly, since it assigned to him as his wives or mates his cousins, the daughters either of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers; for the early popularity of this particular marriage may be safely inferred from the preference accorded to it by so many races down to the present day. But while the new matrimonial machinery worked smoothly and without a hitch in regard to the cohabitation of all men and women of the same generation, it jolted badly or even broke down at the cohabitation of men and women of different generations, since it allowed a man to cohabit with his mother-in-law in the generation above his

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii, pp. 177 *sqq.*, 180 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Compare vol. ii, pp. 224-228.

own, and with his daughters in the generation below his own. And if the rule of male descent had been adopted instead of female descent, the difficulty of regulating the cohabitation of men and women in different generations would not have been evaded, it would only have been changed; for with a two-class system and male descent it can easily be shewn, by a similar demonstration, that while a man is prevented from cohabiting with his mother-in-law in the generation above his own, and with his own daughter in the generation below his own, since they both belong to his own exogamous class, he is on the other hand free to cohabit with his own mother in the generation above his own, and with his daughter-in-law in the generation below his own, since they both belong to the other exogamous class into which he marries. Thus the result of adopting a two-class system with male descent would be if anything rather worse than better, since it would substitute leave to marry a mother for leave to marry a daughter, and it is probable that ever since the notion of incest arose sexual union with a mother has been deemed a graver offence than sexual union with a daughter, if for no other reason than that the relationship between a mother and her son must from the first have been seen to be consanguineous, whereas the relationship between a father and his daughter was for long supposed to be only social.

Thus whichever way the founders of the two-class system of exogamy arranged descents, they were disconcerted by finding that under it, though the sexual relations between men and women of the same generation were now, so far as they conformed to the system, entirely satisfactory (since either with male or female descent men regularly cohabited with their cousins, the daughters of their father's sisters or of their mother's brothers), the sexual relations between men and women of different generations were still very unsatisfactory on some important points, inasmuch as with female descent a man might marry his daughter or his mother-in-law, while with male descent he might marry his mother or his daughter-in-law. What was to be done?

The object was to prevent certain persons of one generation from cohabiting with certain persons of another

with his  
own  
mother  
and his  
daughter-  
in-law.

How were  
these evils  
of the  
two-class  
system  
to be  
remedied?

The object was attained by subdividing each exogamous class into two subclasses, and ordaining that two successive generations should never belong to the same subclass. Thus the creation of the four-class system effectually cured the worst evils which the two-class system had failed to remedy.

generation, and it appears to have struck some inventive genius that this could readily be effected by subdividing each of the two exogamous classes into two companion subclasses according to generations, and by ordaining that henceforth each of the four resulting subclasses should marry into only one other subclass, and that two successive generations should never belong to the same subclass, or, to be more precise, that children should never belong to the subclass of either parent, but always to the companion subclass of their father or of their mother according as descent was reckoned in the male or in the female line. If this expedient were adopted, all the most objectionable permissions granted by the old two-class system would be cancelled, all the loopholes left for incest would be closed. For whereas under the two-class system with female descent a man was free to marry his daughter because she belonged to the other exogamous class, under the new four-class system with female descent he would no longer be free to do so, since, although she still belonged to the other exogamous class, and was therefore so far marriageable, she had now been transferred to a different subclass into which he was forbidden to marry. Similarly, whereas under the two-class system with male descent a man was free to marry his mother because she belonged to the other exogamous class, under the new four-class system with male descent he was no longer free to do so, since, although she still belonged to the other exogamous class, and was therefore so far marriageable, she had now been transferred to a different subclass into which he was forbidden to marry. Again, whereas under the old two-class system with female descent a man was free to marry his mother-in-law since she belonged to the same exogamous class as her daughter, his wife, under the new four-class system with female descent he was no longer free to do so, since, although she still belonged to the same exogamous class as her daughter, his wife, and was therefore so far marriageable, she had now been transferred to a different subclass into which he was forbidden to marry. Similarly, whereas under the old two-class system with male descent a man was free to marry his daughter-in-law because she

belonged to the other exogamous class, under the new four-class system with male descent he was no longer free to do so, since, although she still belonged to the other exogamous class and was therefore so far marriageable, she had now been transferred to another subclass into which he was forbidden to marry. Thus all the evils which have been indicated as incidental to the two-class system are remedied by the four-class system, whether descent be traced in the male or in the female line. If the rules of the new system are only observed, the possibility of incest with a sister, a mother, a mother-in-law, and a daughter-in-law is absolutely prevented. Hence many Australian tribes have acquiesced in the four-class system as adequate to all their requirements and have never pushed the exogamous subdivision further.<sup>1</sup>

The reason why a large group of tribes in Central and Northern Australia has carried the subdivision one step

<sup>1</sup> An entirely different explanation of the four-class system has been suggested by Professor E. Durkheim. See E. Durkheim, "La Prohibition de l'inceste," *L'Année sociologique*, i. (1898) pp. 11-22. But his explanation suffers from the fatal defect that it explains only the four-class system with female descent and not the four-class system with male descent. Yet the four-class system with male descent exists in tribes which occupy a considerable range of country in South-eastern Queensland, as Dr. A. W. Howitt pointed out long before Prof. Durkheim published his theory. See A. W. Howitt, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 48-50; compare his *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 114-118. Thus Prof. Durkheim is mistaken in affirming (*op. cit.* p. 21) that "*Howitt lui-même a remarqué que partout où le clan se recrute ex masculis et per masculos, la classe n'existe pas.*" No such statement is made by Dr. Howitt in the passage (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. 40) to which Prof. Durkheim refers, and even if Dr. Howitt had made such a statement it

would have been refuted by the facts adduced by Dr. Howitt himself a few pages further on, where he records (pp. 48-50) the existence of a considerable group of tribes with a four-class system and male descent. Moreover, since Prof. Durkheim published his theory of the four-class system, the researches of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have revealed the existence of a very large body of tribes in Central and Northern Australia, which have an eight-class system with male descent. Hence, whereas Prof. Durkheim had ventured to conjecture (*op. cit.* p. 21) that the subclasses would disappear with male descent, they are found on the contrary to multiply with it. Professor Durkheim's theory of the four-class system may therefore be dismissed as inadequate to account for the facts, since it offers no explanation of the numerous cases of tribes with four or eight classes and male descent. The explanation which I have adopted has the advantage of explaining all the facts of the four-class and eight-class systems alike, whether descent be reckoned in the male or in the female line.

The subsequent creation of the eight-class system in some tribes seems to have been designed to prevent the marriage of certain first cousins, viz. the children of a brother and a sister respectively.

further by splitting each exogamous subclass into two and so producing the eight-class system, appears to have been a growing aversion to the marriage of first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively. For we know that many Australian tribes forbid such marriages, even though they have not adopted the eight-class system, which effectually prevents them.<sup>1</sup> Indeed some tribes which discountenance the marriage of first cousins, such as the Dieri and the Kulin, never advanced beyond the stage of the two-class system. This shews, as I have already pointed out,<sup>2</sup> how even an exogamous community may by a simple prohibition bar marriages which it disapproves of without needing to extend its exogamous system by further subdivisions. The incest line has most commonly wavered at first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, opinion sometimes inclining decidedly in favour of, and sometimes decidedly against, these unions. So it has been in Australia and so it has been elsewhere<sup>3</sup> down to our own time in our own country. In Australia some, but not all, of the tribes which disapproved of the marriages of first cousins expressed their disapproval by extending their exogamous system so as to include such unions in its ban. Others contented themselves with keeping the old exogamous system in its simpler forms of two or four classes and merely forbidding the marriages in question.

Thus the whole exogamous system of the Australian aborigines is explicable on the hypothesis that it sprang from an

Thus the whole complex exogamous system of the Australian aborigines is explicable in a simple and natural way if we suppose that it sprang from a growing aversion to the marriage of near kin, beginning with the marriage of brothers with sisters and of parents with children, and ending at the marriage of cousins, who sometimes fell within and sometimes without the table of forbidden degrees. To prevent these marriages the tribes deliberately subdivided themselves into two, four, or eight exogamous classes, the

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 346, 439, 449 *sq.*, 459, 474 *sq.*, 483. As to the prevention of the marriage of first cousins by means of the eight-class system, see above, vol. i. pp. 277 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. pp. 346, 439.

<sup>3</sup> For example, the Fijians and many

castes in India prefer these marriages to all others. Other peoples, such as the Southern Melanesians, the Masai, the Baganda, and the Indians of Costa Rica forbid them altogether. See vol. ii. pp. 75 *sq.*, 141 *sqq.*, 224 *sqq.*, 409, 508; iii. 552; and the references in the Index, *s.v.* "Cousins."

three systems succeeding each other in a series of growing complexity as each was found inadequate to meet the increasing demands of public opinion and morality. The scheme no doubt took shape in the minds of a few men of a sagacity and practical ability above the ordinary, who by their influence and authority persuaded their fellows to put it in practice; but at the same time the plan must have answered to certain general sentiments of what was right and proper, which had been springing up in the community long before a definite social organisation was adopted to enforce them. And what is true of the origination of the system in its simplest form is doubtless true of each successive step which added at once to the complexity and to the efficiency of the curious machinery which savage wit had devised for the preservation of sexual morality. Thus, and thus only, does it seem possible to explain a social system at once so intricate, so regular, and so perfectly adapted to the needs and the opinions of the people who practise it. In the whole of history, as I have already remarked, it would hardly be possible to find another human institution on which the impress of deliberate thought and purpose has been stamped more plainly than on the exogamous systems of the Australian aborigines.

Thus we may suppose that exogamy replaced a previous state of practically unrestricted sexual promiscuity. What the new system introduced was not individual marriage but group marriage; that is, it took away from all the men of the community the unlimited right of intercourse with all the women and obliged a certain group of men to confine themselves to a certain group of women. At first these groups were large, but they were reduced in size by each successive bisection of the tribe. The two-class system left every man free to cohabit, roughly speaking, with half the women of the community; the four-class system forbade him to have sexual relations with more than one fourth of the women; and the eight-class system restricted him to one eighth of the women. Thus each successive step in the exogamous progression erected a fresh barrier between the sexes; it was an advance from promiscuity through group marriage towards monogamy. Of this practice of group

aversion to the marriages of near kin, and that it was produced by a series of deliberate bisections of the community intended to prevent such marriages.

What exogamy introduced was not individual marriage but group marriage, and the size of the intermarrying groups was reduced with each successive bisection of the tribe. The best record of group marriage is the classificatory system of relationship.

marriage, intermediate between the two terms of the series, promiscuity on the one side and monogamy on the other, the most complete record is furnished by the classificatory system of relationship, which defines the relations of men and women to each other according to the particular generation and the particular exogamous class to which they belong. The cardinal relationship of the whole system is the marriageability of a group of men with a group of women. All the other relationships of the system hinge on this central one.

Classi-  
ficatory  
relation-  
ships of  
men to  
each other  
in the  
two-class  
system.

We have seen how with the institution of the primary two-class system all the men at once fall into classificatory relationships to all the women according to generations and classes, these relationships being an extension of the simplest and most obvious of human relationships, the relationship of husband to wife in the largest sense of the word, the relationship of a mother to her children, and the relationship of these children, as brothers and sisters, to each other. Simultaneously, of course, the classificatory relationships of the men to each other are determined by the same means. For example, if the system is composed of two exogamous classes with descent in the female line, and we name the classes as before A and B, we may define as follows the relations of an A man to all the other men of the community, assuming for the sake of simplicity that the men are all comprised in three generations, namely A's own generation, the generation above his own, and the generation below his own.

The  
classi-  
ficatory  
relation-  
ships of an  
A man to  
the other  
A men.

(a) To take first the classificatory relationships of an A man to the other A men. In the generation above his own all the A men are his mother's brothers (since his mother is A and her brothers are A) or his fathers-in-law (since his wives are B and their fathers are A). In his own generation all the A men are his brothers or his cousins, the sons either of his mother's sisters (since his mother is A and her sons are A) or of his father's brothers (since his father's brothers are B and their sons are A), but he calls them all indiscriminately his brothers. In the generation below his own all the A men are the sons either of his sisters (since his sisters are A and their children are A) or of his female

cousins, the daughters of his mother's sisters or of his father's brothers ; but he calls them all his nephews.

(b) To take now the classificatory relationships of an A man to the B men. In the generation above his own all the B men are his group fathers or his father's brothers and one of them is his actual father, but he calls them all his fathers. In his own generation all the B men are his cousins, the sons either of his father's sisters (since his father's sisters are B and their sons are B) or of his mother's brothers (since his mother's brothers are A and their sons are B), and they are all his wife's brothers (since his wife is a B). In the generation below his own all the B men are his sons or his brother's sons (since his brothers are A and their sons are B), but he calls them all indiscriminately his sons. A reason for thus confounding his own sons with his brother's sons has already been suggested.<sup>1</sup> There are grounds for thinking, as I shall point out presently, that a very early form of group marriage consisted of a group of brothers married to a group of sisters, and in such unions it might be difficult or impossible for a man to distinguish his own sons from his brothers' sons.

If the reader will take the trouble to compare the relationships of men and women, which I have thus theoretically deduced from a simple exogamous bisection of the community, with the relationships actually recognised by the classificatory system, as these relationships have come before us again and again in the course of this work,<sup>2</sup> he will at once perceive their substantial agreement, though for the sake of simplicity and clearness I have refrained from following the system through its more remote ramifications in the fourth and fifth generations. The agreement should convince him that the classificatory system of relationship has in fact resulted from a simple bisection of the community into two exogamous classes and from nothing else. It should be particularly observed that the two-class system of exogamy suffices of itself to create the classificatory

The classificatory relationships of an A man to the B men.

The classificatory relationships result directly from the bisection of a community into two exogamous classes ; they appear not to be affected by the subsequent bisections into four and eight

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> See the references in the Index, s.v. "Classificatory System of Relationship," or the tables in Spencer

and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 76 sqq. ; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 78 sqq.

subclasses which have taken place in some Australian tribes, but which have not been found to occur in any other part of the world.

system of relationship, which appears not to have been materially affected by the subsequent adoption of the four-class and eight-class systems in certain tribes. This observation is important, because, while the classificatory system of relationship is found to be diffused over a great part of the world, the four-class and eight-class systems have hitherto been detected in Australia alone. In the absence of evidence to the contrary we accordingly infer that the successive bisections of the two-class system into four and eight classes have been inventions of the Australian intellect alone, and that the existence of the classificatory system in other races of men raises no presumption that these races have ever practised exogamy in any more complex form than the simple two-class system.

Thus with the institution of two exogamous classes and the resulting system of group marriage the classificatory system of relationship springs up of itself; it simply defines the relations of all the men and women of the community to each other according to the generation and the exogamous class to which they belong. The seemingly complex system of relationship, like the seemingly complex system of exogamy on which it is based, turns out to be simple enough when we view it from its starting-point in the bisection of a community into two exogamous classes.

The custom of group marriage still exists, or existed till lately, in some Australian tribes, though the inter-marrying groups are much smaller than the exogamous classes.

But in dealing with aboriginal Australian society we are not left to infer the former prevalence of group marriage from the classificatory system of relationship alone. We have seen that a practice of group marriage actually prevails, or prevailed till lately, among many Australian tribes, especially in the dreary regions about Lake Eyre, where nature may almost be said to have exhausted her ingenuity in making the country uninhabitable, and where accordingly the aborigines, fully occupied in maintaining a bare struggle for existence, enjoyed none of those material advantages which are essential to intellectual and social progress.<sup>1</sup> Naturally enough, therefore, the old custom of group

<sup>1</sup> As to existing, or lately existing, group marriage in Australia, see above, vol. i. pp. 308 *sqq.*, 363 *sqq.* As to the nature of the country about Lake

Eyre, see vol. i. pp. 341 *sq.* As to the necessity of material advantages for intellectual and social progress, see above, vol. i. pp. 167 *sqq.*, 314 *sqq.*

marriage has lingered longest amongst these most backward tribes, who have retained exogamy in its simplest and oldest form, that of the two-class system. But even among them the marriage groups are by no means coincident with the exogamous classes; they are far narrower in extent, they are a still closer approximation to the custom of individual marriage, that is, to the marriage of one man with one woman or with several women, which is now the ordinary form of sexual union in the Australian tribes. Thus the history of exogamy may be compared to a series of concentric rings placed successively one within the other, each of lesser circumference than its predecessor and each consequently circumscribing within narrower bounds the freedom of the individuals whom it encloses. The outermost ring includes all the women of the tribe; the innermost ring includes one woman only. The first ring represents promiscuity; the last ring represents monogamy.

In what precedes I have assumed that when a community first divided itself into two exogamous classes the children were assigned to the class of their mother, in other words, that descent was traced in the female line. One obvious reason for preferring female to male descent would be the certainty and the permanence of the blood relationship between a mother and her child compared with the uncertainty and frequently the impermanence of the social relationship between a man and the children of the woman with whom he cohabited; for in speaking of these early times we must always bear in mind that the physical relationship of a father to his children was not yet recognised, and that he was to them no more than their guardian and the consort of their mother. Another strong reason, which indeed flows as a consequence from the preceding reason, for preferring female to male descent in the original two-class system of exogamy was that the aversion to incest with a mother was probably much older and more deeply rooted than the aversion to incest with a daughter, and that, while a two-class system with female descent bars incest with a mother, a two-class system with male descent does not do so; for whereas a two-class system with female descent puts a mother and her son in the same

When exogamy was instituted, there were reasons for tracing descent of the exogamous classes in the female rather than in the male line.

exogamous class and thereby prevents their sexual union, a two-class system with male descent puts mother and son in different exogamous classes and therefore presents no barrier to their sexual union. For these reasons it seems probable that when exogamy was first instituted most people adopted maternal rather than paternal descent of the exogamous classes.

But with group marriage it is as easy to determine group fatherhood as it is to determine group motherhood; hence from the beginning of exogamy some tribes may have preferred to trace descent of exogamous classes in the male rather than in the female line.

But it need not necessarily have been so. I have already pointed out<sup>1</sup> that with group marriage it is as easy to trace group fatherhood as group motherhood, since the group of fathers is just as well known as the group of mothers, though the individual father may be unknown. It is therefore perfectly possible that in instituting exogamy some tribes from the beginning preferred to assign children to the group of their fathers instead of to the group of their mothers. Of course such an assignation would not imply any recognition of physical paternity, the nature and even existence of which were most probably quite unknown to the founders of exogamy. All that these primitive savages understood by a father of children was a man who cohabited with the children's mother and acted as guardian of the family. That cohabitation, whether occasional or prolonged, would be a fact as familiar, or nearly as familiar, to every member of the community as the fact of the woman's motherhood; and though nobody thought of connecting the cohabitation with the motherhood as cause and effect, yet the mere association of the man with the woman gave him an interest in her children, and the more prolonged the association, in other words, the more permanent the marriage, the greater would be the interest he would take in them. The children were obviously a part of the woman's body; and if from long possession he came to regard the woman as his property, he would naturally be led to regard her children as his property also. In fact, as I have already suggested,<sup>2</sup> we may conjecture that a man looked on his wife's children as his chattels long before he knew them to be his offspring. Thus in primitive society it is probable that fatherhood was viewed as a social, not a physical, relationship of a man to his children. But that

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. pp. 167, 248 *sq.*, 335 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 167.

social relationship may quite well have been considered a sufficient reason for assigning children to the class of the man who had the right of cohabiting with their mother rather than to the class of the mother herself. Hence we cannot safely assume that Australian communities, such as the Arunta and other Central tribes, who now transmit their exogamous classes in the paternal line, ever transmitted them in the maternal line.<sup>1</sup> So far as exogamy is concerned, father-kin may be as primitive as mother-kin.

To complete our view of Australian exogamy it only remains to indicate the relation of the exogamous classes to the totemic clans, and to shew how the exogamy of the clans came, under certain circumstances, to follow as a corollary from the exogamy of the classes, that is, primarily from the bisection of a community into two intermarrying groups. We have seen that among the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia, whose totemic, though not their exogamous, system appears to be the most primitive, the totemic clans are not exogamous, and the reason why they are not exogamous is that these tribes have retained the truly primitive mode of determining a person's totem, not by the totem of his father or mother, but by the accident of the place where his mother imagined that the infant's spirit had passed into her womb. Such a mode of determining the totem, if it is rigorously observed, clearly prevents the totems from being hereditary and therefore renders them useless for the purposes of exogamy; since with conceptional totemism of this sort you cannot prevent, for example, a brother from cohabiting with a sister or a mother from cohabiting with her son by laying down a rule that no man shall cohabit with a woman of the same totem. For with conceptional totemism it may happen, and often does happen, that the brother's totem is different from the sister's totem and the mother's totem different from the son's totem. In such cases, therefore, an

It remains to examine the relation of the exogamous classes to the totemic clans. In Central Australia the rule of exogamy was not applied to the totemic clans, because with conceptional totemism, such as prevails among these tribes, the application of the exogamous rule to the totems could not prevent the marriage of near kin.

<sup>1</sup> Professor E. Durkheim, indeed, has argued that in these Central tribes descent of the classes was traced in the female line before it was traced in the male line. See E. Durkheim, "Sur le totémisme," *L'Année sociologique*, v. (1902) pp. 98 *sqq.* But, as Messrs.

Spencer and Gillen pointed out (*Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 121, note<sup>1</sup>), his argument rests on a misapprehension of the facts, and collapses when that misapprehension is corrected.

exogamous rule which forbids cohabitation between men and women of the same totem would be powerless to prevent the incest of a brother with a sister, or the incest of a mother with her son. Accordingly the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia, as well as the Banks' Islanders, who have retained the primitive system of conceptional totemism, have logically and rightly never applied the rule of exogamy to their totemic clans, because they saw, what indeed was obvious, that its application to them would not effect the object which exogamy was instituted to effect, to wit, the prevention of the marriage of near kin. Thus the omission of these tribes to apply the rule of exogamy to their totemic clans, while they strictly applied it to the classes, not only indicates in the clearest manner the sharp distinction which we must draw between the exogamous classes and the totemic clans, but also furnishes a strong argument in favour of the view that exogamy was instituted for no other purpose than to prevent the marriage of near kin, since it was strictly applied to those social divisions which effected that purpose, and was not applied at all to those social divisions which could not possibly effect it.

In other Australian tribes it is possible that the totems had become hereditary before the introduction of exogamy, and if that were so the totemic clans would naturally become exogamous by being distributed among the exogamous classes.

From this it follows that amongst the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia exogamy was introduced before the totems had become hereditary. Was it so in the other Australian tribes? It is not necessary to suppose so. We may imagine that people took their totems regularly either from their father or their mother before the introduction of exogamy, that is, while persons of the same totem were still free to cohabit with each other. If, then, exogamy in its simplest form of a two-class system were instituted in a community which up to that time had consisted of a number of hereditary totemic, but not exogamous, clans, it is easy to see that the exogamy of the totemic clans would be a natural, though not a necessary, consequence. For an obvious way of drawing the new exogamous line through the community would be to divide up the hereditary totemic clans between the two exogamous classes, placing so many clans on one side of the line to form the one class, and so many clans on the other side of the line to form the other class. In this way, given the exogamy of the two

classes and the heredity of the totemic clans, the clans were henceforth exogamous; no man in future might marry a woman of his own clan or a woman of any clan in his own class; he might only marry a woman of one of the clans in the other class. Thus it is quite possible that in all the Australian tribes in which the totemic clans are now exogamous, they have been so from the very introduction of exogamy, though not of course before it.

On the other hand, the circumstance that many tribes in the secluded centre of the Australian continent have retained the primitive system of conceptional totemism along with the comparatively new custom of exogamy, suggests that everywhere in Australia the exogamous revolution may have been inaugurated in communities which in like manner had not yet advanced from conceptional to hereditary totemism. And there is the more reason to think so because, as we have already seen,<sup>1</sup> the tribes which lie somewhat further from the Centre and nearer to the sea are at the present day still in a state of transition from conceptional to hereditary totemism. Amongst them the theory which bridges over the gap between the two systems is that, while the mother is still supposed to conceive in the old way by the entrance of a spirit child into her, none but a spirit of the father's totem will dare to take up its abode in his wife. In this way the old conceptional theory of totemism is preserved and combined with the new principle of heredity: the child is still born in the ancient fashion, but it now invariably takes its father's totem. An analogous theory, it is obvious, might be invented to reconcile conceptional totemism with a rule that a child always takes its mother's totem rather than its father's. Thus given an original system of conceptional totemism, it is capable of developing, consistently with its principles, into hereditary totemism either with paternal or with maternal descent. But given an original system of hereditary totemism it seems impossible to explain in any probable manner how it could have developed into conceptional and non-hereditary totemism such as we find it among the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia. This is surely a very strong reason for regarding conceptional

But it may well have been that in all Australian tribes totemism was still in the conceptional, not the hereditary, stage at the time when exogamy was instituted; and there is the more reason to think so, because some tribes are still in a state of transition from conceptional to hereditary totemism.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 242-246.

totemism as primary or original and hereditary totemism as secondary or derivative.

Concep-  
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On the whole, then, I incline to believe that when exogamy was first instituted in Australia the natives were still divided into totemic clans like those of the Arunta in which the totems had not yet become hereditary ; that is, in which every person derived his totem from the accident of his mother's fancy when she first felt her womb quickened. The transition from this conceptional to hereditary totemism would then be gradual, not sudden. From habitually cohabiting with a certain woman a man would come to desire that the children to whom she gave birth and whom, though he did not know they were his offspring, he helped to guard and to feed, should have his totem and so should belong to his totemic clan. For that purpose he might easily put pressure on his wife, forbidding her to go near spots where she might conceive spirits of any totems but his own. If such feelings were general among the men of a tribe, a custom of inheriting the totem from the father might become first common and then universal ; when it was complete the transition from purely conceptional totemism to purely hereditary totemism in the male line would be complete also. On the other hand, if it was the mother who particularly desired that her children should take her totem and belong to her totemic clan, the transition from conceptional totemism to hereditary totemism in the female line would have been equally facile, indeed much more so ; for seeing that under the conceptional system a child's totem is always determined by the mother's fancy or, to be more exact, by her statement as to her fancy, it would be easy for her either to frequent places haunted by spirits of her own totem only in order to receive one of them into her womb, or at all events, if she were unscrupulous, to fib that she had done so, and in this way to satisfy the longing of her mother's heart by getting children of her own totem. That may perhaps be one, and not the least influential, cause why among primitive totemic tribes the totem oftener descends in the maternal than in the paternal line.

But in  
tribes  
which  
started

While exogamy in the form of group marriage may thus have started either with female or with male descent, in other words, either with mother-kin or with father-kin,

there are many causes which would tend in course of time to give a preference to male descent or father-kin over female descent or mother-kin. Amongst these causes the principal would probably be the gradual restriction of group marriage within narrower and narrower limits and with it the greater certainty of individual fatherhood; for it is to be remembered that although exogamy appears to have been instituted at a time when the nature of physical paternity was unknown, most tribes which still observe the institution are now, and probably have long been, acquainted with the part which the father plays in the begetting of offspring. Even in South-Eastern Australia, where, favoured by a fine climate and ample supplies of food, the aborigines had made the greatest material and intellectual progress, the fact of physical paternity was clearly recognised,<sup>1</sup> though it is still unknown to the ruder tribes of the Centre and the North. And with the knowledge of the blood tie which unites a man to his children, it is obvious that his wish to draw them closer to himself socially would also naturally be strengthened. Thus, whereas the system of father-kin, once established, is perfectly stable, being never exchanged for mother-kin, the system of mother-kin, on the other hand, is unstable, being constantly liable to be exchanged for father-kin. The chief agency in effecting the transition from mother-kin to father-kin would appear to have been a general increase in material prosperity bringing with it a large accession of private property to individuals. For it is when a man has much to bequeath to his heirs that he becomes sensible of the natural inequity, as it now appears to him, of a system of kinship which obliges him to transmit all his goods to his sisters' children and none to his own. Hence it is with the great development of private property that devices for shifting descent from the female to the male line most commonly originate. Amongst these devices are the practice of making presents to a man's own children in his lifetime, in order that when he dies there may be little or nothing to go to his sisters' children; the practice of buying his wife and with her the children from her family, so that henceforth the father is the owner as

with female descent or mother-kin there would in time be a tendency to prefer male descent or father-kin. For with the gradual restriction of group marriage individual fatherhood would become more and more certain; and with the growth of property men would desire more and more to transmit their belongings to their own children, rather than to their sisters' children, who are a man's heirs under a system of mother-kin. On the other hand, a tribe which started with father-kin would have no motive to exchange it for mother-kin.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 338, 439 *sq.*

well as the begetter of his offspring; and the practice of naming children into their father's clan instead of into their mother's. Examples of all these methods of shifting the line of descent from the female to the male line have come before us in the course of our survey,<sup>1</sup> and no doubt they might easily be multiplied. Hence, as I have already pointed out,<sup>2</sup> wherever we find a tribe wavering between female descent and male descent we may be sure that it is in the act of passing from mother-kin to father-kin, and not in the reverse direction, since there are many motives which induce men to exchange mother-kin for father-kin but none which induce them to exchange father-kin for mother-kin. If in Australia there is little or no evidence of a transition from maternal to paternal descent, the reason is probably to be found in the extreme poverty of the Australian aborigines, who, having hardly any property to bequeath to their heirs, were not very solicitous as to who their heirs should be.

Thus the whole marriage system of the Australian aborigines can be explained by two simple principles.

Thus the whole apparently intricate, obscure, and confused system of aboriginal Australian marriage and relationship can be readily and simply explained on the two principles of conceptional totemism and the division of a community into two exogamous classes for the sake of preventing the marriage of near kin. Given these two principles as starting-points, and granted that totemism preceded exogamy, we see that the apparent intricacy, obscurity, and confusion of the system vanish like clouds and are replaced by a clear, orderly, and logical evolution. On any other principles, so far as I can perceive, the attempt to explain Australian totemism and exogamy only darkens darkness and confounds confusion.

Will the same theory explain exogamy in other parts of the world? It is true

Having found, as it seems, an adequate explanation of the growth, though not of the ultimate origin, of exogamy in aboriginal Australia, we naturally ask whether a similar explanation can account for the growth of exogamy in all the other parts of the world where it is practised. The germ of the whole institution, if I am right, is the deliberate

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 71 *sq.*, vol. ii. p. 195, vol. iii. pp. 42, 72, 174 *sq.*, 308 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 71.

bisection of the whole community into two exogamous classes for the purpose of preventing the sexual unions of near kin. Accordingly on this hypothesis we should expect to find such a bisection or traces of it in all exogamous tribes. The facts, however, do not by any means altogether answer to that expectation. It is true that a division into two exogamous classes, in other words, a two-class system, exists commonly, though not universally, in Melanesia<sup>1</sup> and is found among some tribes of North American Indians, such as the Iroquois, the Tlingits, the Haidas, and the Kenais.<sup>2</sup> But the existence of two and only two exogamous divisions in a community is rare and exceptional. Usually we find not two exogamous classes but many exogamous clans, as appears to be the invariable rule among the numerous totemic peoples of India and Africa.<sup>3</sup> But is it not possible that in some communities these exogamous and totemic clans may once have been grouped in exogamous classes or phratries which afterwards disappeared, leaving behind them nothing but the exogamy of the totemic clans, in other words, the prohibition of marriage between men and women of the same totemic clans? This is not only possible; it appears to have actually happened in totemic communities widely separated from each other. Thus in the Western Islands of Torres Straits there is reason to think that the totemic clans were formerly grouped in two exogamous classes or phratries, but that the exogamy of the classes has been relaxed while the exogamy of the totemic clans has been retained.<sup>4</sup> Careful enquiry led Dr. Seligmann to the conclusion that the same thing has happened among the Mekeo people and the Wagawaga people of New Guinea.<sup>5</sup> In North America the very same change is known to have taken place among the Iroquois, as we learn from the high authority of L. H. Morgan, who lived among them for long and knew them intimately. Formerly, he says, the Iroquois were divided into two exogamous classes or phratries, each

that exogamy of the simple two-class type is found in few places; but there are reasons for thinking that it may formerly have been practised by many peoples, who now observe only exogamy of the totemic clans

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 69 *sqq.*, 118 *sqq.*, 127 *sq.*, 131 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 11 *sq.*, 265 *sq.*, 280 *sq.*, 364 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> However, in Africa the Gallas in the East and the Wepa people in the

West are reported to be divided into two exogamous classes, though not into totemic clans. See above, vol. ii. pp. 541, 590.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 5-7.

<sup>5</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 44 *sq.*,

comprising four totemic clans, and no one might marry a woman in any of the four clans of his own class or phratry without incurring the deepest detestation and disgrace. In process of time, however, he tells us, the rigour of the system was relaxed, until finally the prohibition of marriage was confined only to the totemic clan.<sup>1</sup> Again, precisely the same change is reported to have taken place among the Hurons or Wyandots. Our best authority on the tribe, Mr. W. E. Connolly, informs us that formerly the Wyandots were divided into two exogamous classes or phratries, one of which comprised four and the other seven totemic clans. In old times marriage was forbidden within the class or phratry as well as within the totem clan, for the clans grouped together in a class or phratry were regarded as brothers to each other, whereas they were only cousins to the clans of the other class or phratry. But at a later time the rule prohibiting marriage within the class was abolished and the prohibition was restricted to the totemic clan; in other words, the clan continued to be exogamous after the class had ceased to be so.<sup>2</sup> On the other side of America the same change would seem to have taken place among the Kenais of Alaska, though our information as to that tribe is not full and precise enough to allow us to speak with confidence.<sup>3</sup>

A strong motive for dropping the exogamy of the classes and retaining the exogamy of the clans is that the former is far more burdensome than the latter, since it imposes far greater restrictions on marriage.

These facts shew that in tribes which have two exogamous classes, each class comprising a number of totemic clans, there is a tendency for the exogamy of the class to be dropped and the exogamy of the clan to be retained. An obvious motive for such a change is to be found in the far heavier burden which the exogamous class imposes on those who submit to it. For where a community is divided into two exogamous classes every man is thereby forbidden to marry, roughly speaking, one half of all the women of the community. In small communities, and in savage society the community is generally small, such a rule must often make it very difficult for a man to obtain a wife at all; accordingly there would be a strong temptation to relax the burdensome exogamous rule of the class and to retain the

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 33 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 364 *sq.*

far easier exogamous rule of the clan. The relief afforded by such a relaxation would be immediate, and it would be all the greater in proportion to the number of the totemic clans. If there were, let us say, twenty totemic clans, then, instead of being excluded from marriage with ten of them by the severe rule of class exogamy, a man would now be excluded from marriage with only one of them by the mild rule of clan exogamy. The temptation thus offered to tribes hard put to it for wives must often have proved irresistible. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that many tribes besides the Western Islanders of Torres Straits, the Iroquois, and the Wyandots have tacitly or formally abolished the exogamy of the class, while they satisfied their scruples by continuing to observe the exogamy of the clan. In doing so they would exchange a heavy for a light matrimonial yoke.

The foregoing considerations suggest that everywhere the exogamy of the totemic clan may have been preceded by exogamy of the class or phratry, even where no trace of a two-class system has survived; in short, we may perhaps draw the conclusion that exogamy of the totemic clans is always exogamy in decay, since the restrictions which it imposes on marriage are far less sweeping than the restrictions imposed by the exogamy of the classes or phratries.

But there is another strong and quite independent reason for thinking that many tribes which now know only the exogamy of the totemic clans formerly distributed these totemic clans into two exogamous classes. We have seen that wherever the system of relationship of a totemic people has been ascertained, that system is classificatory, not descriptive, in its nature. To that rule there appears to be no exception. But, further, we have found that the classificatory system of relationship follows naturally and necessarily as a corollary from the system of group marriage created by the distribution of a community into two exogamous classes.<sup>1</sup> Hence we may infer with some degree of probability that, wherever the classificatory system now exists, a two-class system of exogamy existed before. If that is so, then exogamy would seem everywhere to have originated as in

Thus clan exogamy may everywhere have been preceded by class exogamy.

The existence of the classificatory system of relationship in all totemic peoples is another reason for inferring that their totemic clans were formerly distributed in two exogamous classes.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 114 *sqq.*

Australia by a deliberate bisection of the community into two exogamous classes for the purpose of preventing the marriage of near kin, especially the marriage of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons.

Thus exogamy may everywhere have originated in a bi-section of the community into two exogamous classes for the purpose of preventing the marriage of near kin.

An advantage of adopting this as a general solution of the whole problem of exogamy is that, like the solution of the problem of totemism which I have adopted, it enables us to understand how the institution is found so widely distributed over the globe without obliging us to assume either that it has been borrowed by one distant race from another, or that it has been transmitted by inheritance from the common ancestors of races so diverse and remote from each other as the Australian aborigines, the Dravidians of India, the negro and Bantu peoples of Africa, and the Indians of North America. Institutions so primitive and so widespread as totemism and exogamy are explained more easily and naturally by the hypothesis of independent origin in many places than by the hypothesis either of borrowing or of inheritance from *primaeval* ancestors. But to explain the wide diffusion of any such institution, with any appearance of probability, on the hypothesis of many separate origins, we must be able to point to certain simple general ideas which naturally suggest themselves to savage men, and we must be able to indicate some easy and obvious way in which these ideas might find expression in practice. A theory which requires us to assume that a highly complex process of evolution has been repeated independently by many races in many lands condemns itself at the outset. If a custom has sprung up independently in a multitude of savage tribes all over the globe, it is probable that it has originated in some idea which to the savage mind appears very simple and obvious. Such a simple idea we have found for totemism in the belief that women can be impregnated without the aid of the other sex by animals, plants, and other natural objects, which enter into them and are born from them with the nature of the animals, plants, or other natural objects, though with the illusory appearance of human beings. Such a simple idea we have found for exogamy in the dislike of the cohabitation of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons, and we have seen

how this dislike might easily find expression in the distribution of a community into two exogamous classes with female descent, which effectually prevents all such cohabitations. The hypothesis has at least the merit of simplicity which, as I have just said, is indispensable to any theory which professes to explain the independent origin in many places of a widespread institution.

At the same time it is possible to push the theory of independent origins too far. Within certain limits it seems probable that exogamy has spread from one tribe to another by simple borrowing. This may well have happened, for example, among the Australian aborigines, who for the most part live in friendly communication with each other and readily pass on their simple inventions to their neighbours. Indeed we know that changes in the exogamous classes have been spreading for some time from one Australian tribe to another ;<sup>1</sup> there is therefore no improbability, indeed there is great probability, in the view that the plan of bisecting a community into two exogamous classes may have originated in a few Australian tribes, possibly in one tribe only, and may have been passed on by the inventors to their neighbours till it spread by diffusion over the whole continent. And in other parts of the world we may suppose that the same thing has happened within certain ethnical and geographical boundaries. In short, it appears likely that exogamy, in the form of the two-class system, has sprung up independently at a number of points in widely separated areas, such as the different continents, and that from these points as centres it has been diffused in gradually widening circles among neighbouring peoples.

But if exogamy has been instituted in other parts of the world to serve the same purpose that it appears to have served in Australia, we must conclude that it has everywhere been originally a system of group marriage devised for the sake of superseding a previous state of sexual promiscuity, which had for some time been falling into general disrepute before a few of the abler men hit upon an expedient for abolishing it or rather for restraining it within certain limits. Such a state of absolute sexual promiscuity, we must

Exogamy may have arisen independently at several distant points and spread by diffusion through neighbouring peoples.

Exogamy was a system of group marriage devised to supersede a previous state of sexual promiscuity. But the state of

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 283.

promiscuity is a matter of inference only; there is no good evidence that it has ever been practised by any race of men within historical times.

Group marriage among the Chuckchees and Herero.

remember, is a matter of inference, not of observation. There is no good evidence, so far as I am aware, that it has ever been practised by any race of men within historical times; and if it ever existed, as we have reason to think that it did, the moral and social conditions which it implies are so low that it could not reasonably be expected to have survived at the present day even among the lowest of existing savages. The numerous statements which have been made as to a total absence of restrictions on the intercourse of the sexes in certain races seem all to be loose, vague, and based on imperfect knowledge or on hearsay; certainly not one of them has ever borne the scrutiny of a thorough scientific investigation.<sup>1</sup> Even group marriage, which appears from exogamy and the classificatory system of relationship to have succeeded promiscuity as the next stage of progress, has left few traces of itself anywhere but in Australia, where in a restricted form it has been practised by a number of tribes down to modern times. In our survey of totemism we have indeed met with what has been described by competent and independent observers as regular systems of group marriage among the Chuckchees of North-East Asia and the Herero of South-West Africa.<sup>2</sup> But such cases are too isolated to allow us to lay much stress on them. They may spring from purely local and temporary circumstances rather than from such general and permanent causes as would alone suffice to explain the prevalence of group marriage over the vast area now occupied by the exogamous and classificatory peoples.

<sup>1</sup> On this subject I agree with L. H. Morgan, who says (*Ancient Society*, p. 502): "It is not probable that any people within the time of recorded human observation have lived in a state of promiscuous intercourse like the gregarious animals. The perpetuation of such a people from the infancy of mankind would evidently have been impossible. The cases cited, and many others that might be added, are better explained as arising under the punaluan family, which, to the foreign observer, with limited means of observation, would afford the external indications named by these authors. Pro-

miscuity may be deduced theoretically as a necessary condition antecedent to the consanguine family; but it lies concealed in the misty antiquity of mankind beyond the reach of positive knowledge." By "the punaluan family" Morgan means a form of group marriage which was practised in Hawaii. The unsatisfactory nature of the evidence adduced for a practice of sexual promiscuity within historical times has been rightly shewn by Dr. E. Westermarck (*History of Human Marriage*, pp. 51 *sqq.*).

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 348 *sqq.*, 366 *sq.*

Again, very great laxity in the relations of the sexes, combined with either polyandry or something like group marriage, is known to exist among the Todas of India and the Masai and the Bahima of Africa.<sup>1</sup> But it is a singular fact that these three tribes are, or were till lately, purely pastoral, devoting themselves entirely to the care of their cattle and subsisting on their products. This suggests, as I have already indicated,<sup>2</sup> that there is something in the pastoral life that affects the relations of the sexes in a peculiar way which we do not clearly understand; for though the limitation which that mode of life necessarily imposes on the means of subsistence might naturally lead to polyandry as a device for keeping down the population, it would hardly explain the general relaxation of sexual morality which characterises these tribes. In these circumstances we cannot safely draw any general inferences as to group marriage from the practice of the Todas, the Masai, and the Bahima. Again, apparent traces of sexual communism survive in the licentious customs of various peoples,<sup>3</sup> but these also are too few and too isolated to allow us to give much weight to them as evidence of a former general practice of group marriage.

But there are two customs of wide prevalence throughout the world which separately and in conjunction may perhaps be explained on the hypothesis that they are relics of group marriage and in particular of that form of group marriage which L. H. Morgan called the punaluan, to wit, the union of a group of husbands who are brothers with a group of wives who are sisters. The first of these customs is the world-wide rule which allows or requires a man to marry the widow of his deceased elder brother; the other is the rule which allows or requires a man to marry the younger sisters either of his living or of his deceased wife. Or, to put the same customs from the point of view of the woman, we may say that the former custom allows or requires her to marry her deceased husband's brother, and that the latter custom allows or requires her to marry the husband either of her

Loose sexual relations in some pastoral tribes of India and Africa.

Traces of sexual communism in licentious customs.

Relics of group marriage are perhaps to be found in the two customs of the levirate and the sororate, that is, in the customs of marrying a deceased husband's brother and a living or deceased wife's sister.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 256, 265, 415 *sq.*, 538 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 129, 145 *sq.*, 403, 602 *sq.*, 638 *sq.*, iii. 472.

<sup>2</sup> Above, vol. ii. p. 539.

living or of her deceased sister. The former custom has long been known under the name of the *levirate*, from the Latin *levir*, "a husband's brother"; the latter custom, which has received very little attention, has no distinctive name, but on analogy I propose to call it the *sororate*, from the Latin *soror*, "a sister." The two customs are in fact correlative; they present in all probability two sides of one original custom, and it is convenient to give them corresponding names.

The custom of the sororate, that is, the right to marry a wife's younger sisters either in her lifetime or after her death, is observed by many tribes of North American Indians.

The practice of the *levirate*, or the custom which gives a younger brother the right of marrying his deceased elder brother's widow, is so familiar and has been so fully exemplified in the preceding volumes of this work<sup>1</sup> that it would be superfluous to dwell upon it here. But the correlative practice of the *sororate*, or the custom which gives a man the right of marrying his wife's younger sisters either in her lifetime or after her death, has been so little noticed that it may be well not only to recall some of the instances of it which we have already met with, but to illustrate it with some fresh examples for the sake of shewing the wide prevalence of the custom and its importance in the history of marriage. Its significance in this respect was first pointed out by L. H. Morgan, whose attention was pointedly drawn to it by finding it observed in about forty tribes of North American Indians.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly we

<sup>1</sup> See the references in the Index, *s.v.* "Levirate."

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 432: "One custom may be cited of unmistakable punaluan origin, which is still recognized in at least forty North American Indian tribes. Where a man married the eldest daughter of a family he became entitled by custom to all her sisters as wives when they attained the marriageable age. It was a right seldom enforced, from the difficulty, on the part of the individual, of maintaining several families, although polygamy was recognized universally as a privilege of the males. We find in this the remains of the custom of *punalua* among their remote ancestors. Undoubtedly there was a time among them when own sisters went into the

marriage relation on the basis of their sisterhood; the husband of one being the husband of all, but not the only husband, for other males were joint husbands with him in the group. After the punaluan family fell out, the right remained with the husband of the eldest sister to become the husband of all her sisters if he chose to claim it. It may with reason be regarded as a genuine survival of the ancient punaluan custom." The term punaluan, which Morgan applied to a certain form of group marriage, is derived from the Hawaiian word *pūnalūa*, signifying a marriage relationship, which is defined as follows in a letter written to L. H. Morgan in 1860 by Judge Lorin Andrews of Honolulu: "The relationship of *pūnalūa* is rather amphibious. It arose

shall begin with examples of the custom drawn from these tribes.

A writer of the eighteenth century, speaking of the Indians in the neighbourhood of the great lakes, says: "It is not uncommon for an Indian to marry two sisters; sometimes, if there happen to be more, the whole number; and notwithstanding this (as it appears to civilized nations) unnatural union, they all live in the greatest harmony."<sup>1</sup>

Examples of the sororate among the Indian tribes of North America.

Another writer, referring to the Indians of the south-western deserts, observes that "in general, when an Indian wishes to have many wives he chooses above all others, if he can, sisters, because he thinks he can thus secure more domestic peace."<sup>2</sup> The general practice, as defined by L. H. Morgan, is that "when a man marries the eldest daughter he becomes, by that act, entitled to each and all of her sisters as wives when they severally attain the marriageable age. The option rests with him, and he may enforce the claim, or yield it to another."<sup>3</sup>

That the custom prevailed especially among the Indians of the great plains or prairies we learn from a well-informed writer, who says that "with the plains tribes, and perhaps with others, the man who marries the eldest of several daughters has prior claim upon her unmarried sisters."<sup>4</sup> Thus among the Osages "polygamy is usual; for it is a custom that, when a savage asks a girl in marriage and gets her to wife, not only she but all her sisters belong to him and are regarded as his wives. It is a great glory among them to have several."<sup>5</sup> As to the Potawattamies we are informed that "it was usual for them, when an Indian married one of several sisters, to consider him as wedded to all; and it became incumbent upon him to take them all as wives. The marrying of a brother's

The sororate among the Indians of the great prairies.

from the fact that two or more brothers with their wives, or two or more sisters with their husbands, were inclined to possess each other in common; but the modern use of the word is that of *dear friend, or intimate companion.*" See L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 427.

<sup>1</sup> J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, Third Edition (London, 1781), p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> E. Domenech, *Seven Years' Resid-*

*ence in the Great Deserts of North America* (London, 1860), ii. 306.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 477 sq.

<sup>4</sup> J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) p. 491.

<sup>5</sup> *Annales de l'Association de la propagation de la Foi*, No. v. (Mars, 1825) (Second Edition, Lyons and Paris, 1829) p. 56.

widow was not interdicted, but was always looked upon as a very improper connexion."<sup>1</sup> It is curious thus to find in the same tribe the sororate obligatory and the levirate discountenanced, though not forbidden. More usually the two correlative customs are equally observed by the same people. This, for instance, is true of the Blackfeet Indians, amongst whom all the younger sisters of a man's wife were regarded as his wives, if he chose to take them; and when a man died his eldest brother had the right to marry the widow or widows.<sup>2</sup> Similarly among the Kansas all a wife's sisters were destined to be her husband's wives, and when a man died his eldest brother took the widow to wife without any ceremony, removing her and her children, whom he regarded as his own, to his house.<sup>3</sup> So with the Minnetarees or Hidatsas, a man who marries the eldest of several sisters has a claim to the others as they grow up, and he generally marries them; further, a man usually takes to wife the widow of his deceased brother.<sup>4</sup> So too with the Apaches, a man will marry his wife's younger sisters as fast as they grow up, and he likewise weds the widow of his deceased brother.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Mandans, when a man married an eldest daughter he had a right to all her sisters;<sup>6</sup> and similarly amongst the Crows, if a man married the eldest daughter of a family he had a right to marry all her younger sisters when they grew up, even in the lifetime of his first wife, their eldest sister.<sup>7</sup> The customs of the Arapahoes in this respect are especially worthy of attention. Amongst them "a wife's next younger sister, if of marriageable age, is sometimes given to her husband if his brother-in-law likes him. Sometimes the husband asks and pays for his wife's younger sister. This may be done several times if she has several sisters. If his wife has no sister, a cousin (also called 'sister') is sometimes given to him. When a woman

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Keating, *Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (London, 1825), i. III.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 85. By "the eldest brother" is probably meant only the eldest surviving brother, not the first-born of all the brothers. For the usual rule is that only a younger brother may marry his deceased brother's

widow.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 127. As to the "eldest brother," see the preceding note.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 246.

<sup>6</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 136.

<sup>7</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 154.

dies, her husband marries her sister. When a man dies, his brother sometimes marries his wife. He is expected to do so."<sup>1</sup> In this tribe, although apparently a man can no longer claim his wife's younger sisters as a right in his wife's lifetime, on the other hand he seems regularly to marry his deceased wife's sister, just as he is expected to marry his deceased brother's widow. The two customs are strictly analogous. And just as the custom of marrying a deceased wife's sister is doubtless derived from the custom of marrying her other sisters in her lifetime, so by analogy we may reasonably infer that the custom of marrying a deceased brother's wife is derived from an older custom of sharing a brother's wives in the brother's lifetime. But to this point we shall return presently.

The custom of the sororate is by no means confined to the Indians of the great prairies. Perhaps the rudest of all the Indian tribes of North America were the aborigines of the Californian Peninsula, and among them, "before they were baptized, each man took as many wives as he liked, and if there were several sisters in a family he married them all together."<sup>2</sup> Further to the north, at Monterey in California, it was likewise the custom for a man to marry all the sisters of one family.<sup>3</sup> Still further to the north, among the Maidus, another Californian tribe, a man had a

The sororate among the Indians of California and Oregon.

<sup>1</sup> A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, p. 14 (*Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xviii. Part i. New York, 1902).

<sup>2</sup> J. Baegert, "An Account of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Californian Peninsula," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year 1863*, p. 368. This J. Baegert was a German Jesuit missionary who lived among these savages for seventeen years during the second half of the eighteenth century. Some passages from his account (*l.c.*) of their marriage customs may be quoted: "The son-in-law was not allowed, for some time, to look into the face of his mother-in-law or his wife's next female relations, but had to step aside, or to hide himself, when these women were present. Yet they did not pay much attention to consanguinity, and only a few years

since, one of them counted his own daughter (as he believed) among the number of his wives. . . . They lived, in fact, before the establishment of the mission in their country, in utter licentiousness, and adultery was daily committed by every one without shame and without any fear, the feeling of jealousy being unknown to them. Neighbouring tribes visited each other very often only for the purpose of spending some days in open debauchery, and during such times a general prostitution prevailed." It is interesting to find the avoidance of a wife's mother, with its implied disapprobation of incest, practised among savages whose sexual relations in general seem to have been very loose.

<sup>3</sup> La Pérouse, *Voyage*, ii. 303, quoted by H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 388, note <sup>121</sup>.

right to marry his wife's sisters, and, very significantly, if he did not exercise his right, it passed to his brother. Moreover, it was usual for him to marry the widow of his deceased brother.<sup>1</sup> Passing still further northwards we come to the tribes of Oregon, the Flatheads, Nez Percés, Spokans, Walla-wallas, Cayuse, and Waskows, and "with all of them, marrying the eldest daughter entitles a man to the rest of the family, as they grow up. If a wife dies, her sister or some of the connexion, if younger than the deceased, is regarded as destined to marry him. Cases occur in which, upon the death of a wife (after the period of mourning . . . expires), her younger sister, though the wife of another man, is claimed, and she deserts her husband and goes to the disconsolate widower. The right of a man is recognised, to put away his wife, and take a new one, even the sister of the discarded one, if he thinks proper. The parents do not seem to object to a man's turning off one sister, and taking a younger one—the lordly prerogative, as imperious as that of a sultan, being a custom handed down from time immemorial."<sup>2</sup> The right to marry a wife's sister must indeed be a strong one when it is thus able to supersede the existing right of the husband in possession. Further, we see that among these Indians of Oregon the right to marry a deceased wife's sister is merely a consequence of the right to marry the sisters in the wife's lifetime. Similarly, still further to the north, among the Crees or Knisteneaux, "when a man loses his wife, it is considered as a duty to marry her sister, if she has one; or he may, if he pleases, have them both at the same time."<sup>3</sup> And amongst the Northern Tinnehs, who border on the Eskimo in the far north, men make no scruple of having two or three sisters for wives at one time.<sup>4</sup> Similarly among the Kaviaks of Alaska "incest is not uncommon, and two or three wives, often sisters, are taken by those who can afford to support them."<sup>5</sup> Far away from those icy regions the Caribs

The sororate among the Crees, the Northern Tinnehs, and the Kaviaks.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 498.

<sup>2</sup> Major B. Alvord, "Concerning the Manners and Customs, the Superstitions, etc., of the Indians of Oregon," in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 654 sq.

<sup>3</sup> A. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America* (London, 1801), pp. xcvi. sq.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 354.

<sup>5</sup> W. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (London, 1870), p. 138.

practised similar marriage customs under tropical suns. "Very often," we are told, "the same man will take to wife three or four sisters, who will be his cousins-german or his nieces. They maintain that having been brought up together the women will love each other the more, will live in a better understanding, will help each other more readily, and, what is most advantageous for him, will serve him better."<sup>1</sup> Again, among the few cases of polygamy which Sir R. Schomburgk found among the Macusis of British Guiana was one of an Indian who had three sisters to wife.<sup>2</sup>

The sororate among the Caribs and Macusis.

Similar customs are observed in other parts of the world. Thus in Africa among the Zulus a man often marries two sisters, and it is the ordinary practice for him to wed his deceased brother's wife.<sup>3</sup> Among the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo a man has the right to marry all his wife's younger sisters as they come of age; they may not be given in marriage to any one until he has declined their hands.<sup>4</sup> Among the Basoga it was customary for a wife to induce her sister or sisters to come and live with her and become wives of her husband.<sup>5</sup> Among the Banyoro there are no restrictions on marriage with several sisters; a man may marry two or more sisters at the same time. Moreover, if his wife dies, he expects her parents to furnish him with one of her sisters to replace the dead wife. Also if his wife proves barren, he may demand one of her sisters in marriage.<sup>6</sup> Thus, like some Indian tribes of North America, the Banyoro practise marriage with the sister both of a living and of a deceased wife. In Madagascar it is said to be customary for a man to receive, along with his wife, her younger sisters in marriage.<sup>7</sup>

The sororate in Africa and Madagascar.

In Southern India a Kuruba man may marry two sisters, either on the death of one of them, or if the first wife is barren or suffers from an incurable disease.<sup>8</sup> Among the Medaras of the Madras Presidency a man often marries two

The sororate in India.

<sup>1</sup> Labat, *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique*, Nouvelle édition (Paris, 1742), ii. 77 sq.

<sup>2</sup> R. Schomburgk (Leipsic, 1847-1848), *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, ii. 318.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 384.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 451.

<sup>5</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 461.

<sup>6</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 522. Compare vol. ii. pp. 453 and 463 as to the Bageshu and Bateso.

<sup>7</sup> Th. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, ii. 438.

<sup>8</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 245.

sisters if one of them is sickly, and marriage with a deceased wife's sister is regarded with especial favour.<sup>1</sup> Again a Bestha man may wed two sisters, but the custom is not recommended, and he is positively forbidden to marry his deceased brother's widow.<sup>2</sup> Among the Saoras of Madras it is said to be common for a man to marry his wife's sister, and the two sisters so married live together till a child is born, after which they must separate. The Saoras also practise the levirate in its usual form—that is, a younger brother generally marries the widow of his deceased elder brother; if he is too young for marriage, the widow waits for him till he is grown up.<sup>3</sup> Among the inhabitants of the hills near Rajamahall a man may marry his wife's sisters, and he may take to wife the widow of his deceased elder brother.<sup>4</sup> Among the Garos of Assam polygamy is allowed and a man may marry two sisters, but in that case he must marry the elder before the younger.<sup>5</sup>

The sororate in Australia, Oceania, and Asia.

Some tribes of Queensland and North-West Australia allow a man to marry two or more sisters.<sup>6</sup> In Samoa "it was a common practice in the olden days for a woman to take her sister or sisters with her, and these were practically the concubines of the husband."<sup>7</sup> In the Mortlock Islands custom assigned to a husband, along with his wife, all her free sisters, but only chiefs availed themselves of the privilege.<sup>8</sup> Among the Fijians a man was not allowed to pick and choose in a family of sisters; if he married one of them he was bound in honour to marry them all.<sup>9</sup> Among the Rodes, a savage tribe of hunters in the mountains of Cambodia, polygamy is in vogue, and a man who has married the eldest daughter of a family has an acknowledged

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> F. Fawcett, "On the Saoras (or Savaras), an Aboriginal Hill People of the Eastern Ghats of the Madras Presidency," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, i. (1886) pp. 231, 234 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Lieutenant Thomas Shaw, "The Inhabitants of the Hills near Rajamahall," *Asiatic Researches*, Fourth Edition, iv. (London, 1807) pp. 59, 60.

<sup>5</sup> Major A. Playfair, *The Garos* (London, 1909), p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 572, 577 n<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Rev. George Brown, D.D., *Melanesians and Polynesians, their Life Histories Illustrated and Compared*, p. 116 (type-written copy).

<sup>8</sup> J. Kubary, "Die Bewohner der Mortlock-Inseln," *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg*, 1878-79, p. 37 (separate reprint).

<sup>9</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 143.

right to marry all her younger sisters ; they may not wed anybody else without his consent.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, among the Kamtchatkans a man often marries two sisters either at the same time or one after the death of the other ; and when a husband dies, his surviving brother marries the widow, whether he already has a wife or not.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the custom which allows a man the right of marrying his wife's younger sisters in her lifetime appears to be very widespread, and often it is supplemented by a permission to marry them after her death. But among some peoples, though a husband is allowed or even obliged to marry his wife's sisters, one after the other, when she is dead, he is no longer permitted to marry them during her lifetime. Thus amongst the Koryaks of North-Eastern Asia a man may not marry the sister of his living wife, but he is obliged to marry his deceased wife's younger sister, though he is forbidden to marry her elder sister. Similarly, a Koryak widow is bound to marry her deceased husband's younger brother, but is forbidden to marry his elder brother.<sup>3</sup> So among the Ramaiyas, a pedlar class of North-Western India, a man may not have two sisters to wife at the same time, but there is no rule against his marrying his deceased wife's younger sister.<sup>4</sup> In like manner among the Oswals, a trading class of the same region, a man is forbidden to marry his deceased wife's elder sister, but allowed to marry her younger sister.<sup>5</sup> The Cheremiss of Russia will not marry two sisters at the same time, but they are pleased to marry one after the other.<sup>6</sup> Among the Battas of Sumatra, if a wife dies childless, her husband has the right to marry her sisters successively, one after the other, without having to pay another bride-price for them to the parents ; if the parents refuse their consent to the new marriage, the widower may demand the restitution of the price he paid for his first wife.<sup>7</sup> In the island of Engano a widower

In some tribes the sororate is only practised after the death of the first wife ; that is, a man may marry the sister of his deceased, but not of his living, wife.

<sup>1</sup> J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge* (Paris, 1883), i. 426, 427, 428.

<sup>2</sup> G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka* (Frankfort and Leipsic, 1774), p. 347.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 352.

<sup>4</sup> W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of*

*the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iv. 224.

<sup>5</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* iv. 99.

<sup>6</sup> J. G. Georgi, *Beschreibung aller Nationen des russischen Reichs* (St. Petersburg, 1776-1780), i. 31.

<sup>7</sup> C. J. Temminck, *Coup d'œil général sur les possessions néerland.*

usually marries his deceased wife's sister ; but if he fails to do so, we are told, he has not to pay a fine for culpable negligence.<sup>1</sup> In the Louisiade Archipelago, to the east of New Guinea, when a woman dies her husband may take her unmarried sister to wife without any fresh payment, and she may not refuse him. But if he does not care to marry her, and she marries somebody else, her husband must pay the bride-price to her dead sister's husband instead of to her own people. Yet though a man may, and indeed should, marry his deceased wife's sister, he ought not to approach her closely or hold prolonged conversation with her during his wife's lifetime, nor should he speak to her alone in the forest ; if he does so, she might tell her sister, his wife, who would thereupon think she had cause for jealousy, and a domestic quarrel might be the result. In this case the ceremonial avoidance of the wife's sister in the lifetime of the wife is clearly a precaution to prevent an improper intimacy between the two. Further, in the Louisiades the correlative custom of the levirate is also in vogue ; that is, a man has the right to marry his deceased brother's widow, after she has completed her term of mourning.<sup>2</sup> Among the Wabemba, a tribe on the western shore of Lake Tanganyika in Africa, when a man's wife dies he has the right to marry her younger sister, if she is still unmarried. But if all his deceased wife's sisters are married, the widower sends a present to the husband of his late wife's younger sister, and the woman is ceded to him by her husband for a single day ; so strong is the claim of the widower on his deceased wife's sisters. The Wabemba practise the levirate as well as the sororate ; when a man dies his oldest brother marries the widow.<sup>3</sup> Among the Iroquois a man was bound to marry his deceased wife's sister or, in default of a sister, such other woman as the family of his deceased wife might provide for him. If he failed to do his duty by

Avoidance  
of wife's  
sister in  
wife's  
lifetime.

*aises dans l'Inde Archipelagique* (Leyden, 1847), ii. 55.

<sup>1</sup> J. Winkler, "Bericht über die zweite Untersuchungsreise nach der Insel Engano," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, L (1908), p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 738 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 630. By "oldest brother" is probably meant the eldest surviving brother. See above, p. 142 n<sup>2</sup>.

marrying her, he exposed himself to the fluent invective of the injured woman. In like manner, when his brother died, an Iroquois man had no choice but to marry the widow.<sup>1</sup> Among the Omahas a man sometimes marries his deceased wife's sister in obedience to the express wish of his dying wife; and a brother is as usual yoked in matrimony to his deceased brother's widow.<sup>2</sup> Among the Biloxi a man might marry his deceased wife's sister, and a woman might marry her deceased husband's brother, but it is not said that as among the Iroquois such marriages were obligatory.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, among the Pima Indians it was customary for a widower to wed his deceased wife's sister.<sup>4</sup>

Many more cases of the same sort might no doubt be collected, but the preceding instances suffice to prove that in the opinion of many peoples a man has a natural right, sometimes amounting to an obligation, to marry all his wife's younger sisters either in his wife's lifetime or after her decease. Among some tribes the right is exercised both during the life and after the death of the first wife; among other tribes it is exercised only after her death, but in these cases we can hardly doubt that the restriction is a comparatively late modification of an older custom which allowed a man to marry the sisters of his living as well as of his deceased wife. But if the sororate, limited to the right of marrying a deceased wife's sister, is almost certainly derived from an older right of marrying a living wife's sister, it becomes highly probable that the world-wide custom of the levirate, which requires a woman to marry her deceased husband's brother, is in like manner derived from an older right of marrying her living husband's brother; and as the two customs of the sororate and the levirate are commonly practised by the same peoples we seem to be justified in concluding that they are two sides of a single ancient institution, to wit, a practice of group-marriage in which a group of brothers married a group of sisters and held their wives in common. Among the Central Australian tribes it still happens not infrequently

Taken together, the customs of the levirate and the sororate point to a former custom of group-marriage, in accordance with which a group of brothers married a group of sisters and held their wives in common.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> Frank Russel, "The Pima Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), p. 184.

that the sisters of one family are all married to the brothers of another family ;<sup>1</sup> and although this is not group-marriage, since each brother has only one sister to wife, it may well be a relic of an older custom in which a group of husbands, who were brothers, held in common a group of wives, who were sisters. In point of fact group-marriage of this sort still occurs among the Todas of Southern India, whose marriage customs, as we have seen,<sup>2</sup> are very primitive. "Their practice is this: all brothers of one family, be they many or few, live in mixed and incestuous cohabitation with one or more wives. If there be four or five brothers, and one of them, being old enough, gets married, his wife claims all the other brothers as her husbands, and as they successively attain manhood, she consorts with them ; or if the wife has one or more younger sisters, they in turn, on attaining a marriageable age, become the wives of their sister's husband or husbands, and thus in a family of several brothers, there may be, according to circumstances, only one wife for them all, or many ; but, one or more, they all live under one roof, and cohabit promiscuously, just as fancy or taste inclines. Owing, however, to the great scarcity of women in this tribe, it more frequently happens that a single woman is wife to several husbands, sometimes as many as six."<sup>3</sup> But while the customs of the levirate and the sororate thus appear to be correlative, both together testifying to an ancient and widespread custom of group-marriage which has for the most part passed away, they have in practice diverged somewhat from each other at the present time, the levirate only operating after the death of the first husband, the sororate operating both during the life and after the death of the first wife. The reason of the divergence may be, as I have already suggested,<sup>4</sup> the greater strength of jealousy in men than in women which prompted men to refuse to share their wives with their brothers, while women were, and are

While the levirate and the sororate are correlative customs, they have diverged from each other in practice.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 559: "Not infrequently a woman's daughters will be allotted to brothers, the elder brother taking the elder daughter, the second brother the second daughter, and so on."

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 256, 264 sq.

<sup>3</sup> J. Shortt, M.D., "An Account of the Hill Tribes of the Neilgherries," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vii. (1869) p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii. p. 144.

still often, quite willing to share their husbands with their sisters.

On these grounds, therefore, it appears to be a reasonable hypothesis that at least a large part of mankind has passed through the stage of group-marriage in its progress upward from a still lower stage of sexual promiscuity to a higher stage of monogamy. Apart from the customs to which I have just called attention and the traces of a wider freedom formerly accorded to the sexes in their relations with each other, the two great landmarks of group-marriage are exogamy and the classificatory system of relationship, which, as I have attempted to shew, are inseparably united and must stand or fall together as evidence of an ancient system of communal marriage.

But exogamy and the classificatory system of relationship are, roughly speaking, confined to the lower races of mankind: they form a clear and trenchant line between savagery and civilisation.<sup>1</sup> Almost the only civilised race which, so to say, stands astride this great border-line are the Aryan Hindoos, who possess the system of exogamy without the classificatory system of relationship.<sup>2</sup> Whether they have

Thus a large part of mankind appears to have passed through the stages of sexual promiscuity and group-marriage.

There is no clear evidence that the great civilised races, the Aryans and the Semites,

<sup>1</sup> Compare L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 470: "When it is considered that the domestic relationships of the entire human family, so far as the latter is represented in the Tables, fall under the descriptive or the classificatory form, and that they are the reverse of each other in their fundamental conceptions, it furnishes a significant separation of the families of mankind into two great divisions. Upon one side are the Aryan, Semitic and Uralian, and upon the other the Ganowanian, the Turanian and the Malayan, which gives nearly the line of demarcation between the civilized and uncivilized nations. Although both forms are older than civilization, it tends to show that the family, as now constituted, and which grew out of the development of a knowledge of property, of its uses, and of its transmission by inheritance, lies at the foundation of the first civilization of mankind."

<sup>2</sup> To them may perhaps be added the

Singhalese who, speaking a language which appears to be Aryan, nevertheless possess the classificatory system of relationship. But the Singhalese appear not to be Aryans by blood. See above, vol. ii. pp. 333-335. Further, the Albanians are said to be exogamous. See Miss M. E. Durham, reported in *The Athenaeum*, No. 4297, 5th March 1910, p. 283: "High Albania is the only spot in Europe in which the tribal system exists intact. The tribes occupy the mountain land which forms the north-west corner of Turkey in Europe. They are exogamous, but male blood only counts. Each tribe is ruled by a council of elders, by ancient laws handed down by oral tradition, which are strictly enforced. . . . Among other very ancient customs, the Levirate is still practised, even by many of the Roman Catholic tribes. Blood revenge is extremely prevalent. . . . Communal families of as many as forty members live together in one room, ruled by the house lord, who has often power

have as a whole practised exogamy and counted kinship according to the classificatory system of relationship; hence it is not necessary to suppose that they have passed through the stages of sexual promiscuity and group-marriage.

inherited exogamy from the common ancestors of the whole Aryan family or have borrowed it from the dark-skinned aborigines of India, with whom they have been in contact for thousands of years, is a question of the highest interest not merely for the history of the Aryans in particular, but for the history of human marriage in general; since if it could be made probable that the whole Aryan family had once passed through the stage of exogamy, with its natural accompaniment the classificatory system of relationship, it would become difficult to resist the conclusion that exogamy, with all its implications of group-marriage and a preceding custom of sexual promiscuity, had once been universal among mankind. But in the absence of proof that the Semites and the Aryans in general ever practised exogamy and counted kinship on the classificatory system we are not justified in concluding that these institutions have at one time been common to the whole human race. Nor, apart from the want of direct evidence, does there appear to be any reason in the nature of things why these institutions should be necessary stages in the social evolution of every people. The object of exogamy, as I have attempted to shew, was to prevent the marriage of near kin, especially the marriage of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons; and it seems perfectly possible that some peoples may have achieved this object directly by a simple prohibition of consanguineous marriages without resorting to that expedient of dividing the whole community into two intermarrying classes, from which the vast and cumbrous system of exogamy and the classificatory relationships grew by a logical development. The history of exogamy is the history first of a growing and afterwards of a decaying scrupulosity as to the marriage of near kin. With every fresh scruple a fresh bar was erected between the sexes, till the barriers reach their greatest known height in the eight-class system of the Australian aborigines, which practically shuts the door for every man upon seven-eighths of the women of the community. Whether any tribes ever carried their scruples still further and reduced within even narrower limits the

The rise and decay of exogamy.

of life and death over his subjects. Marriage is always by purchase, save for an occasional forcible capture. Children are betrothed in infancy."

number of a man's possible wives is not known; and if there ever were such tribes they probably perished either from the mere difficulty of propagating their kind under these too elaborate restrictions, or because their ever-dwindling numbers could not resist the pressure of less scrupulous and faster breeding neighbours. Having reached its culminating point in bloated systems of eight classes and the like, exogamy begins to decline. The exogamy of the classes was the first to go, leaving behind it the far less extensive and therefore far less burdensome exogamy of the clans, whether totemic or otherwise. It is in this greatly shrunken form, shorn of its original classes, that the institution is still found in the great majority of exogamous peoples outside of Australia. The last stage of decay is reached when the exogamy of the clan breaks down also, and henceforth marriage is regulated by the prohibited degrees alone.

Now it is quite possible that the great civilised families of mankind, who now regulate marriage only by the prohibited degrees of kinship, have run through this course of social development and decay in the remote past. They may at one time in their history, not necessarily the earliest, have practised sexual promiscuity, have felt a growing aversion to the marriage of near kin, have embodied that aversion in a system of exogamy, and finally, discarding that system with its exaggerations, have reverted to a simple prohibition of the marriage of persons closely related by blood.<sup>1</sup> But it is not necessary to suppose that they have followed this long roundabout road merely to return to the point from which they started. They may always have confined themselves to a simple prohibition of the incestuous unions which they abhorred.

Whether that be so or not, it appears highly probable that the aversion which most civilised races have entertained to incest or the marriage of near kin has been derived by them through a long series of ages from their savage

The great civilised races may always have contented themselves with prohibiting incest without embodying that prohibition in a system of exogamy.

However that may be, it is probable that the aversion to

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan thought it probable that the Aryan and Semitic peoples have passed through the stages of group-marriage and the classificatory

system of relationship. See his *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 492 sq.; *Ancient Society*, pp. 413, 429.

incest has everywhere been inherited from savage ancestors. Why did savages abhor and prohibit incest or the marriage of near kin? We cannot tell.

It cannot have been that savages forbade incest because they perceived it to be injurious to the offspring; for the evil results of inbreeding are difficult to detect, and even now scientific men are not agreed about them.

ancestors; for there is no evidence or probability that the aversion is a thing of recent growth, a product of advanced civilisation. Even therefore though the primitive forefathers of the Semites and the Aryans may have known nothing either of totemism or of exogamy, we may with some confidence assume that they disapproved of incest and that their disapprobation has been inherited by their descendants to this day. Thus the abhorrence of incest, which is the essence of exogamy, goes back in the history of mankind to a period of very rude savagery; and we may fairly suppose that, whether it has been embodied in a system of exogamy or not, it has everywhere originated in the same primitive modes of thought and feeling. What, then, are the primitive modes of thought and feeling which gave rise to the abhorrence of incest? Why, in other words, did rude and ignorant savages come to regard with strong disapprobation the cohabitation of brothers with sisters and of parents with children? We do not know and it is difficult even to guess. None of the answers yet given to these questions appears to be satisfactory. It cannot have been that primitive savages forbade incest because they perceived it to be injurious to the offspring; for down to our own time the opinions of scientific men have differed on the question whether the closest inbreeding, in other words, the highest degree of incest, is injurious or not to the progeny. "The evil results from close interbreeding," says Darwin, "are difficult to detect, for they accumulate slowly, and differ much in degree with different species, whilst the good effects which almost invariably follow a cross are from the first manifest";<sup>1</sup> and it may be added that the evil effects of inbreeding, if they exist, are necessarily more difficult to detect in man than in most other species of animals because mankind breeds so slowly. With quick-breeding animals like fowls, where the generations follow each other in rapid succession, it is possible to observe the good or ill effects of inbreeding and outbreeding in a short time. But with the human race, even if we were perfectly free to make experiments in breeding, many years would necessarily elapse before the

<sup>1</sup> Charles Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, Popular Edition (London, 1905), ii. 113.

effect of these experiments would be clearly manifested. Accordingly we cannot suppose that any harmful consequences of inbreeding have been observed by savages and have provided them with the motive for instituting exogamy. All that we know of the ignorance and improvidence of savages confirms the observation of Darwin that they "are not likely to reflect on distant evils to their progeny."<sup>1</sup> Indeed the improbability that primitive man should have regulated the relations of the sexes by elaborate rules intended to avert the evil effects of inbreeding on the offspring has been greatly increased since Darwin wrote by the remarkable discovery that some of the most primitive of existing races, who observe the strictest of all systems of exogamy, are entirely ignorant of the causal relation which exists between the intercourse of the sexes and the birth of offspring. The ignorance which thus characterises these backward tribes was no doubt at one time universal amongst mankind and must have been shared by the savage founders of exogamy. But if they did not know that children are the fruit of marriage, it is difficult to see how they could have instituted an elaborate system of marriage for the express purpose of benefiting the children. In short, the idea that the abhorrence of incest originally sprang from an observation of its injurious effects on the offspring may safely be dismissed as baseless.

But if the founders of exogamy did not believe that the cohabitation of the nearest blood relations is detrimental to the progeny, can they have believed that it is detrimental to the parents themselves; in other words, can they have thought that the mere act of sexual intercourse with a near relative is in itself, quite apart from any social consequences or moral sentiments, physically injurious to one or both of the actors? I formerly thought that this may have been so and was accordingly inclined to look for the ultimate origin of exogamy or the prohibition of incest in a superstition of this sort, a baseless fear that incest was of itself injurious to the incestuous couple.<sup>2</sup> But there are serious and indeed, as it now seems to me, conclusive objections to this

Nor apparently can the founders of exogamy have imagined that incest is injurious to the guilty persons themselves; for there is very little evidence that savages

<sup>1</sup> Charles Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (London, 1905), ii. 127.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 165.

attribute any such injurious effects to the crime.

view.<sup>1</sup> For in the first place there is very little evidence that savages conceive the sexual intercourse of near kin to be harmful to the persons who engage in it. The Navahoes, indeed, think that if they married women of their own clan their bones would dry up and they would die;<sup>2</sup> and the Baganda are of opinion that if a man and woman of the same clan should marry each other (which sometimes happens accidentally through ignorance of their relationship) they will suffer from tremor of the limbs and a breaking out of sores on the body which would end in death if the incestuous union were not dissolved.<sup>3</sup> But not much stress can be laid on this superstition of the Baganda, since the same natural penalty is believed by them to be entailed by any breach of taboo, such as the eating of the totemic animal or contact between a father-in-law and a daughter-in-law.<sup>4</sup> Had the dread of harm caused by incestuous unions to the parties themselves been the origin of exogamy, it seems probable that the dread would have been peculiarly deep and general among the Australian aborigines, who of all mankind practise exogamy in its most rigid forms. Yet so far as I know these savages are not said to be actuated by any such fear in observing their complex exogamous rules.

Further, the great severity with which incest is generally punished by savages seems to shew that they believe it to be a crime which endangers the whole community rather than

But the mere general want of evidence is not the most conclusive argument against the theory in question; for unfortunately the records which we possess of savage life are so imperfect that it is never safe to argue from the silence of the record to the absence of the thing. In short mere negative evidence, always a broken reed, is perhaps nowhere so broken and treacherous a prop for an argument as in anthropology. Conclusions laid down with confidence one day on the strength of a mere negation may be upset the next day by the discovery of a single positive fact. Accordingly it is perfectly possible that a belief in the injurious effects of incest on the persons who engage in it may in fact

<sup>1</sup> These objections have been indicated by Mr. Andrew Lang. His observations on the point are perfectly just, and I have profited by them. See his article, "The Totem Taboo and Exogamy," *Man*, vi. (1906) pp. 130 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> This I learn from my friend the Rev. J. Roscoe.

<sup>4</sup> This also I learn from the Rev. J. Roscoe. Compare above, vol. ii. pp. 473, 509.

be common among savages, though at present very few cases of it have been reported. A more formidable objection to the theory which would base exogamy on such a belief is drawn from the extreme severity with which in most exogamous tribes breaches of exogamy have been punished by the community. The usual penalty for such offences is death inflicted on both the culprits.<sup>1</sup> Now if people had thought that incest injured the incestuous persons themselves and nobody else, society might well have been content to leave the sinners to suffer the natural and inevitable consequences of their sin. Why should it step in and say, "You have hurt yourselves, therefore we will put you to death"? It may be laid down as an axiom applicable to all states of society that society only punishes social offences, that is offences which are believed to be injurious, not necessarily to the individual offenders, but to the community at large; and the severer the punishment meted out to them, the deeper the injury they must be supposed to inflict on the commonwealth. But society cannot inflict any penalty heavier than death; therefore capital crimes must be those which are thought to be most dangerous and detrimental to the whole body of the people. From this it follows that in commonly punishing breaches of exogamy, or in short incest, with death, exogamous tribes must be of opinion that the offence is a most serious injury to the whole community. Only thus can we reasonably explain the horror which incest usually excites among them and the extreme rigour with which they visit it even to the extermination of the culprits.

What then can be the great social wrong which was supposed to result from incest? how were the guilty persons believed to endanger the whole tribe by their crime? A possible answer is that the intercourse of near kin was thought to render the women of the tribe sterile and to endanger the common food-supply by preventing edible animals from multiplying and edible plants from growing; in short, that the effect of incest was supposed to be sterility of women, animals, and plants. Such beliefs appear in point of fact to have been held by many races in different parts of the world. The idea that sexual crime

Now many races believe that the effect of incest and of sexual crime in general is to make women barren and to prevent animals and plants from multiplying.

<sup>1</sup> See the references in the Index, *s.v.* "Unlawful Marriages."

in general and incest in particular blights the crops is common among peoples of the Malayan stock in the Indian Archipelago and their kinsfolk in Indo-China; but it is also strongly held by some natives of West Africa, and there are grounds for thinking that similar notions as to the injurious influence of incest on women and cattle as well as on the corn prevailed among the primitive Semites and the primitive Aryans, including the ancient Greeks, the ancient Latins, and the ancient Irish. The evidence has been collected by me elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Now if any such beliefs were entertained by the founders of exogamy, they would clearly have been perfectly sufficient motives for instituting the system, for they would perfectly explain the horror with which incest has been regarded and the extreme severity with which it has been punished. You cannot do men a deeper injury than by preventing their women from bearing children and by stopping their supply of food; for by doing the first you hinder them from propagating their kind, and by doing the second you menace them with death. The most serious dangers, therefore, that can threaten any community are that its women should bear no children and that it may have nothing to eat; and crimes which imperil the production of children and the supply of food deserve to be punished by any society which values its existence with the utmost rigour of the law. If therefore the savages who devised exogamy really supposed that incest prevented women from bearing children, animals from multiplying, and plants from growing, they were perfectly justified from their point of view in taking the elaborate precautions which they

If such a belief was entertained by the founders of exogamy, it would have been a perfectly sufficient motive for instituting the system.

<sup>1</sup> *Psyche's Task, a Discourse concerning the Influence of Superstition on the Growth of Institutions* (London, 1909), pp. 31-51. To the evidence there cited for the belief in ancient Ireland should be added (Sir) John Rhys's *Celtic Heathendom* (London, 1888), pp. 308 *sq.*, as my friend the author has kindly pointed out to me. The Rev. John Roscoe informs me that the pastoral tribes of Central Africa with which he is acquainted, including the Bahima, Banyoro, and Baganda, have no objection to the closest inbreeding of their cattle;

they will mate brother and sister, father and daughter, mother and son without scruple. Yet they themselves practise exogamy and avoid incest. The contradiction is curious and tells rather against than for the theory, which I have suggested in the text, that exogamy may have originated in a fear of human incest blighting the edible animals and plants. It is true that the Basoga are reported to abhor incest in their cattle and to punish it (see above, vol. ii. p. 461); but Mr. Roscoe doubts whether the report is accurate.

did to prevent sexual unions which in their opinion struck such deadly blows at the life of the community.

But was this really their belief? The only serious difficulty in the way of supposing that it was so, is the absence of evidence that such notions are held by the most primitive exogamous peoples, the Australian aborigines, amongst whom we should certainly expect to find them if they had indeed been the origin of exogamy. Further, it is to be observed that all the peoples who are known to hold the beliefs in question appear to be agricultural, and what they especially dread is the sterilising effect of incest on their crops; they are not so often said to fear its sterilising effect on women and cattle, though this may be partly explained by the simple circumstance that some of these races do not keep cattle. But the savage founders of exogamy, if we may judge by the Australian aborigines of to-day, were certainly not agricultural; they did not even know that seed put in the ground will germinate and grow. Thus the known distribution of the beliefs as to the sterilising effect of incest on women, animals, and the crops, suggests that it is a product of a culture somewhat more advanced than can be ascribed to the savages who started exogamy. In fact, it might be argued, as I have argued elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> that all such notions as to the injurious natural consequences of incest are an effect rather than the cause of its prohibition; that is, the peoples in question may first have banned the marriage of near kin for some reasons unknown and may afterwards have become so habituated to the observance of the incest law that they regarded infractions of it as breaches of what we should call natural law and therefore as calculated to disturb the course of nature. In short, it is possible that this superstition is rather late than early, and that therefore it cannot be the root of exogamy.

On the other hand it must be borne in mind that the chief consideration which tells against the assumption of such a superstition as the origin of exogamy is the purely negative one that no such superstition has yet, so far as I know, been found among the Australian aborigines,

However, there seems to be no evidence that such a belief is held by the Australian aborigines, among whom, if it is indeed the origin of exogamy, the belief might be expected to flourish.

Nevertheless it is possible that exogamy sprang from a

<sup>1</sup> *Psyche's Task*, pp. 44-47.

belief in the sterilising effect of incest on women, animals, and plants. amongst whom on this theory it might be expected to flourish. But I have already pointed out the danger of relying on merely negative evidence ; and considering everything as carefully as I can I incline, though with great hesitancy and reserve, to think that exogamy may have sprung from a belief in the injurious and especially the sterilising effects of incest, not upon the persons who engage in it, at least not upon the man, nor upon the offspring, but upon women generally and particularly upon edible animals and plants ; and I venture to conjecture that a careful search among the most primitive exogamous peoples now surviving, especially among the Australian aborigines, might still reveal the existence of such a belief among them. At least if that is not the origin of exogamy I must confess to being completely baffled, for I have no other conjecture to offer on the subject.

But if exogamy and the prohibition of incest have sprung from a mere superstition, does it follow that they have been evil? Not necessarily, for superstition is often a useful auxiliary of law and morality. All turns on the question whether inbreeding or outbreeding, endogamy or exogamy, is the more beneficial

But if exogamy and the prohibition of incest, which is its essence, originated in a mere superstition such as I have conjecturally indicated, would it necessarily follow that they have both been evil and injurious, in other words, that it would have been better if men had always married their nearest relations instead of taking, as they generally have taken, the greatest pains to avoid such marriages? The consequence would by no means be necessary. I have shewn elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that superstition has often proved a most valuable auxiliary of morality and law, that men have very often done right from the most absurd motives. It may have been so in the case of exogamy and the prohibition of incest. All turns on the question whether inbreeding or outbreeding, endogamy or exogamy is better for the species, and that is a question which can be settled only by biology ; it lies quite outside the province of anthropology. So far as mankind is concerned, and it is with them alone that we have to do in this enquiry, the materials at our disposal appear to be insufficient to enable us to arrive at a definite conclusion ; for amongst the peoples known to us in history outbreeding, whether in the form of exogamy or in the simple prohibition of incest, has been the practice of such an over-

<sup>1</sup> *Psyche's Task, a Discourse concerning the Influence of Superstition on the Growth of Institutions* (London, 1909).

whelming majority, and the contrary practice of inbreeding or endogamy has been followed by such a very small minority, that a fair comparison of the effects of the two practices cannot be instituted. But as mankind has apparently been evolved from lower species of animals which in like manner propagated their kinds by the union of the sexes, it is highly probable that the good or ill effects which follow from inbreeding and outbreeding, from endogamy and exogamy, in the human species, follow from them also in the lower species; and as the breeding of many of the lower animals has long been the object of careful observation and exact experiments conducted both by practical breeders and scientific men, a large body of evidence has been accumulated, from which it is possible with a considerable degree of probability to draw conclusions applicable to man. Now upon the fundamental question whether inbreeding or outbreeding, whether endogamy or exogamy, is the more beneficial in the long run, the opinions of experts appear to be divided. A writer, Mr. A. H. Huth, who carefully investigated the question with special reference to its bearing on man, reached the conclusion that the closest inbreeding or endogamy between the human sexes is not in itself injurious to the progeny, and that the evil consequences which are often supposed to flow from it are to be explained by other causes, particularly by morbid tendencies in the stock, which are naturally increased in the offspring whenever they are transmitted to it from both the parents.<sup>1</sup> The same view of the harmlessness of inbreeding or endogamy was held by the eminent Dutch anthropologist, Professor G. A. Wilken,<sup>2</sup> and apparently by the eminent

to the species. On this question the opinions of scientific men are divided. Some think that there is no harm in the closest inbreeding, that is, in the highest degree of incest.

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Huth, *The Marriage of Near Kin considered with respect to the Laws of Nations, the Results of Experience, and the Teachings of Biology*, Second Edition (London, 1887).

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Wilken, "Huwelijken tusschen Bloedverwanten," *De Gids*, 1890, No. 6. In this work (pp. 2 sq. of the separate reprint) Prof. Wilken quotes with approval the following passage from a French writer, M. Boudin: "*Comment, voilà des parents consanguins, pleins de force et de santé, exempts de toute infirmité appréciable,*

*incapables de donner à leurs enfants ce qu'ils ont, et leur donnant au contraire ce qu'ils n'ont pas, ce qu'ils n'ont jamais eu, et c'est en présence de tels faits que l'on ose prononcer le mot hérédité!*"

The orator appears to forget the numerous cases of hermaphrodite plants endowed with all the organs of both sexes and perfectly capable of fertilising other plants and of being fertilised by them, yet perfectly incapable of fertilising themselves, nay sometimes actually poisoning themselves by their own pollen. See Ch. Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and*

But the opinion of the best and latest authorities seems to be that inbreeding or incest is in the long run always injurious by diminishing the vigour, size, and especially the fertility of the offspring.

French anthropologist Paul Topinard.<sup>1</sup> But so far as I can gather their opinion is not shared by the best and most recent authorities. Thus after weighing all the available evidence as carefully as possible Darwin concludes as follows: "Finally, when we consider the various facts now given, which plainly show that good follows from crossing, and less plainly that evil follows from close interbreeding, and when we bear in mind that with very many organisms elaborate provisions have been made for the occasional union of distinct individuals, the existence of a great law of nature is almost proved; namely, that the crossing of animals and plants which are not closely related to each other is highly beneficial or even necessary, and that interbreeding prolonged during many generations is injurious."<sup>2</sup> The evils which Darwin believed to result from close and long interbreeding are loss of constitutional vigour, of size, and of fertility.<sup>3</sup> Similarly Mr. A. R. Wallace concludes: "The experiments of Mr. Darwin, showing the great and immediate good effects of a cross between distinct strains in plants, cannot be explained away; neither can the innumerable arrangements to secure cross-fertilisation by insects. . . . On the whole, then, the evidence at our command proves that, whatever may be its ultimate cause, close interbreeding *does* usually produce bad results; and it is only by the most rigid selection, whether natural or artificial, that the danger can be altogether obviated."<sup>4</sup>

Opinion of Mr. Walter Heape.

Again, my friend Mr. Walter Heape, F.R.S., who has made exact researches into the breeding both of men and animals, writes to me as follows: "From what you tell me of exogamy in its simplest form, *i.e.* in so far as it provides against the marriage of mother and sister and the marriage of cousins<sup>5</sup> (concubitants and others), it is so closely in accord

*Plants under Domestication* (London, 1905), ii. 139 *sqq.* The facts of nature do not always correspond to our logical expectations.

<sup>1</sup> P. Topinard, *L'Anthropologie*, Quatrième Édition (Paris, 1884), pp. 397 *sq.* It is also shared by M. Salomon Reinach. See his *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, i. (Paris, 1905) pp. 157 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Charles Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (London, 1905), ii. 157.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. Darwin, *op. cit.* ii. 156.

<sup>4</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Darwinism, an Exposition of the Theory of Natural Selection* (London, 1889), p. 162.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Heape is here under a slight misapprehension. The marriage of cousins is prevented not by the simplest

with the experience of breeders of animals that, failing a clear social reason for the law, it might be fairly assumed to have its origin in accordance with known biological phenomena. I cannot claim to be considered capable of expressing a final opinion on the subject, but I think I may say that, so far as breeders know, inbreeding of brother and sister, father and daughter, grandfather and granddaughter, and cousins, is essential for the rapid fixing of a type and is the best method, if not the only method, of producing the ancestor of a new and definite variety (see *Evolution of British Cattle*). At the same time indefinite inbreeding ('in and in breeding') is found to be associated with deterioration. . . . Breeders are firmly convinced that indefinite inbreeding certainly results in deterioration, that is their experience. . . . Thus the practice of exogamy is in accord with the experience of breeders." In particular Mr. Heape tells me that a tendency to infertility is believed to be a common result of continuous inbreeding in stock, and that in his judgment the belief is certainly true.<sup>1</sup>

To the same effect Mr. F. H. A. Marshall, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, whose researches into sexual physiology will shortly be published in full, informs me that long-continued inbreeding carried on in the same place and under the same conditions certainly tends to sterility, but that this tendency can be to some extent counteracted by changing the conditions of life, particularly by removing the animals to a considerable distance. For instance, he tells me that racehorses, which have inbred perhaps more than any other animal, tend to be sterile, but that the offspring of racehorses which have been sent to Australia recover their fertility both with each other and with the parent stock without any infusion of fresh blood. Old breeders were quite aware of the advantage which domestic animals gained from new surroundings; hence some of them used to send part of their stock, for example, to Ireland and then after a time to bring the animals or their descendants back reinvigorated and rendered more prolific by the change.

Opinion  
of Mr.  
F. H. A.  
Marshall.

but by the most complex form of exogamy, namely the eight-class system. But the mistake is immaterial.

<sup>1</sup> Extracted from a letter of Mr. Walter Heape dated Greyfriars, Southwold, 17th December 1909.

Darwin's view that the evils of inbreeding may be checked or prevented by changing the conditions of life without introducing any fresh blood.

This bears out an opinion expressed by Darwin as follows: "There is good reason to believe, and this was the opinion of that most experienced observer, Sir J. Sebright, that the evil effects of close interbreeding may be checked or quite prevented by the related individuals being separated for a few generations and exposed to different conditions of life. This conclusion is now held by many breeders; for instance, Mr. Carr remarks, it is a well-known 'fact that a change of soil and climate effects perhaps almost as great a change in the constitution as would result from an infusion of fresh blood.' I hope to show in a future work that consanguinity by itself counts for nothing, but acts solely from related organisms generally having a similar constitution, and having been exposed in most cases to similar conditions."<sup>1</sup> Similarly Mr. A. R. Wallace writes: "It appears probable, then, that it is not interbreeding in itself that is hurtful, but interbreeding without rigid selection or some change of conditions. . . . In nature, too, the species always extends over a larger area and consists of much greater numbers, and thus a difference of constitution soon arises in different parts of the area, which is wanting in the limited numbers of pure bred domestic animals. From a consideration of these varied facts we conclude that an occasional disturbance of the organic equilibrium is what is essential to keep up the vigour and fertility of any organism, and that this disturbance may be equally well produced either by a cross between individuals of somewhat different constitutions, or by occasional slight changes in the conditions of life."<sup>2</sup>

Thus if these eminent authorities are right, the radical defect of consanguineous marriages is not the mere confluence of two streams of the same blood; it is that the two individuals who conjugate are not sufficiently differentiated from each other. A certain degree of difference between

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (London, 1905), ii. 115; compare *id.* ii. 156: "There is good reason to believe that by keeping the members of the same family in distinct bodies, especially if exposed to somewhat different conditions of life, and by occasionally crossing these families,

the evil results of interbreeding may be much diminished or quite eliminated." Some breeders keep large stocks at different places for the sake of crossing them with each other (Ch. Darwin, *op. cit.* ii. 117).

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Darwinism* (London, 1889), pp. 326 *sq.*

them is essential to fertility and life; too great sameness leads to sterility and death. The conclusion may perhaps be confirmed by an analogy drawn from the lowest forms of animal life, the humble Protozoa, which have not yet attained to a discrimination of the sexes and propagate their kind, generation after generation, by the alternate growth and fission of the individual. But though this solitary mode of reproduction may be repeated many times, experiments prove that it cannot be continued indefinitely. There comes a time in the history of each individual when it appears that the organism is becoming worn out, is shrinking after every successive division, in short is shewing signs of senile decay. It must then unite with another organism of a different origin, if the cycle of growth and reproduction is to begin afresh; such a union is absolutely necessary to the perpetuation of the species.<sup>1</sup>

Analogy of the Protozoa.

From the testimonies which I have cited we may safely conclude that infertility is an inevitable consequence of inbreeding continued through many generations in the same place and under the same conditions. The loss of fertility, indeed, "when it occurs, seems never to be absolute, but only relative to animals of the same blood; so that this sterility is to a certain extent analogous with that of self-impotent plants which cannot be fertilized by their own pollen, but are perfectly fertile with pollen of any other individual of the same species."<sup>2</sup> It is a curious coincidence that infertility is precisely the effect which many more or less primitive peoples have attributed to incestuous marriages, though they have not limited that effect to womankind but have extended it to animals and plants. As they cannot have reached these conclusions from experience, they would seem to have arrived at them through some purely superstitious fancy which as yet escapes us.<sup>3</sup> Be that as it may, if the sexual unions of near kin tend in the long run to be unproductive, it is obvious

But if infertility is a necessary consequence of long-continued inbreeding under the same conditions, endogamous races must have stood at a serious disadvantage as compared with exogamous races in the struggle for existence. That may be why the endo-

<sup>1</sup> See Professor J. Y. Simpson's article "Biology" in Dr. J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1909) p. 630.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (London, 1905), ii. 157. However, Darwin reports a case of inbreed-

ing some owl-pigeons till their extreme sterility almost extinguished the breed; and another case of inbreeding trumpeter-pigeons till "inbreeding so close stopped reproduction." See Ch. Darwin, *op. cit.* ii. 131.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 157-160.

gamous peoples have always been, so far as we know, so few in number by comparison with the exogamous peoples.

that any motive, whether purely rational or purely superstitious, which led a people to eschew and forbid such unions must have so far contributed to the welfare of the community by assisting it to multiply fast, though no doubt the same scruples pushed to an exaggerated extent, as in the eight-class system of the Australian aborigines, might have the contrary effect by acting as a positive check on population. On the other hand so far as a people entertained no aversion to incest and indulged in it freely, just so far would it multiply more slowly than its more scrupulous neighbours and would thereby stand at a manifest disadvantage in competing against them. Thus the practice of outbreeding or exogamy would help, and the practice of inbreeding or endogamy would hinder, any community which adopted it in the long series of contests which result in the survival of the fittest ; for in one factor of vital importance, the possibility of rapid breeding, the exogamous community would be the fit and the endogamous community the unfit. These considerations may partly explain why at the present day, and so far as we know throughout history, the races which practise exogamy or prohibit incest have been vastly more numerous than the races which practise endogamy and permit incest ; and it is a fair inference that in the struggle for existence many endogamous peoples have disappeared, having been either extinguished or absorbed by their more vigorous and prolific rivals.

Thus the principles of exogamy present a curious resemblance to the principles of scientific breeding. The institution of exogamous classes secured the advantages of crossing,

On the whole, then, if we compare the principles of exogamy with the principles of scientific breeding we can scarcely fail to be struck, as Mr. Walter Heape has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> by the curious resemblance, amounting almost to coincidence, between the two.

In the first place under exogamy the beneficial effects of crossing, which the highest authorities deem essential to the welfare and even to the existence of species of animals and plants, is secured by the system of exogamous classes, either two, four, or eight in number, which we have seen every reason to regard as artificially instituted for the express purpose of preventing the cohabitation of the nearest blood relations. Now it is very remarkable that the particular

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 162 *sq.*

form of incest which the oldest form of exogamy, the two-class system, specially prevents is the incest of brothers with sisters. That system absolutely prevents all such incest, while it only partially prevents the incest of parents with children,<sup>1</sup> which to the civilised mind might seem more shocking on account of the difference between the generations, as well as for other reasons. Yet this determination of savage man to stop the cohabitation of brothers with sisters even before stopping the cohabitation of parents with children is in accordance with the soundest biological principles; for it is well recognised both by practical breeders and scientific men that the sexual union of brothers with sisters is the closest and most injurious form of incest, more so than the sexual union of a mother with a son or of a father with a daughter.<sup>2</sup> The complete prohibition of incest between parents and children was effected by the second form of exogamy, the four-class system. Lastly, the prohibition of marriage between all first cousins, about which opinion has wavered down to the present time even in civilised countries, was only accomplished by the third and latest form of exogamy, the eight-class system, which was naturally adopted only by such tribes as disapproved of these marriages, but never by tribes who viewed the union of certain first cousins either with indifference or with positive approbation.

Nor does this exhaust the analogies between exogamy and scientific breeding. We have seen that the rule of the deterioration and especially of the infertility of inbred animals is subject to a very important exception. While the evil can be removed by an infusion of fresh blood, it can also be remedied in an entirely different way by simply changing the conditions of life, especially by sending some animals to a distance and then bringing their progeny back to unite with members of the family which have remained in the old home. Such a form of local exogamy, as we may call it, without the introduction of any fresh blood, appears to be effective in regenerating the stock and restoring its lost fertility.<sup>3</sup> But this system of local exogamy, this marriage

and the order in which the classes were instituted is in accordance with sound biological principles.

Further, the advantages of changing the conditions of life were often secured by the practice of local exogamy instead of, or in addition to, the practice of class exogamy.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 107 *sq.*, 114-119.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*

(London, 1905), ii. 114, 123, 130, 156.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 163 *sq.*

of members of the same race who have lived at a distance from each other, is also practised by many savage tribes besides or instead of their system of kinship exogamy. It is often a rule with them that they must get their wives not merely from another stock but from another district.<sup>1</sup> For example, we have seen that the Warramunga tribe of Central Australia is divided into two intermarrying classes which occupy separate districts, a northern and a southern, with the rule that the northern men must always marry wives from the southern district, and that reciprocally all the southern men must marry wives from the northern district.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, as I have already pointed out,<sup>3</sup> there are some grounds for conjecturing that the custom of locally separating the exogamous classes may have been adopted at the very outset for the sake of sundering those persons whose sexual union was deemed a danger to the community. It might be hard to devise a marriage system more in accordance with sound biological principles.

The analogy of exogamy to scientific breeding cannot be due to any exact knowledge or far-seeing care on the part of its savage founders; it must be an accidental result of a superstition, an unconscious mimicry of science.

Thus exogamy, especially in the form in which it is practised by the lowest of existing savages, the aborigines of Australia, presents a curious analogy to a system of scientific breeding. That the exogamous system of these primitive people was artificial and that it was deliberately devised by them for the purpose which it actually serves, namely the prevention of the marriage of near kin, seems quite certain; on no other reasonable hypothesis can we explain its complex arrangements, so perfectly adapted to the wants and the ideas of the natives. Yet it is impossible to suppose that in planning it these ignorant and improvident savages could have been animated by exact knowledge of its consequences or by a far-seeing care for the future welfare of their remote descendants. When we reflect how little to this day marriage is regulated by any such considerations even among the most enlightened classes in the most civilised communities, we shall not be likely to attribute a far higher degree of knowledge, foresight, and self-command to the rude founders of exogamy. What idea these primitive sages and lawgivers, if we may call them so,

<sup>1</sup> See the references in the Index, s.v.  
"Exogamy, local."

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 246-249.

<sup>3</sup> Above, vol. i. p. 248.

had in their minds when they laid down the fundamental lines of the institution, we cannot say with certainty; all that we know of savages leads us to suppose that it must have been what we should now call a superstition, some crude notion of natural causation which to us might seem transparently false, though to them it doubtless seemed obviously true. Yet egregiously wrong as they were in theory, they appear to have been fundamentally right in practice. What they abhorred was really evil; what they preferred was really good. Perhaps we may call their curious system an unconscious mimicry of science. The end which it accomplished was wise, though the thoughts of the men who invented it were foolish. In acting as they did, these poor savages blindly obeyed the impulse of the great evolutionary forces which in the physical world are constantly educing higher out of lower forms of existence and in the moral world civilisation out of savagery. If that is so, exogamy has been an instrument in the hands of that unknown power, the masked wizard of history, who by some mysterious process, some subtle alchemy, so often transmutes in the crucible of suffering the dross of folly and evil into the fine gold of wisdom and good.



## NOTES AND CORRECTIONS



## NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

### VOLUME I

P. 4. **The sex totem . . . the individual totem.**— These terms are unsatisfactory, for reasons which I have already indicated.<sup>1</sup> For "sex totem" I have suggested "sex patron," and the suggestion has, I understand, been accepted by a committee of anthropologists, who for "individual totem" propose to substitute "guardian genius."

P. 7. **The Kalang . . . transformed into a dog.**—The full legend of the descent of the Kalangs from a dog which married a woman has been recorded.<sup>2</sup> It presents the characteristic traits of the Oedipus story; a mother marries her son unwittingly, and the son kills his dog-father without knowing the relation in which he stood to the animal. In one version of the legend the woman has twin sons by the dog and afterwards unwittingly marries them both. It is said that the belief of the Kalangs in their descent from a dog plays a great part in all their ceremonies, the intention of which is to summon their ancestors into their midst. For example, they strew ashes on the floor for eight nights before a wedding, and if they find the footprints of a dog in the ashes, they take it as a sign that the ancestors are pleased with the marriage. Similarly, they draw omens from the footprints of a dog in ashes or sand at a certain festival which they hold once in seven months. It is also said that the Kalangs have wooden images of dogs, which they revere.<sup>3</sup> According to the Javanese, the incest which the Kalangs tell of in their traditions is repeated in their customs; for it is reported that among them mother and son often live together as man and wife,

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 454-456.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Ketjen, "De Kalangers," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxiv. (1877) pp. 430-435, with the notes of H. L. Ch. te

M[echelen], *ibid.* pp. 438-441. Compare P. J. Veth, *Java* (Haarlem, 1875-1884), iii. pp. 581 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> E. Ketjen, *op. cit.* pp. 424-427.

and it is a belief of the Kalangs that worldly prosperity and riches flow from such a union.<sup>1</sup> However, in spite of the tradition of their descent from a dog, there seems to be no sufficient evidence that the Kalangs have totemism. Indeed the story of a canine origin, combined with incest, is told of other peoples in the Malay Archipelago.<sup>2</sup>

P. 8. **The Ainos . . . suckled by a bear.**—According to the Rev. John Batchelor many of the Ainos who dwell among the mountains believe themselves to be descended from a bear. They belong to the Bear clan and are called *Kimun Kamui sanikiri*, that is, “descendants of the bear.” Such people are very proud and say, “As for me, I am a child of the god of the mountains; I am descended from the divine one who rules in the mountains.” Further, Mr. Batchelor tells us that the Ainos of a certain district often call each other by names which mean “children of the eagle” and “descendants of the bird,” these being terms of reproach which they hurl at one another in their quarrels. He thinks that these epithets are evidence of clan totemism.<sup>3</sup> However, there is no sufficient proof that the Ainos are totemic.<sup>4</sup> The usual tradition is that the Ainos, like the Kalangs of Java, are descended from a woman and a dog.<sup>5</sup>

P. 9. **“That brother belonging to me you have killed.”**—“In one instance, a native at Béran plains, desired a European not to kill a *gúnar*, which he was then chasing, but to catch it alive, as it was ‘him brother.’ The animal, however, was killed, at which the native was much displeased, and would not eat of it, but unceasingly complained of the ‘tumbling down him brother.’”<sup>6</sup> Again, with regard to the Moorloobulloo, a tribe of Central Australia, at the junction of King’s Creek and the Georgina or Herbert River, we are told that “the persons of this tribe take each the name of some bird or animal, which the individual calls brother, and will not eat.”<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Ketjen, “De Kalangers,” *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxiv. (1877) p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. van Eerde, “De Kalang-legende op Lombok,” *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xlv. (1902) pp. 30-58, especially pp. 30 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore* (London, 1901), pp. 10 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 348 note.

<sup>5</sup> See W. M. Wood, “The Hairy Men of Yesso,” *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, iv. (1866) p. 37; Lieut.

Swinton C. Holland, “On the Ainos,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iii. (1874) p. 236; H. C. St. John, *Notes and Sketches from the Wild Coasts of Nipon* (Edinburgh, 1880), pp. 29 sq.; Isabella L. Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (New Edition, 1885), pp. 250, 255, 315; D. Brauns, *Japanische Märchen und Sagen* (Leipsic, 1885), pp. 167-170.

<sup>6</sup> George Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir Coast, Singapore and China* (London, 1834), i. 131.

<sup>7</sup> J. O. Machattie, in E. M. Curr’s *The Australian Race*, ii. 366 sq.

Some Peruvian Indians would not kill the fish of a certain river ; "for they said that the fish were their brothers."<sup>1</sup>

P. 9. **The Ojibways (Chippeways) do not kill . . . their totems, etc.**—However, this statement seems to apply to the guardian animals of individuals rather than to the totemic animals of clans.<sup>2</sup>

P. 10. **Split totems.**—Some of the ancient Egyptians, like many modern savages, appear to have restricted their veneration to certain parts of the sacred animals, whereby they were able to satisfy at once their consciences and their appetites by abstaining from some joints and partaking of others. Thus Sextus Empiricus writes: "Of the Egyptians who are counted wise some deem it sacrilegious to eat the head of an animal, others to eat the shoulder-blade, others the foot, and others some other part."<sup>3</sup> Again, Lucian says that, while some of the ancient Egyptians revered whole animals, such as bulls, crocodiles, cats, baboons, and apes, others worshipped only parts of animals ; thus the right shoulder would be the god of one village, the left shoulder the god of a second village, and half of the head the god of a third.<sup>4</sup>

P. 13. **A Samoan clan had for its totem the butterfly, etc.**—The worshipful animals, plants, and so forth of the Samoans appear to have been rather deities developed out of totems than totems in the proper sense.<sup>5</sup>

P. 14. **Sometimes the totem animal is fed and even kept alive in captivity.**—A very few cases of feeding wild animals or keeping them in captivity on the ground of their sanctity have met us in the course of this work.<sup>6</sup> The natives of the Pelew Islands regard the puffin as a divine bird ; they often feed it and keep it tame.<sup>7</sup> It is said that in antiquity a Greek general, marching at the head of an army into the interior of Libya, discovered three cities called the Cities of Apes, in which apes were worshipped as gods and lived with the people in their houses. The inhabitants generally called their children after the apes and punished with death any sacrilegious person who dared to kill one of the sacred animals.<sup>8</sup>

P. 15. **The dead totem is mourned for and buried, etc.**—It is

<sup>1</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, translated by C. R. Markham, vol. i. p. 168. See also above, vol. ii. p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 51 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Sextus Empiricus, ed. I. Bekker (Berlin, 1842), p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 42.

<sup>5</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 151, 166 sq.

<sup>6</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 35 (as to the Bugilai of New Guinea) ; vol. ii. p.

341 (as to the aborigines of Formosa) ; and vol. iii. p. 576 (as to the Bororos of Brazil).

<sup>7</sup> J. Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde* (Berlin, 1888), i. 38 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, xx. 58. The passage was pointed out to me by my learned friend Mr. William Wyse.

by no means clear that any of the sacred animals, whose solemn burial is recorded in this paragraph, were totems. A similar custom of burying sacred animals, not necessarily totems, is observed elsewhere. Thus in Malabar "killing a snake is considered a grievous sin, and even to see a snake with its head bruised is believed to be a precursor of calamities. Pious Malayālis, when they see a snake killed in this way, have it burnt with the full solemnities attendant on the cremation of high-caste Hindus. The carcase is covered with a piece of silk, and burnt in sandalwood. A Brahman is hired to observe pollution for some days, and elaborate funeral oblations are offered to the dead snake."<sup>1</sup> Some of the totemic clans of the Gold Coast bury their totemic animals.<sup>2</sup>

P. 16. **Circumlocutions . . . to give no offence to the worshipful animal.**—The custom of referring to animals, especially dangerous animals, by circumlocutions for the sake of avoiding the use of their ordinary names is very widespread and is no doubt commonly based on a fear of attracting the attention of the creatures or of putting them on their guard. The animals so referred to need not be totems; often they are the creatures which the hunter or fisherman wishes to catch and kill.<sup>3</sup>

P. 17. **The worshippers of the Syrian goddess . . . break out in ulcers.**—According to the Greek comic poet Menander, when the Syrians ate fish, their feet and bellies swelled up, and by way of appeasing the goddess whom they had angered they put on sack-cloth and sat down on dung by the wayside in order to express the depth of their humiliation.<sup>4</sup>

P. 17. **The Egyptians . . . would break out in a scab.**—Aelian ascribes to the Egyptian historian Manetho the statement, that any Egyptian who drank of pig's milk would be covered with leprosy.<sup>5</sup>

Prohibited  
foods in  
Australia.

P. 19. **Food prohibitions, which vary chiefly with age.**—These prohibitions are, or were, common among the aborigines of Australia. Thus with regard to the natives of Victoria in particular we are told that they "have many very curious laws relating to food. The old men are privileged to eat every kind of food that it is lawful for any of their tribe to eat, but there are kinds of food which a tribe will eat in one district and which tribes in another part of the continent will not touch. The women may not eat of the flesh of certain animals; certain sorts of meat are prohibited to children and young persons; young married women are interdicted from partaking of

<sup>1</sup> Edgar Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1906), p. 288, quoting Mr. C. Karunakara Menon. As to the solemn burial of certain sacred animals in Madagascar, see above, vol. ii. pp. 633, 635.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 556, 557.

<sup>3</sup> For many examples of the custom see *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 451 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Menander, quoted by Porphyry, *De Abstinētia*, iv. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, x. 16.

dainties that delight the palates of older women ; and men may not touch the flesh of some animals until a mystic ceremony has been duly celebrated. Their laws, indeed, in connection with hunting and fishing, and the collecting, cooking, and eating of food, are numerous and complex ; and as the penalties believed to be incurred for a breach of these laws are, in most cases, serious diseases, or death, they are obeyed. Some suppose that cunning old men established the laws for the purpose of reserving to themselves those kinds of food which it was most difficult to procure, and that one effect of their prohibitions was to make the young men more expert in hunting ; and it has been suggested that the eating of some animals was interdicted in order that the natural increase might not be prevented. In looking over the list of animals prohibited to young men, to women, and to children, one fails to see, however, any good reasons for the selection—unless we regard nearly the whole of the prohibitions as having their source in superstitious beliefs.”<sup>1</sup> In the Yarra tribe young people were forbidden to eat the flying squirrels, porcupines, emu, bustards, ducks, swans, iguanas, turtles, a species of large fish (*woora-mook*), and young opossums, but they might eat old male opossums. If any young person ate of any of the forbidden animals before leave was granted him by the old men, it was said that he would sicken and die, and that no doctor could save him. But after the age of thirty he might eat any of the animals with impunity.<sup>2</sup> “No young men are allowed to eat the flesh or eggs of the emu, a kind of luxury which is thus reserved exclusively for the old men and the women. I understood from Piper, who abstained from eating emu, when food was very scarce, that the ceremony necessary in this case consisted chiefly in being rubbed all over with emu fat by an old man. Richardson of our party was an old man, and Piper reluctantly allowed himself to be rubbed with emu fat by Richardson, but from that time he had no objection to eat emu. The threatened penalty was that young men on eating the flesh of an emu would be afflicted with sores all over the body.”<sup>3</sup> Among the Birria, Koongerri, and Kungarditchi tribes of Central Australia, at the junction of the Thomson and Barcoo rivers, it was believed that if a young man were even to break an emu egg, the offended spirits would raise a storm of thunder and lightning, in which the culprit himself would probably be struck down.<sup>4</sup> Among the Port Lincoln tribes of South Australia the general principle of the food laws is said to have been “that the male of any animal should be eaten by grown-up men, the female by women, and the young animal by

<sup>1</sup> R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 234.

<sup>2</sup> R. Brough Smyth, *op. cit.* i. 235.

<sup>3</sup> Major T. L. Mitchell, *Three Ex-*

*peditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia* (London, 1838), ii. 340 sq.

<sup>4</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 377.

children only. An exception, however, is made with respect to the common kangaroo-rat, which may be eaten promiscuously. The wallaby, especially that species called by the natives *yurridni*, and the two species of bandicoot, *kurkulla* and *yartiri*, must on no account be eaten by young men and young women, as they are believed to produce premature *menses* in the latter, and discolour the beards of the former, giving them a brown tinge instead of a shining black. . . . Guanas and lizards are proper food for girls, as accelerating maturity, and snakes for women, promoting fecundity."<sup>1</sup>

Among the aborigines of Australia the prohibitions to eat certain animal or vegetable foods often come into operation at those initiatory ceremonies which mark the attainment of puberty and the transition from boyhood to manhood. We shall recur to this subject a little further on.<sup>2</sup>

P. 20. **The Psylli, a Snake clan in Africa . . . exposed their new-born children to snakes, etc.**—The ancient historian Dio Cassius has also recorded that the Psylli were immune to snake-bites, and that they tested their new-born children by exposing them to snakes, which did them no harm. According to the historian, Octavian attempted to restore the dead Cleopatra to life by means of these men.<sup>3</sup> The Greek topographer Pausanias also refers to the power which the Libyan Psylli were thought to possess of healing persons who had been bitten by snakes.<sup>4</sup> In the Punjab there is a Snake caste or tribe (*zat*), the members of which worship snakes and claim to be immune to their sting. They will not kill a snake, and if they find a dead one, they put clothes on it and give the reptile a regular burial.<sup>5</sup> The Tilokchandi Baises in North-Western India claim to be descended from the snake-god, and it is said that no member of the family has been known to die from snake-bite.<sup>6</sup> Members of the Isowa sect in Morocco assert that snakes, scorpions, and all other venomous creatures cannot harm them, and that they therefore handle them with impunity.<sup>7</sup>

P. 21. **Some judicial ordeals may have originated in totem tests of kinship.**—At Calabar in West Africa the sharks were the *ju-ju* or sacred animals. They throng the creek before the town and used to be regularly fed. In former times criminals had to

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Schürmann, "The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 40-42, and below, pp. 217 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, li. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, ix. 28. 1.

<sup>5</sup> F. A. Steel, in *Panjab Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. p. 91, § 555.

<sup>6</sup> *Panjab Notes and Queries*, vol. iii. p. 162, § 664.

<sup>7</sup> A. Leared, *Morocco and the Moors* (London, 1876), p. 267.

swim across the creek as an ordeal. If they escaped the maws of the ravenous sharks, they were deemed innocent.<sup>1</sup>

P. 22. **The Snake clan (Ophiogenes) of Asia Minor, etc.**—The Snake clan (Ophiogenes) were a mythical people, who are said to have lived at Parium in Mysia.<sup>2</sup> The statement in the text that if they were bitten by an adder they had only to put a snake to the wound is erroneous. What Strabo reports is that when people were bitten by adders the Snake men healed them by touching their bodies and so transferring the poison to themselves and thus relieving the inflammation. He tells us that the founder of the family is said to have been a hero who had been an adder before he took human shape. "As we crossed the Kal Aspad, we saw a tomb named Imam Zadahi—Pir Mar (*Pir Mar* signifies Saint Snake), a shrine of great celebrity in Luristan. This saint is said to have possessed the miraculous power of curing the bites of all venomous serpents; and, at the present day, whenever a Lur in the vicinity is bitten by a snake, he repairs to the shrine, and, according to popular belief, always recovers. The descendants of this holy personage, too, claim to have inherited the miraculous power, and I have certainly seen them effect some very remarkable cures."<sup>3</sup>

P. 25. **The Yezidis abominate blue.**—Their strongest curse is "May you die in blue garments."<sup>4</sup> Hindoos of the Kurnal District will not grow indigo, for simple blue is an abomination to them.<sup>5</sup> It is very unlikely that such dislikes have anything to do with totemism.

P. 25. **The sun was the special divinity of the chiefs of the Natchez.**—The Natchez had a temple dedicated to the sun, in which a perpetual fire was kept burning. They thought that the family of their chiefs was descended from the sun and that their souls returned to it at death. The chief of the whole nation was called the Great Sun and his relations the Little Suns. These human Suns looked down on their fellow-tribesmen with great contempt.<sup>6</sup>

P. 26. **The clansman is in the habit of assimilating himself to his totem, etc.**—"To the observations I have made before about all African tribes, that in their attire they endeavour to imitate some part of the animal creation, I may add that they seem to

<sup>1</sup> Captain John Adams, *Remarks on the Country extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo* (London, 1823), pp. 138 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xiii. I. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Rawlinson, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, ix. (1839) p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Millingan, *Wild Life among the*

*Koords*, p. 277.

<sup>5</sup> (Sir) Denzil C. J. Ibbetson, *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Panipat Tapsil and Karnal Parganah of the Karnal District* (Allahabad, 1883), p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> "Relation de la Louisiane," *Voyages au nord*, Troisième Édition (Amsterdam, 1731-1738), v. 24.

show a special preference for copying any individual species for which they have a particular reverence. In this way it frequently happens that their superstition indirectly influences the habits of their daily life, and that their animal-worship finds expression in their dress."<sup>1</sup>

P. 27. The practice of knocking out the upper front teeth at puberty . . . is, or was once, probably an imitation of the totem.

—This statement is not well founded. There is no evidence that the widespread custom of knocking out, chipping, or filing the teeth<sup>2</sup> is an imitation of the totemic animal, nor indeed that it has anything to do with totemism, though it is observed by many totemic tribes. The custom of knocking out one or two front teeth of each male novice at initiation occurs in the extreme north of Queensland,<sup>3</sup> and is common in South-Eastern Australia,<sup>4</sup> but since in the tribes which practise it the operation is performed alike on all lads, whatever their totem, it seems impossible that the extraction of the tooth or teeth can be intended to assimilate the men to their various totemic animals. Like so many other rites which mark the attainment of puberty among savages, this strange custom of extracting or mutilating the teeth is probably based on some crude superstition which we do not yet understand. Among the Central Australian tribes the extraction of teeth is not practised as a rite of initiation, obligatory upon all young men before they are admitted to the privileges of manhood; still it is submitted voluntarily by many men and women and is associated, curiously enough, in their minds with the production or the prevention of rain. Thus in the Arunta tribe the custom is observed especially by members of the Rain or Water totem; indeed it is almost, though not quite, obligatory on both men and women of that clan as well as on the natives of what is called the Rain Country (*Kartwia Quatcha*) to the north-east of the Arunta territory. In the Arunta tribe the operation is usually performed before marriage and always after the members of the Rain or Water clan have observed their magical ceremony (*intichiuma*) for the making of rain or water. To explain the special association of tooth-drawing with the rain totem the natives say that the intention of the rite is to make the patient's

Custom of extracting front teeth at initiation and other occasions in Australia.

Extraction of teeth associated with rain.

<sup>1</sup> G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, Third Edition (London, 1878), i. 192.

<sup>2</sup> For a collection of evidence on this subject see H. von Ihering, "Die künstliche Deformierung der Zähne," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv. (1882) pp. 213-262.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 535.

<sup>4</sup> See the references in vol. i. p. 412 note<sup>2</sup>; and further E. J. Eyre,

*Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845), ii. 410; *Native Tribes of South Australia* (Adelaide, 1879), pp. 266 sq.; *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 1882, pp. 165 sq., 172, 209; *id.*, 1883, pp. 26 sq.; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 164, iii. 273; R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 61, 62, 64 sq., ii. 296.

face look like a dark cloud with a light rim, which portends rain.<sup>1</sup> The explanation seems far-fetched, but at least it shews that in the minds of the aborigines the custom is associated with, if not based upon, the principle of sympathetic or imitative magic. In the Warramunga tribe the ceremony of knocking out teeth is always performed after the fall of heavy rain, when the natives have had enough and wish the rain to stop. The Tjingilli in like manner extract the teeth towards the end of the rainy season, when they think that no more rain is needed; and the extracted teeth are thrown into a water-hole in the belief that they will drive the rain and clouds away. Again, in the Gnanji tribe the rite is always observed during the rainy season; and when the tooth has been drawn it is carried about for some time by the operator. Finally it is given by him to the patient's mother, who buries it beside some water-hole for the purpose of stopping the rain and making the edible water-lilies to grow plentifully.<sup>2</sup>

Superficially regarded the initiatory rite of tooth-extraction so far resembles the initiatory rite of circumcision that the essential part of both consists in the removal of a part of the patient's body; accordingly it is probably not without significance that the tribes of South-Eastern Australia, who practise the rite of tooth-extraction, do not observe the rite of circumcision; while on the contrary the tribes of Central Australia and North-West Queensland, who practise the rite of circumcision, do not observe the rite of tooth-extraction as an initiatory ceremony.<sup>3</sup> With great diffidence I have conjectured that the two rites of circumcision and tooth-extraction may have had this much in common, that they were both intended to promote the reincarnation of the individual at a future time by severing from his person a vital or especially durable portion and subjecting it to a treatment which, in the opinion of these savages, was fitted to ensure the desired object of bringing him to life again after death.<sup>4</sup>

The evidence which has suggested this conjecture is indeed very slight and scanty; but a few points in it may be mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 213, 450 sq.; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 588 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 593-596.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 118 note 1, 213, 453 sqq.; W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane and London, 1897), pp. 111, 170 sqq.

The relation between circumcision and tooth-extraction as alternative rites of initiation had already been indicated by E. J. Eyre, who used it as an argument for determining the migrations of the various Australian tribes from what he conceived to be their starting-point on the north-west coast of the continent. See E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845), ii. 405-411.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. Frazer, "The Origin of Circumcision," *The Independent Review*, November 1904, pp. 204-218.

Relation of tooth-extraction as an initiatory rite to circumcision.

Theory of circumcision.

Custom of  
placing  
extracted  
teeth in  
trees.

Thus among the natives of the Goulburn River in the central part of Victoria, when a youth reaches manhood, "he is conducted by three of the leaders of the tribe into the recesses of the woods, where he remains two days and one night. Being furnished with a piece of wood he knocks out two of the teeth of his upper front jaw; and on returning to the camp carefully consigns them to his mother. The youth then again retires into the forest, and remains absent two nights and one day; during which his mother, having selected a young gum tree, inserts the teeth in the bark, in the fork of two of the topmost branches. This tree is made known only to certain persons of the tribe, and is strictly kept from the knowledge of the youth himself. In case the person to whom the tree is thus dedicated dies, the foot of it is stripped of its bark, and it is killed by the application of fire; thus becoming a monument of the deceased."<sup>1</sup> In some of the Darling River tribes in New South Wales the youth after initiation used to place his extracted tooth under the bark of a tree, near a creek, water-hole, or river; if the bark grew over it or the tooth fell into the water, all was well; but if it were exposed and ants ran over it, the natives believed that the youth would suffer from a disease in his mouth.<sup>2</sup> These customs seem to shew that a mystic relation of sympathy was supposed to exist between the man and his severed tooth of such a nature that when it suffered he suffered, and that when he died the tooth and its temporary receptacle must both be destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Blandowski, "Personal Observations made in an Excursion towards the Central Parts of Victoria," *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Victoria*, i. (Melbourne, 1855), p. 72. Compare R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 61; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 453 sq. It may be noted that in the tribes of Central Victoria described by Mr. Blandowski a young man as usual was prohibited from holding any communication with his wife's mother. Once "a mother-in-law being descried approaching, a number of *lubras* [women] formed a circle around the young man, and he himself covered his face with his hands." See W. Blandowski, *op. cit.* p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> F. Bonney, "On some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 128. Similarly among tribes of the Itchumundi nation to the west of the Darling River a young man takes his

extracted tooth together with the hair which has been plucked from his private parts and conceals them under the bark of a tree which has its roots in a water-hole. See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 675 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The belief in a sympathetic relation between the man and his extracted tooth comes out plainly in a custom of the Dieri. After the novice's mouth is healed his father takes the two extracted teeth, "blows two or three times with his mouth, and then jerks the teeth through his hand to a distance. He then buries them about eighteen inches in the ground. The jerking motion is to show that he has already taken all the life out of them; as, should he fail to do so, the boy would be liable to have an ulcerated mouth, an impediment in his speech, a wry mouth, and ultimately a distorted face." See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 656.

If these aborigines believed in the reincarnation of the dead, as to which however we have no information, it might be that the burning of the tree and the tooth was intended to liberate the vital essence of the dead man as a preliminary to rebirth. In this connection it deserves to be noticed that it is the mother of the youth who deposits his tooth in the tree, just as among the Gnanji it is the mother of the patient who buries the tooth beside a water-hole; and further that in the Arunta and Kaitish tribes the extracted tooth is thrown away in the direction where the boy's or girl's mother is supposed to have encamped in the far-off dream times (*alcheringa*).<sup>1</sup> This at least suggests that the tooth may possibly be regarded as an instrument of impregnation and therefore of a new birth. The same may perhaps be the meaning of a curious custom observed in the Warramunga tribe; the extracted tooth is pounded up and given in a piece of flesh to the mother or to the mother-in-law of the patient to eat, according as the person operated on is a girl or a boy.<sup>2</sup> In some Queensland tribes "the custom of knocking out the two front teeth is connected with the entry into their heaven. If they have the two front teeth out they will have bright clear water to drink, and if not they will have only dirty or muddy water."<sup>3</sup> Such a belief, if it is really held, proves that the practice of extracting teeth at puberty is associated in the native mind with the life hereafter and is supposed to be a preparation for it. Customs to a certain extent similar are observed by some Australian aborigines in regard to the foreskins which are severed at circumcision. Thus in the Warramunga tribe the foreskin is placed in the hole made by a witchetty grub in a tree and is supposed to cause a plentiful supply of grubs; or it may be put in the burrow of a ground spider and then it is thought to make the lad's genital organ to grow. The lad himself never sees the severed foreskin and, like the Victorian natives in regard to the trees where their extracted teeth are deposited, never knows where this portion of himself has been placed.<sup>4</sup> These beliefs as to the foreskin, like the beliefs as to the tooth deposited in a water-hole, suggest that a fertilising virtue is ascribed to the severed foreskin as well as to the severed tooth. Further, among some tribes of North-Western Australia the foreskin of each lad who has been circumcised is tied to his hair and left there till his wound is healed, after which it is either pounded up with kangaroo meat and eaten by its owner, or is taken by his relations to a large tree and there inserted under the bark.<sup>5</sup> However we may explain it,

Disposal of the foreskins severed at circumcision.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 452, 453, 455 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 593.

<sup>3</sup> E. Palmer, "Notes on some

Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 291.

<sup>4</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 353 sq.

<sup>5</sup> E. Clement, "Ethnographical

a curious parallelism thus exists between the ritual of circumcision and the ritual of tooth-extraction, since both of the severed and unpalatable parts of the body, the foreskin and the tooth, are either eaten or deposited in a tree, which is kept secret from the man or woman from whose person the one or the other has been abstracted. In the Unmatjera tribe the boy himself hides his foreskin, under cover of darkness, in a hollow tree, telling no one but a cousin, his father's sister's son, where he has put it, and carefully concealing it from women. A pregnant hint as to the part played by the tree in the ceremony is furnished by the Unmatjera tradition, that the ancestors of the tribe always placed their foreskins in their *nanja* trees, that is, in the trees where their disembodied spirits were supposed to tarry in the interval between two successive incarnations.<sup>1</sup> As such trees are among the spots where women are supposed to conceive children through the entrance of the disembodied spirits into their womb, it is hardly rash to conjecture that the intention of placing the severed foreskin in such a tree was to ensure that the person from whom it was taken might hereafter, when his present life was over, be born again of a woman into the world. The same idea may have been at the root of the practice of similarly placing the extracted tooth in a tree; although with regard to the latter custom we unfortunately know too little as to the beliefs of the natives who practise it to be justified in advancing this hypothesis as anything more than a bare conjecture.

Hawaiian custom of knocking out teeth in mourning for a king or chief.

In Hawaii it was a custom to knock out one or more front teeth as a mark of grief at the death of a king or chief; and though this custom was not obligatory, it was yet so common that in the old heathen days few men were to be seen with an entire set of teeth, and many had lost all their front teeth both on the upper and lower jaw, which, apart from its other inconveniences, caused a great defect in their speech. The custom was practised both by men and women, but oftener by men than by women. Sometimes a man knocked out his own teeth with a stone; but more commonly some one else kindly did it for him, putting a stick against the tooth and hammering it with a stone till it broke. If men shrank from the pain of the operation, women would often perform it upon them while they slept.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that this custom was not a mere

Notes on the Western Australian Aborigines," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xvi. (1904) p. 11.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 341. As to the *nanja* trees or rocks, the homes of disembodied spirits, see *id.*, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 123-125, 132-134.

<sup>2</sup> W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, iv. (London, 1836) p. 176. Compare *The Voyages of Captain James Cook round the World* (London, 1809), vii. 146; L. de Freycinet, *Voyage autour du monde*, ii. (Paris, 1829) p. 601; O. von Kotzebue, *Reise um die Welt* (Weimar, 1830), ii. 116.

extravagant exhibition of sorrow; we may surmise that it sprang from some superstition. Indeed Captain Cook, the first to record it, expressly says: "We always understood that this voluntary punishment, like the cutting off the joints of the finger at the Friendly Islands, was not inflicted on themselves from the violence of grief on the death of their friends, but was designed as a propitiatory sacrifice to the *Eatooa* [spirit], to avert any danger or mischief to which they might be exposed."<sup>1</sup> It is possible that these sacrifices of teeth may have been originally intended, not so much to appease the vexed ghost of the departed, as to strengthen him either for his life in the world of shades or perhaps for rebirth into the world. I have suggested elsewhere<sup>2</sup> that this was the intention with which mourners in Australia wound themselves severely and allow the blood to drip on the corpse or on the grave.<sup>3</sup> In some tribes of Central Africa, as I learn from my friend the Rev. John Roscoe, all the teeth which have been at any time extracted from a man's mouth are carefully preserved and buried with him at death in his grave, doubtless in order that he may have the use of them at his next resurrection. It is accordingly legitimate to conjecture that the teeth which the Hawaiians knocked out of their mouths at the death of a king or chief may have been destined for the benefit of the deceased, whether by recruiting his vital forces in general or by furnishing him with a liberal, indeed superabundant, supply of teeth.

Teeth  
buried with  
the dead.

Throughout the East Indian Archipelago it is customary to file and blacken the teeth of both sexes at puberty as a necessary preliminary to marriage. The common way of announcing that a girl has reached puberty is to say, "She has had her teeth filed." However, the ceremony is often delayed for a year or two, when there is no immediate prospect of a girl's marriage. The operation is chiefly confined to the upper canine teeth, the edges of which are filed down and made quite even, while the body of the tooth is hollowed. However, the teeth of the lower jaw are very often filed also. Sometimes the teeth are filed right down to the gums; sometimes they are filed into a pointed or triangular shape, so that all together they resemble the edge of a saw. The custom of thus pointing the teeth is found particularly in Java, some districts of Sumatra, the Mentawai Islands, among the Ootanas on the south-

Custom of  
filing and  
blackening  
the teeth in  
the East  
Indian  
Archi-  
pelago.

<sup>1</sup> *The Voyages of Captain James Cook round the World* (London, 1809), vii. 146.

<sup>2</sup> "The Origin of Circumcision," *The Independent Review*, November 1904, pp. 208 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See F. Bonney, "On some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling,

New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) pp. 134 sq.; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 507, 509; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 516 sq.; G. Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia* (London, 1841), ii. 332.

Custom of  
filing the  
teeth in  
the East  
Indian  
Archi-  
pelago.

west coast of New Guinea, some negro and some Malay tribes of the Philippines, and very commonly among the Dyaks of Sarawak in Borneo.<sup>1</sup> In the island of Bali the four upper front teeth are filed down to the gums and the two eye-teeth are pointed. For three days after the operation the patient is secluded in a dark room; above all he is strictly enjoined not to enter the kitchen. Even when he has been released from the dark chamber he must for eight days thereafter take the greatest care not to cross a river or even a brook, and not to enter a house in which there is a dead body.<sup>2</sup> In some parts of the East Indian Archipelago, for example, in Minahassa, a district of northern Celebes, the teeth may only be filed after the death of the nearest blood-relations, which seems to shew that in these places, as in Hawaii, the custom is associated with mourning.<sup>3</sup> Contrary to the practice of the Australian aborigines, with whom tooth-extraction and circumcision are alternative rites of initiation, some tribes observing the one and some the other, all the peoples of the East Indian Archipelago circumcise both sexes, so that among them the nearly universal custom of filing the teeth is practised in addition to, not as a substitute for, circumcision.<sup>4</sup> But while almost all the Indonesian peoples file their teeth, very few of them knock out their teeth, like the aborigines of

<sup>1</sup> John Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago* (Edinburgh, 1820), i. 215 sq.; G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), pp. 234 sqq.; *id.* "Over de mutilatie der tanden bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxvii. (1888) pp. 472-504. Compare W. Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (London, 1811), pp. 52 sq., 470; T. S. Raffles, *The History of Java* (London, 1817), i. 95, 351; T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (London, 1839), i. 253; S. Müller, *Reizen en Onderzoekingen in den Indischen Archipel* (Amsterdam, 1857), ii. 279; B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes* (The Hague, 1875), pp. 70 sq.; A. L. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra* (Leyden, 1882), pp. 6-8; J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane en Bilastroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, Deel iii. Afdeling, Mehr uitge-

breide Artikelen, No. 3 (Amsterdam, 1886), pp. 460-464; J. G. F. Riedel, "De landschappen Holontalo, Limoeto, Bone, Boalemo en Kattingola, of Andagile," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde*, xix. (1869) p. 133; *id.* "Die Landschaft Dawan oder West-Timor," *Deutsche geographische Blätter*, x. 284; *id.* *De sluiken kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (The Hague, 1886), pp. 75, 137, 177, 251, 418; *id.*, *The Island of Flores or Pulau Bunga*, p. 8 (reprinted from the *Revue coloniale internationale*). As to the different modes of mutilating the teeth and their geographical distribution in the Indian Archipelago, see H. von Ihering, "Die künstliche Deformation der Zähne," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv. (1882) pp. 240-253.

<sup>2</sup> R. van Eck, "Schetsen van het eiland Bali," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, N.S. ix. (1880) pp. 423-429.

<sup>3</sup> G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde* (Leyden, 1893), p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> G. A. Wilken, *op. cit.* pp. 225, 234.

Australia. Indeed the latter custom appears to be reported only of some tribes of Central Celebes and of the natives of Engano.<sup>1</sup> Thus it is said that among the Tonapos, Tobadas, and Tokulabis of Central Celebes women have two front upper teeth knocked out at puberty and the lower teeth filed away to the gums. The reason alleged for the practice is that a woman once bit her husband so severely that he died.<sup>2</sup> The wide prevalence of the custom of filing the teeth and the comparative absence of the custom of breaking them out in the Indian Archipelago favour the view that the former is a mitigation of the latter, the barbarous old practice of removing certain teeth altogether having been softened into one of removing only a portion of each.<sup>3</sup>

The practice of filing the teeth is found also in some tribes of Indo-China. Thus among the Phnongs, on the left bank of the Mekong River in Cambodia, when children are thirteen years of age, the teeth of the upper jaw are cut down almost to the gums and they are kept short by filing or rubbing them from time to time. No reasonable explanation of the custom is given by the people.<sup>4</sup> Similarly among the Khveks of French Cochin-China men and women file their upper incisor teeth down to a level with the gums;<sup>5</sup> and the men of Draï, a village of the Mois, also have their teeth filed, which according to the Annamites is a sign of cannibalism.<sup>6</sup> In China we hear of the Ta-ya Kih-lau, or "the Kih-lau which beat out their teeth." "These are found in Kien-si, Tsing-ping, and Ping-yueh. Before the daughters are given in marriage, two of their front teeth must be beaten out to prevent damage to the husband's family. This practice has secured to this tribe its designation, as given above. This tribe is divided into five clans, which do not intermarry."<sup>7</sup> Among the aborigines of northern Formosa "one of the most singular customs is that of knocking out the eye tooth of all the children when they reach the

Custom of  
filing the  
teeth in  
Indo-  
China.

<sup>1</sup> G. A. Wilken, "Over de mutilatie der tanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandisch-Indië*, xxxvii. (1888) pp. 483 sq.; *id.* *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandisch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, "De Topantunuasu of oorspronkelijke Volksstammen van Centraal Celebes," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandisch-Indië*, xxxv. (1886) pp. 92 sq.

<sup>3</sup> This is the opinion of Dr. Uhle, quoted by G. A. Wilken, "Over de mutilatie der tanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van*

*Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxvii. (1888) p. 484.

<sup>4</sup> J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge* (Paris, 1883), i. 416.

<sup>5</sup> E. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos* (Saigon, 1885), p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Humann, "Excursion chez les Mois," *Cochinchine française, excursions et reconnaissances*, No. 19 (Saigon, 1884), p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> "Sketches of the Miau-tsze," translated by the Rev. E. C. Bridgman, *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. No. 3 (December 1859), p. 283. These "Sketches" were written by a Chinaman who travelled in the province of Kwei-chou.

age of six or eight years, in the belief that it strengthens their speed and wind in hunting."<sup>1</sup>

Custom of knocking out, chipping, or filing the teeth in Africa.

In Africa the custom of knocking out, chipping, or filing the teeth is very common.<sup>2</sup> Thus among the Herero or Damaras both boys and girls about the age of puberty have the four lower incisor teeth knocked out and a wedge-shaped or triangular opening (like an inverted V) made in the upper row by chipping pieces off the two middle incisor teeth with a rough stone. The people regard this artificial deformity as a beauty; no girl will attract a lover if she has not undergone this painful mutilation. As to the meaning of the custom the Herero themselves are uncertain.<sup>3</sup> According to one account the name for the operation (*oruvava ruomusisi*) means "fashioned after the likeness of the holy ancestral bull."<sup>4</sup> It is to be observed that among the Herero all the males are also circumcised, the operation being performed on them between the ages of six and ten, some years before their teeth are knocked out and chipped.<sup>5</sup> All the Batoka tribes in the valley of the Zambesi "follow the curious custom of knocking out the upper front teeth at the age of puberty. This is done by both sexes, and though the under teeth, being relieved from the attrition of the upper, grow long and somewhat bent out, and thereby cause the under lip to protrude in a most unsightly way, no young woman thinks herself accomplished until she has got rid of the upper incisors. . . . When questioned respecting the origin of this practice, the Batoka reply that their object is to be like oxen, and those who retain their teeth they consider to resemble zebras. Whether this is the true reason or not, it is difficult to say; but it is noticeable that the veneration for oxen which prevails in many tribes should here be associated with hatred to the zebra, as among the Bakwains; that this operation is performed at the same age that circumcision is in other tribes; and that here that ceremony is unknown. The custom is so universal that a person who has his teeth is considered ugly. . . . Some of the Makololo give a more facetious explanation

<sup>1</sup> E. C. Taintor, "The Aborigines of Northern Formosa," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, No. 9, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> As to the different forms of the mutilation and their geographical distribution in Africa, see H. von Ihering, "Die künstliche Deformierung der Zähne," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv. (1882) pp. 220-240.

<sup>3</sup> H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest Afrika*, pp. 169-171; J. Irle, *Die Herero* (Gütersloh, 1906), pp. 104 sq. Compare Sir James Edward Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the In-*

*terior of Africa* (London, 1838), ii. 163; C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, Second Edition (London, 1856), p. 226; James Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa* (London, 1868), ii. 215; J. Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iv. (1869) p. 501; G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas* (Breslau, 1872), p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> "Zeichen oder gebildet nach dem heiligen Ahnenstier" (J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 105).

<sup>5</sup> J. Hahn, *l.c.*; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, pp. 168 sq.; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, pp. 102-104.

of the custom ; they say that the wife of a chief having in a quarrel bitten her husband's hand, he, in revenge, ordered her front teeth to be knocked out, and all the men in the tribe followed his example ; but this does not explain why they afterwards knocked out their own."<sup>1</sup> The Babimpes, another tribe of South Africa, knock out both upper and lower front teeth ;<sup>2</sup> the Mathlekas file their teeth to stumps ;<sup>3</sup> and the Bashinje file them to points.<sup>4</sup> The Banabya or Banyai file their middle front teeth "in order to be like their cattle."<sup>5</sup> "The Makalakas or Bashapatani file the upper front teeth, like the Damaras, with a stone ; the Batongo knock out the two upper front teeth with an axe. . . . This rite is practised as a sort of circumcision."<sup>6</sup> The Mashona file a wedge-shaped or triangular opening (like an inverted V) between two front teeth.<sup>7</sup> The Maio, Baluba (or Bashilanga), and Kizuata-shito file their teeth ; the Bakuba break out the two upper front teeth.<sup>8</sup>

Similar mutilations are practised widely in West Africa. Thus "the Mussurongo and Ambriz blacks knock out the two middle front teeth in the upper jaw on arriving at the age of puberty. The Mushicongos are distinguished from them by having all their front teeth, top and bottom, chipped into points."<sup>9</sup> Among the Otando people (a branch of the Ashira nation) the fashion of mutilating the teeth varies. "Many file the two upper incisors in the shape of a sharp cone, and the four lower ones are also filed to a sharp point. Others file the four upper incisors to a point. A few among them have the two upper incisors pulled out."<sup>10</sup> Among the Aponos both men and women extract the two middle upper incisors and file the rest, as well as the four lower, to points.<sup>11</sup> The Ishogos and Ashangos "adopt the custom of taking out their two middle upper incisors, and of filing the other incisors to a point ; but the Ashangos do not adopt the custom of filing also the upper incisors. Some of the women have the four upper incisors taken out."<sup>12</sup> Among the Apingi both men and women file their teeth.<sup>13</sup> Among the Songo negroes of

Mutilations  
of the teeth  
in West  
Africa.

<sup>1</sup> David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), pp. 532 sq. With the latter explanation of the custom compare the explanation of it given by some tribes of Celebes (above, p. 187).

<sup>2</sup> D. Livingstone, *op. cit.* p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Arbousset et Daumas, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration* (Paris, 1842), p. 357.

<sup>4</sup> D. Livingstone, *op. cit.* p. 442.

<sup>5</sup> J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, ii. 160 sq.

<sup>6</sup> J. Chapman, *op. cit.* ii. 215.

<sup>7</sup> W. M. Kerr, "Journey from Cape Town inland to Lake Nyassa," *Pro-*

*ceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, viii. (1886) p. 69.

<sup>8</sup> "Silva Porto's Journey from Bihe (Bie) to the Bakuba Country," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, ix. (1887) pp. 755, 756.

<sup>9</sup> J. J. Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo* (London, 1875), i. 262 sq.

<sup>10</sup> P. B. Du Chaillu, *A Journey to Ashongo-land* (London, 1867), p. 210.

<sup>11</sup> P. B. Du Chaillu, *op. cit.* p. 255.

<sup>12</sup> P. B. Du Chaillu, *op. cit.* p. 331. Compare *ibid.* pp. 285 sq.

<sup>13</sup> P. B. Du Chaillu, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (London, 1861), p. 442.

Loanda it is a common custom to file the upper incisor teeth to a point.<sup>1</sup> Kalunda women often file the upper incisor teeth so as to round, not point, them; and they break the two opposite teeth quite out.<sup>2</sup> The Musulungus, who occupy the islands of the Congo and a part of the north bank, "have no tattoo, but they pierce the nose septum and extract the two central and upper incisors; the Muxi-Congoes or Lower Congoese chip or file out a chevron in the near sides of the same teeth."<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Bayaka of Loango it is the universal custom to point the upper front teeth.<sup>4</sup> However, in Loango the fashion of mutilating the teeth varies. Some people knock them out, others file them either horizontally or so as to leave a triangular gap; others again point them.<sup>5</sup> Further, the custom of filing the teeth to a point is said to prevail among all the negro tribes of the west coast of Africa from the Casamance River in Senegambia to the Gaboon.<sup>6</sup> Among the Krumen and Grebus "the two middle incisors of the upper jaw are filed away, leaving an angular space."<sup>7</sup>

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of the teeth  
in Central  
and Eastern  
Africa.

Similar deformations of the teeth are practised by many tribes of Central and Eastern Africa. Thus among the Bakuba, in the valley of the Kasai River, a southern tributary of the Congo, the two upper front teeth are always knocked out at puberty.<sup>8</sup> Again, with regard to the tribes about the southern half of Lake Tanganyika we are told that they chip the two upper front incisors, or all of them, and extract the two centre front teeth in the lower jaw.<sup>9</sup> Again, some of the Wakhutu "have a practice—exceptional in these latitudes—of chipping their incisors to sharp points, which imitate well enough the armature of the reptilia."<sup>10</sup> The Wadoe

<sup>1</sup> P. Pogge, *Im Reiche des Muata Jamwo* (Berlin, 1880), p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> P. Pogge, *op. cit.* p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> R. F. Burton, *Two Trips to Gorilla Land* (London, 1876), p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Giussfeldt, *Die Loango-Expedition* (Leipsic, 1879), p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste* (Jena, 1874), i. 185.

<sup>6</sup> J. B. Béranger-Feraud, *Les Peuples de la Sénégambie* (Paris, 1879), pp. 289, 297, 302 sq., 308. Compare S. M. X. Golberry, *Fragments d'un Voyage en Afrique* (Paris, 1802), p. 406 (where it is said that the teeth of the natives near Sierra Leone are pointed "like those of a shark"); T. Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone* (London, 1803), pp. 104 sq.; A. G. Laing, *Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko, and Soolima Countries in Western*

*Africa* (London, 1825), p. 199; E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, xii. 380; W. Allen and T. R. H. Thomson, *Narrative of the Expedition to the River Niger in 1841* (London, 1848), ii. 297.

<sup>7</sup> W. Allen and T. R. H. Thomson, *op. cit.* i. 125.

<sup>8</sup> L. Wolf, "Reisen in Central-Africa," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xiv. (1887) p. 84; H. Wissmann, L. Wolf, C. von François, H. Müller, *Im Inneren Afrikas, die Erforschung des Kassai* (Leipsic, 1885), p. 242.

<sup>9</sup> V. L. Cameron, "Examination of the Southern Half of Lake Tanganyika," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xlv. (1875) p. 215.

<sup>10</sup> R. F. Burton, "The Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxix. (1859) p. 97.

"frequently chip away the two inner sides of the upper central incisors, leaving a small chevron-shaped hole. This mutilation however is practised almost throughout Intertropical Africa."<sup>1</sup> The Wasagara "chip the teeth to points like sharks."<sup>2</sup> The Wabehe chip the two upper incisors, and some men extract three or four of the lower front teeth.<sup>3</sup> Among the Wapare men and women have the four upper incisors pointed "like sharks," and often the two lower teeth are knocked out at puberty.<sup>4</sup> The Makua of East Africa have as a rule their front teeth filed to a point.<sup>5</sup> Of the tribes visited by Captains Speke and Grant on their famous journey, it is said that "they generally wear down, with a bit of iron, the centre of their incisor teeth; others, the N'geendo, for example, convert all the incisors into eye-teeth shape, making them to resemble the teeth of the crocodile."<sup>6</sup> Among the Wanyamwezi a triangular opening is made in the upper front teeth by chipping away the edges of the two middle incisors; the women extract two of the lower front teeth. The former custom—that of making a triangular opening in the middle of the upper front teeth—is shared by many African peoples.<sup>7</sup> The A-Kamba sharpen to a point the incisor teeth in the upper jaw and knock out the two middle incisors from the lower jaw. The teeth are sharpened at the first circumcision ceremony, and by the man who operates on that occasion. If a child dies who has not had the middle incisor tooth of the lower jaw knocked out, this tooth is removed after death, else it is believed that some one will soon die in the village.<sup>8</sup> The Nandi pull out the two middle incisor teeth in the lower jaw, and a chief or medicine-man has in addition one of the upper incisors removed. Besides the extraction of teeth the Nandi practise circumcision both on men and women.<sup>9</sup> Almost all Masai men and most Masai women knock out the two middle incisor teeth of the lower jaw, a custom which is also very common among the

<sup>1</sup> R. F. Burton, "The Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxix. (1859) p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> R. F. Burton, *op. cit.* p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> R. F. Burton, *op. cit.* p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> O. Baumann, *Usambara* (Berlin, 1891), p. 222.

<sup>5</sup> H. E. O'Neill, "Journey in the Makua and Lomwe Countries," *Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society*, New Series, iv. (1882) p. 197.

<sup>6</sup> Capt. Grant, "On the Native Tribes visited by Captains Speke and Grant in Equatorial Africa," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of*

*London*, New Series, iii. (1865) pp. 88 sq.

<sup>7</sup> E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, xiii. 218; F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), p. 84; R. A. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda* (London, 1889), p. 287; J. Becker, *La Vie en Afrique* (Paris and Brussels, 1887), pp. 187, 259.

<sup>8</sup> C. W. Hobley, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba*, pp. 17 sq., 67 (unpublished).

<sup>9</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (London, 1904), ii. 864, 868; C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, (London, 1902), pp. 38, 39.

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Nilotic tribes. The Masai also circumcise both men and women about puberty.<sup>1</sup> In British East Africa the Awa-Wanga draw the four middle teeth of the lower jaw; the Ketosh extract two or three, the Ithako and Isukha only one. Were a man's teeth not drawn, it is believed that he would certainly be killed in war; and if his wife's teeth were not drawn, he would also be slain in battle. People laugh at a man who keeps all his teeth; they say he is like a donkey.<sup>2</sup> The Ja-luo, a Nilotic people of Kavirondo, who do not practise circumcision, draw the six middle teeth of the lower jaw. If a man has not these teeth drawn, it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage.<sup>3</sup> Similarly the Bantu Kavirondo, who also do not practise circumcision, "usually pull out the two middle incisor teeth in the lower jaw. Both the men and women do this. It is thought that if a man retains all his lower incisor teeth he will be killed in warfare, and that if his wife has failed to pull out her teeth it might cause her husband to perish."<sup>4</sup> The Basoga also extract two of the lower front teeth.<sup>5</sup> The Banyoro pull out the four lower incisors; "this is a practice learnt, no doubt, from the neighbouring Nilotic tribes. As individuals of both sexes grow old, their upper incisor teeth, having no opposition, grow long and project from the gum in a slanting manner, which gives the mouth an ugly hippopotamine appearance. The Banyoro do not circumcise."<sup>6</sup> The males of all the Congo pygmies seen by Sir Harry Johnston were circumcised, "and all in both sexes had their upper incisor teeth and canines sharpened to a point, after the fashion of the Babira and Upper Congo tribes."<sup>7</sup> Among the Lur, to the west of the Albert Nyanza Lake, the four lower incisors are extracted, or rather pushed out, at the age of puberty.<sup>8</sup> The Latuka also remove the four lower incisors.<sup>9</sup> The Monbutto, in the upper valley of the Congo, file the upper middle incisors so as to present a vacant triangular space in the row of teeth;<sup>10</sup> but "they neither break out their lower incisor teeth, like the black nations on the northern river plains, nor do they file them to points, like the Niam-niam." They practise circumcision.<sup>11</sup> Among the tribal marks of the Agar and Atwot is

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (London, 1904), ii. 803, 804; A. C. Hollis, *The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 261 sq., 296 sq., 299, 313.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, (London, 1902), p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> C. W. Hobley, *op. cit.* p. 31; compare Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 783.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 728; L. Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 464.

<sup>5</sup> L. Declé, *l.c.*

<sup>6</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 581. Compare *Emin Pasha in Central Africa, being a Collection of his Letters and Journals* (London, 1888), pp. 61, 194.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 538.

<sup>8</sup> *Emin Pasha in Central Africa, being a Collection of his Letters and Journals*, p. 154.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 237.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 212.

<sup>11</sup> G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa* (London, 1878), ii. 53.

the removal of the four lower incisor teeth and the two canines.<sup>1</sup> The Niam-niam "fall in with the custom, common to the whole of Central Africa, of filing the incisor teeth to a point, for the purpose of effectually gripping the arm of an adversary either in wrestling or in single combat."<sup>2</sup> Among the Upotos of the middle Congo the practice of filing the teeth is general. Men as a rule file only the teeth of the upper jaw, but women file the teeth of the lower jaw as well.<sup>3</sup> Among the Dinkas of the Upper Nile "both sexes break off the lower incisor teeth, a custom which they practise in common with the majority of the natives of the district of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The object of this hideous mutilation is hard to determine; its effect appears in their inarticulate language."<sup>4</sup> The Nuehr, a tribe of the same region, akin to the Dinkas, similarly knock out the two front teeth of the lower jaw as soon as they appear in both sexes. The mutilation affects many sounds in the language, giving them a peculiar intonation which it is hard to imitate.<sup>5</sup> In the Madi or Moru tribe the upper and lower incisor teeth are extracted from both sexes at puberty.<sup>6</sup> The Bendeh, a pagan tribe of the Soudan, file all their teeth, except the molars, into a round shape.<sup>7</sup> The Somrai and Gaberi, of the eastern French Soudan, remove an upper and a lower incisor tooth; the Sara, of the same region, remove two of each.<sup>8</sup>

In contrast to the natives of Africa, among whom the custom of removing or mutilating the teeth is widely spread, almost all the Indian tribes of America appear to have wisely refrained from maiming and mutilating themselves in this absurd fashion. However, the natives of the province of Huancavelica in Peru pulled out two or three teeth both in the upper and in the lower jaw of all their children, as soon as the second set of teeth had made its appearance. According to tradition the custom was instituted by an Inca as a punishment for the treason of a Huancavelica chief,<sup>9</sup> but the story was probably invented to explain the origin of a

Custom of knocking out teeth in America.

<sup>1</sup> Emin Pasha in *Central Africa*, pp. 238 sq.

<sup>2</sup> G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, i. 276.

<sup>3</sup> M. Lindeman, *Les Upotos* (Brussels, 1906), p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, i. 50; compare *id.* pp. 135 sq.

<sup>5</sup> E. Marno, *Reisen im Gebiete des Blauen und Weissen Nil* (Vienna, 1874), p. 345.

<sup>6</sup> R. W. Felkin, "Notes on the Madi or Moru Tribe of Central Africa," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, xii. (1882-1884) p. 315.

<sup>7</sup> *Travels of an Arab Merchant* [Mohammed Ibn-Omar El Tounsy] in *Soudan* (London, 1854), p. 224.

<sup>8</sup> G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, ii. 683.

<sup>9</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, translated by Clements R. Markham (London, 1869-1871), ii. 426 sq.; Cieza de Leon, *Travels*, translated by Clements R. Markham (London, 1864), pp. 177, 181. The number of teeth extracted in each jaw was two according to Garcilasso de la Vega, but three according to Cieza de Leon.

practice of which the real meaning had been forgotten. Some Indians of Central America used to knock out a front tooth of every captive whom they took in war.<sup>1</sup> This they may have done either to mark him or perhaps to have in their possession a piece of his person, by means of which they imagined they could control him on the principle of sympathetic magic.

The custom of removing teeth is not an imitation of the totem; probably it is based on some savage superstition as to puberty which we do not understand.

From the foregoing survey we may gather that, though some tribes of South Africa are said to draw their teeth in order to resemble the cattle which they revere,<sup>2</sup> yet there is no sufficient ground for holding that the custom of extracting or mutilating the teeth is an attempt to imitate the totemic animal, or indeed that it has any direct connection with totemism. If we ask what is the real origin of a practice, which can hardly have helped and must often have hindered its practitioners in their hard struggle for existence, we may safely dismiss as insufficient the answer that it was simply designed to adorn and beautify the face.<sup>3</sup> That it is now regarded as an ornament by the people who disfigure themselves in this way is certain, but this is only an instance of a taste which has been perverted by long habit. With far greater probability we may suppose that this curious form of self-mutilation, whether it is practised as a rite of initiation at puberty or as a rite of mourning after a death, is based on some deep-seated superstition, but what the exact nature of the superstition may be remains obscure. The late eminent Dutch ethnologist G. A. Wilken suggested somewhat vaguely that the extraction of teeth at puberty is a sacrifice;<sup>4</sup> but why or to whom the sacrifice was offered he did not attempt to determine. I have conjectured that the practice may perhaps have been intended to facilitate the reincarnation either of the patient himself or of some one else at a future time; but I admit that the conjecture seems far-fetched and improbable. We might be able to understand the custom, as well as the kindred custom of circumcision and other mutilations of the genital organs, if only we knew how primitive man explained to himself the mysterious phenomena of puberty; but that is one of the many unsolved problems of anthropology.

In connection with the practice of extracting or mutilating the teeth at puberty may be mentioned the widespread African custom of putting all children to death who cut their upper teeth before the

<sup>1</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 764.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 188, 189. Observers have noted the resemblance of pointed human teeth to the teeth of sharks or crocodiles. See above, pp. 190, 191. But it is not said that the natives have adopted the custom of pointing their teeth for the purpose of assimilating

themselves to these animals.

<sup>3</sup> This was the view of H. von Ihering ("Die künstliche Deformierung der Zähne," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv. (1882) pp. 217 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> G. A. Wilken, "Over de mutilatie der tanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxvii. (1888) p. 17.

lower, because it is believed that such children will be wicked and will bring misfortune on all about them. The custom is particularly common among the tribes of Eastern Africa. For example, we are told that "the *kigogo*, or child who cuts the two upper incisors before the lower, is either put to death or he is given away or sold to the slave-merchant, under the impression that he will bring disease, calamity, and death into the household. The Wasawahili and the Zanzibar Arabs have the same superstition: the former kill the child; the latter, after a *khitmah*, or prelection of the Koran, make it swear, by nodding its head, unable to articulate, that it will not injure those about him."<sup>1</sup> Among the Banyoro "the cutting of children's upper incisors before the lower appears to be feared as bringing misfortune, and when it occurs, the *mbandua* (magician) is at once summoned to perform certain dances for the protection of the child, and is rewarded by a goat."<sup>2</sup> But in most tribes the unlucky children were put to death. Among the Wajagga of Mount Kilimandjaro, in East Africa, a child who cuts his upper teeth first is generally put to death. If it is exceptionally allowed to live, the parents take great care to conceal the misfortune, for the popular belief is that such a child will afterwards murder his or her spouse, or that the spouse will die soon after marriage. It is a lifelong disgrace to any man or woman to have cut the upper teeth before the lower. If he is a man, he will get no girl to marry him except such a one as is despised and rejected by everybody else; if she is a woman, nobody but an ugly old man will take her to wife.<sup>3</sup>

African custom of putting to death children who cut their upper teeth before the lower.

#### P. 27. The bone . . . which some Australian tribes thrust

<sup>1</sup> R. F. Burton, "The Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa," *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, xxix. (1859) pp. 91 sq. See further C. Velten, *Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli* (Göttingen, 1903), p. 24; J. M. Hildebrandt, "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x. (1878) p. 395; O. Baumann, *Usambara und seine Nachbargebiete* (Berlin, 1891), pp. 43, 131, 237; A. Widenmann, "Die Kilimandscharo - Bevölkerung," *Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft*, No. 129 (Gotha, 1899), p. 90; Ch. Delhaise, *Notes Ethnographiques sur quelques Peuplades du Tanganika* (Brussels, 1905), pp. 33 sq.; Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 416 sq.; H. Grütznér, "Ueber die Gebräuche der Basutho," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethno-*

*logie, und Urgeschichte*, 1877, p. (78) (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, ix.); D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), p. 577; J. B. Labat, *Relation Historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale* (Paris, 1732), ii. 115; R. Clarke, "The Inhabitants of Sierra Leone," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, ii. (1863) p. 333; J. F. Schön and S. Crowther, *Journals* (London, 1842), p. 50; W. Allen and T. R. H. Thomson, *Narrative of the Expedition to the River Niger in 1841* (London, 1848), i. 243 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Emin Pasha in Central Africa, being a Collection of his Letters and Journals*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> M. Merker, "Rechtsverhältnisse und Sitten der Wadschagga," *Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft* No. 138 (Gotha, 1902), p. 13.

The custom of wearing a bone or stick through the nose seems not to be totemic.

**through their nose, etc.**—There is nothing to shew that this custom is connected with totemism, in particular that it is an imitation of the totemic animal. Like the custom of knocking out teeth, the practice of wearing a bone or stick thrust through the nose probably originated in superstition and not in a mere desire to beautify the person. In the Arunta and Ilpirra tribes of Central Australia, when a boy's nose has been bored, he strips a piece of bark from a gum tree and throws it as far as he can in the direction where his mother, or rather the spirit of which his mother is a reincarnation, used to encamp in the far-off dream times (*alcheringa*).<sup>1</sup> Similarly, as we saw,<sup>2</sup> he throws his extracted tooth in the same direction, which seems to shew that to the minds of the natives there is some similarity or connecting link between the customs of tooth-extraction and nose-boring. In the same tribes, when a girl's nose has been bored, which is commonly done by her husband soon after she comes into his possession, she fills a small wooden vessel full of sand and facing towards the quarter where her mother's spirit camped in the *alcheringa* days, she executes a series of short jumps, keeping her feet close together and her legs stiff, while she moves the sand in the vessel about as if she were winnowing seed. Neglect to perform this curious ceremony would, it is said, be regarded as a grave offence against her mother.<sup>3</sup> In the Warra-munga tribe every medicine-man wears a structure called *kupitja* thrust through his nose; it is not only an emblem of his profession but is associated in some mysterious way with his magical powers.<sup>4</sup> In the Pacific island of Yap, one of the Caroline group, all who die before their noses are pierced have the operation performed on their dead bodies in order, as the natives say, that they may be able to find the right house in heaven.<sup>5</sup> This shews that the custom is supposed in some way to have a direct bearing on the life after death, though perhaps only in so far as a person not so marked might be regarded as imperfect and therefore as not entitled to a good place in the other world. It deserves to be observed that most of the bodily mutilations which savages voluntarily inflict on themselves, such as piercing the nose, the lips, and the ears, the practice of circumcision, subincision, and so forth, are concerned with the natural openings of the body, and may therefore perhaps have been designed to guard against the intrusion of dangerous objects, whether material or spiritual, which might insinuate themselves through these passages into the person. One

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 459; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 615.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern*

*Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 484. The structure seems to be a little cylindrical mass of tightly-wound fur-string.

<sup>5</sup> A. Senft, "Die Rechtssitten der Jap-Eingeborenen," *Globus*, xci. (1907) p. 143.

of these natural openings is the navel, and though mutilations of that part of the body seem to be rare, they are not unknown. Thus the Rendilis, a nomadic tribe of Samburu-land in Eastern Equatorial Africa, "are circumcised in the Mohammedan manner, and, in addition, they are mutilated in a most extraordinary fashion by having their navels cut out, leaving a deep hole. They are the only tribe mutilated in this manner with the exception of the Marle, who inhabit the district north of 'Basso Ebor' (Lake Stephanie), and who are probably an offshoot of the Rendili." <sup>1</sup>

Mutilation  
of the  
navel.

P. 28. Tribes . . . distinguished by their tattoo marks.—The practice of having tribal marks tattooed or incised on the body is very common, especially in Africa, but there is usually no reason to regard such marks as imitations of totems; for the mark is the same for all members of a tribe, whereas the totemic clans are always subdivisions of a tribe, so that marks borne by all the tribespeople indiscriminately cannot be totemic. In Africa the tribal mark usually consists of a number of cuts arranged in a particular pattern most commonly on the face, but also on other parts of the body. For example, the Dahomans mark themselves with a perpendicular cut between the eyebrows; the Whydahs cut both cheeks so as to give them the appearance of being pitted with the small-pox; and "the inhabitants of the neighbouring states are likewise known by the scarifications on their bodies, every country making use of this custom in their own manner. The Ardrahs make an incision in each cheek, turning up a part of the flesh towards the ears, and healing it in that position. The Mabees are distinguished by three long oblique cuts on one cheek and a cross on the other." <sup>2</sup> "The *scarin*, or tattoos, which are common to all Negro nations in these latitudes, and by which their country is instantly known, are, in Bornou, particularly unbecoming. The Bornouese have twenty cuts or lines on each side of the face, which are drawn from the corners of the mouth towards the angles of the lower jaw and the cheek-bone; and it is quite distressing to witness the torture the poor little children undergo who are thus marked, enduring not only the heat, but the attacks of millions of flies. They have also one cut on the forehead in the centre, six on each arm, six on each leg and thigh, four on each breast, and nine on each side, just above the hips." <sup>3</sup>

Tattooing  
as a tribal  
mark.

<sup>1</sup> A. Arkell-Hardwick, *An Ivory Trader in North Kenia* (London, 1903), p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Archibald Dalziel, *History of Dahomy* (London, 1793), p. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> Denham and Clapperton, *Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa* (London, 1831), iii. 175. For more examples of such tribal marks

in Africa, see "Dr. Livingstone's Expedition to Lake Nyassa," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxiii. (1863) p. 256; V. L. Cameron, "Examination of the Southern Half of Lake Tanganyika," *ibid.* xlv. (1875) p. 215; Keith Johnston, "Notes of a Trip from Zanzibar to Usambara," *Proceedings of the R. Geographical*

P. 29. These Australian tribal badges are sometimes representations of the totem.—This is inexact. What is affirmed by the

*Society*, New Series, i. (1879) p. 556; Joseph Thomson, "Notes on the Basin of the River Rovuma, East Africa," *ibid.* N.S. iv. (1882) pp. 74, 79; H. E. O'Neill, "Journey in the Makua and Lowme Countries," *ibid.* p. 196; W. M. Kerr, "Journey from Cape Town overland to Lake Nyassa," *ibid.* N.S. viii. (1886) p. 72; C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan*, ii. 122; J. Becker, *La Vie en Afrique* (Paris and Brussels, 1887), ii. 187, 305; A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, i. 313 sq., 317, 318, 319, 323; T. J. Hutchinson, *Impressions of Western Africa* (London, 1858), p. 187; J. Adams, *Sketches taken during Ten Voyages in Africa*, pp. 6, 9, 16, 24, 33, 42; W. Allen and T. R. H. Thomson, *Narrative of the Expedition to the River Niger in 1841* (London, 1848), i. 124 sq., 242, 345; J. A. Grant, *A Walk across Africa* (Edinburgh and London, 1864), p. 174; G. Nachtigal, *Sahara and Sudan*, ii. (Berlin, 1879) pp. 142, 178, 622, 683; H. H. Johnston, "On the Races of the Congo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 474; Herbert Ward, *Five Years with the Congo Cannibals* (London, 1890), p. 136; Ch. Delhaise, *Notes Ethnographiques sur quelques Peuplades du Tanganika* (Brussels, 1905), p. 27; E. Delmar Morgan, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvii. (1888) p. 235, speaking of the Congo tribes says, "The tattoo marks of the Babwendes form a lozenge shape on the forehead, those of the Batekes are arranged in lines on both cheeks and on the breast. It has been remarked by a recent writer (Dr. Chavanne) that tattooing is regarded by the natives as a protection against their fetish or evil spirit"; R. Clarke, "The Inhabitants of Sierra Leone," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, ii. (1863) p. 355; T. V. Robins, "Notes and Sketches on the Niger," *ibid.* v. (1867) p. 86; *Emin Pasha in Central Africa, being a Collection of his Letters and Journals*,

pp. 60 sq., 237, 338, 342, 346; A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 289 sq.; G. A. Lethbridge Banbury, *Sierra Leone* (London, 1888), p. 199; E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, xi. 813 sq., xii. 380, 384, 396, 721; T. Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone* (London, 1803), pp. 105-107; J. Matthews, *A Voyage to Sierra Leone* (London, 1791), pp. 110 sq.; R. F. Burton, *Two Trips to Gorilla Land* (London, 1876), ii. 234; G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa* (Edinburgh, 1878), i. 50, 276; Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 423. Similar evidence might easily be multiplied. The fullest description of tribal tattoo marks in Africa which I have met with is given by H. Hale from his observations of negro slaves in Brazil. See Ch. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, New Edition (New York, 1851), i. 54-64. Among the Maoris, according to one account, each tribe was distinguished by its tattoo marks. See W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, iii. 354 sqq.; W. Brown, *New Zealand and its Aborigines* (London, 1845), p. 31. However, other good authorities deny that the Maori tattoo marks denote the tribe to which the person belongs. See E. Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand* (London, 1843), ii. 43; E. Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* (London, 1851), pp. 16 sq. "The Caroline Islanders tattoo themselves not out of motives of decency, nor altogether for ornament, but as a means of distinguishing their families and clans, and of retaining the memory of persons, objects, and events" (*United States Exploring Expedition, Ethnology and Philology*, by Horatio Hale (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 76). The Shans and Karens of Burma have their distinctive tribal marks produced by tattooing. See Capt. C. J. F. S. Forbes, *British Burma* (London, 1878), p. 238.

authority (Mr. Chatfield) is only that "the raised cicatrices on the bodies of the natives are the blazon of their respective classes or totems." But the blazon of a totem (by which the writer probably means a totemic clan) need not be a representation of the totem. Moreover, Mr. Chatfield's statement has not been confirmed by trustworthy authorities and its accuracy is doubted.<sup>1</sup> The Central and North Central tribes investigated by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen are in the habit of making many scars on their bodies by cutting the skin with flint or glass and then rubbing ashes or the down of an eagle-hawk into the wounds. Sometimes the scars stretch right across the chest or abdomen. As a rule they are longer and more numerous on men than on women. But at the present day their form and arrangement have no special meaning; they indicate neither the tribe nor the class nor the totem. The natives regard them as purely decorative, and Messrs. Spencer and Gillen could find no evidence in the customs and traditions of the tribes that these cicatrices ever had a deeper meaning. Indeed the enquirers confess that they are very sceptical as to the supposed symbolism of these marks in any part of Australia.<sup>2</sup> In the tribes of North-West Central Queensland the bodies of both men and women are scarred with transverse cuts across the trunk from the level of the nipples to the navel, and with a few on the shoulders; some tribes add scars on the back. These marks are optional, not compulsory, and the custom of making them is dying out in this part of Australia. Like Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, Mr. Roth could discover no pictorial or hidden signification attached to the marks.<sup>3</sup> However, the explorer E. J. Eyre affirmed that "there are many varieties in the form, number, or arrangement of the scars, distinguishing the different tribes, so that one stranger meeting with another anywhere in the woods, can at once tell, from the manner in which he is tattooed, the country and tribe to which he belongs, if not very remote."<sup>4</sup> Again, he observes that "each tribe has a distinctive mode of making their incisions. Some have scars running completely across the chest, from one axillar to the other, whilst others have merely dotted lines; some have circles and semicircles formed on the apex of the shoulder, others small dots only."<sup>5</sup> Another writer, speaking of the Australian aborigines in general, says: "They also tattoo, which is a most painful operation. In some tribes the whole back and part of the chest are covered, and the women are also tattooed, but not to the same

The body scars of the Australian aborigines are said by some to be tribal marks; but this is denied by others.

<sup>1</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 66, note \*; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 468, 475.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 41-43; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 54-56.

<sup>3</sup> W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, pp. 114 sq.

<sup>4</sup> E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, (London, 1845), ii. 333.

<sup>5</sup> E. J. Eyre, *op. cit.* ii. 335.

extent. Among others, the men only have a single row, high up on the back. The operation is always performed by a man, and consists in making a number of broad and deep gashes in the flesh; those on the men are generally about an inch and a half in length. It is astonishing how stoically this horrible operation is borne. I once saw a young man undergoing the operation, and he bore it with the greatest fortitude, although his back was literally cut to pieces. By some process, with which I am not acquainted, the cut, when healed, protrudes half an inch from the skin, forming large lumps, which are considered a great ornament."<sup>1</sup>

In some Australian tribes the cutting of the scars is an initiatory ceremony performed on young men about puberty.

Although in some tribes these elaborate body-marks are now regarded as purely ornamental, it is difficult to suppose that they have always been so. It seems more likely that the decorative effect of the scars was an after-thought, and that in submitting to the severe pain of being hacked and gashed in this cruel fashion the savage was originally impelled by some more powerful motive than the wish to improve his personal appearance. This suspicion is confirmed by observing that in some tribes the cutting of the gashes forms an important part of the initiatory ceremonies through which every lad must pass before he ranks as a full-grown man, and that in these tribes a sort of mystic importance appears to be attached to the scars in relation to women. Thus in the Port Lincoln tribes of South Australia the last and most important of the initiatory rites consisted in giving the novice a new name and carving the marks on his back. This part of the ceremony has been described as follows: "Everything being prepared, several men open veins in their lower arms, while the young men are raised to swallow the first drops of the blood. They are then directed to kneel on their hands and knees, so as to give a horizontal position to their backs, which are covered all over with blood: as soon as this is sufficiently coagulated, one person marks with his thumb the places in the blood where the incisions are to be made, namely, one in the middle of the neck, and two rows from the shoulders down to the hips, at intervals of about a third of an inch between each cut. These are named *Manka*, and are ever after held in such veneration, that it would be deemed a great profanation to allude to them in the presence of women. Each incision requires several cuts with the blunt chips of quartz to make them deep enough, and is then carefully drawn apart; yet the poor fellows do not shrink, or utter a sound; but I have seen their friends so overcome by sympathy with their pain, that they made attempts to stop the cruel proceedings, which was of course not allowed by the other men. During the cutting, which is performed with astonishing expedition, as many of the men as can

<sup>1</sup> A. A. C. Le Souëf, in R. Brough Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria*, ii. 296.

find room crowd around the youths, repeating in a subdued tone, but very rapidly, the following formula :—

“ *Kauwaka kanya marra marra*  
*Karndo kanya marra marra*  
*Pilbirri kanya marra marra.* ”

“This incantation, which is derived from their ancestors, is apparently void of any coherent sense ; the object of its repetition, however, is to alleviate the pain of the young men, and to prevent dangerous consequences from the dreadful lacerations.”<sup>1</sup> It should be observed that these tribes practise circumcision as the second initiatory rite to which all youths must be subjected in their progress to manhood ; yet even circumcision is deemed of less importance than the cutting of these cruel gashes in the bodies of the young men.<sup>2</sup>

Again, among the Dieri the initiatory rite of making the cuts in the backs of the novices was subsequent to the rite of circumcision and presumably was deemed not less important, though in this tribe the young men received their new names at circumcision, not at the cutting of the gashes. “The next ceremony, following circumcision,” says Mr. S. Gason, “is that now to be described. A young man, without previous warning, is taken out of the camp by the old men, whereon the women set up crying, and so continue for almost half the night. On the succeeding morning at sunrise, the men (young and old), excepting his father and elder brothers, surround him, directing him to close his eyes. One of the old men then binds another old man round his arm, near the shoulder, with string, pretty tightly, and with a sharp piece of flint lances the main artery of the arm, about an inch above the elbow, causing an instant flow of blood, which is permitted to play on the young man until his whole frame is covered with blood. As soon as the old man becomes exhausted from loss of blood, another is operated on, and so on two or three others in succession, until the young man becomes quite stiff and sore from the great quantity of blood adhering to his person. The next stage in the ceremony is much worse for the young man. He is told to lie with his face down, when one or two young men cut him on the neck and shoulders with a sharp flint, about a sixteenth of an inch in depth, in from six to twelve places, which incisions create scars, which until death show that he has gone through the *Willyaroo.*”<sup>3</sup> A Dieri man

Dieri ceremony of cutting the backs of novices after circumcision.

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Schürmann, “The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln,” *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 232 sq. Compare A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 669 sq.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. Schürmann, *op. cit.* pp. 228-231. These tribes also practise

subincision, “though without any particular ceremony” (C. W. Schürmann, *op. cit.* p. 231).

<sup>3</sup> S. Gason, “The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie Tribe of Australian Aborigines,” *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 270. Compare

points with pride to these scars. Until they are healed, he may not turn his face to a woman nor eat in her presence.<sup>1</sup>

It seems likely that in many other tribes the raising of these scars or cicatrices on the body similarly formed at one time or another a rite of initiation which was practised on young men at puberty, either alone or in addition to other bodily mutilations, such as circumcision, subincision, and the extraction of teeth. Probably the ultimate explanation of all these worse than needless tortures, which savages inflict on each other and submit to with a misplaced heroism, is to be sought in the same direction, namely, in the ideas which primitive man has formed of the nature of puberty. But, as I have already repeatedly pointed out, these ideas remain for us civilised men very obscure.

Custom of  
tattooing  
women but  
not men.

P. 29.—**The women alone tattoo.**—In some parts of New Guinea the women are tattooed on many parts of their bodies, but the men are scarcely or not at all tattooed.<sup>2</sup> In Tubetube, a small island off the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea, “of old no male was tattooed except for sickness. Women, on the other hand, were always tattooed profusely, and the reason given for this is that it makes the girl look nice and accentuates her good skin. A girl’s face would be tattooed some time before puberty but usually after her nose had been pierced, the scalp and neck apparently not being touched. Nothing more is done until the girl reaches puberty, when the chest, belly, flanks, arms and hands are tattooed after the first catamenia ceases.”<sup>3</sup> Among the natives of the Admiralty Islands tattooing is almost entirely confined to the women, with whom it is universal. They “are tattooed with rings round the eyes and all over the face, and in diagonal lines over the upper part of the front of the body, the lines crossing one another so as to form a series of lozenge-shaped spaces.”<sup>4</sup> Amongst the

A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 658 sq.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 659.

<sup>2</sup> O. Finsch, *Neu-Guinea und seine Bewohner* (Bremen, 1865), p. 139; Moresby, in *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, xlii. (1874) pp. 7, 12; Wyatt Gill, *ibid.* p. 24; *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, xlv. (1875) p. 167; O. C. Stone, “Description of the Country and Natives of Port Moresby and Neighbourhood, New Guinea,” *ibid.* xlvii. (1876) pp. 58 sq.; W. G. Lawes, “Notes on New Guinea and its Inhabitants,” *Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society, 1880*, pp. 607, 614; Dr. Comrie, “Anthropological Notes on New

Guinea,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vi. (1877) p. 110; W. Y. Turner, “On the Ethnology of the Motu,” *ibid.* vii. (1878) p. 481; W. G. Lawes, “Ethnological Notes on the Motu, Koitapu and Koiari Tribes of New Guinea,” *ibid.* p. 370; C. Hager, *Kaiser Wilhelms-Land* (Leipzig, n.d.) p. 92; O. S. Stone, *A Few Months in New Guinea* (London, 1880), pp. 78 sq.; C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 493.

<sup>4</sup> H. N. Moseley, “On the Inhabitants of the Admiralty Islands,”

natives of Siara (a district in the south of New Ireland) and the neighbouring islands of St. John and Caens none but the married women are tattooed, and the operation is performed only by women.<sup>1</sup> Similarly in Fiji the women alone are tattooed and the marks for the most part are imprinted on a broad band round the loins and thighs, these being the parts of the body hidden by the *liku*, a fringed waist-band which is worn short before marriage but is much lengthened after the birth of the first child. However, young Fijian women have barbed lines tattooed also on their hands and fingers; and middle-aged women have blue patches at the corners of the mouth. The custom of tattooing is said to have been ordained by the god Ndengei and its neglect is punished after death; for in the other world the ghost of an untattooed woman is chased by the ghosts of tattooed women with sharp shells in their hands, as if to do to her spirit what should have been done to her body in life. So strong was this superstition in former days that when a girl died before she was tattooed her friends would sometimes paint the blue lines on her corpse in order to deceive the priest and escape the anger of the gods. The operation of tattooing is performed only by women.<sup>2</sup> In some of the Chin tribes of Burma all the women have their faces tattooed. The operation is begun in childhood and is gradually completed, sometimes not for a good many years. The pattern differs with the tribes. Men are not tattooed at all. A Chin woman's beauty is estimated by her tattooing. The origin of the custom is still uncertain, but as it is followed only by the tribes who border on or are near to the Burmese, it has been suggested that the first intention was to protect the women from being carried off, or to allow them to be easily discovered if they had been stolen away.<sup>3</sup> According to a Chinese writer, it is a custom of the Li, the aborigines of the island of Hainan, that a woman's face should be tattooed just before marriage according to a pattern prescribed by her husband, who has received it from his ancestors; not the least deviation from the traditional pattern is allowed, lest the husband's ancestors should not be able to recognise his wife after death.<sup>4</sup>

*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vi. (1877) p. 401.

<sup>1</sup> R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 304 sq. Compare A. J. Duffield, "On the Natives of New Ireland," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv. (1886) p. 117: "The tattooing and cuttings on the flesh were entirely confined to women and the head men. The tattooing is abundant at the corners of the eyes and mouth."

<sup>2</sup> T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*,

Second Edition (London, 1860), i. 160; Ch. Wilkes, *The United States Exploring Expedition*, New Edition (New York, 1851), iii. 355; *The United States Exploring Expedition, Ethnography and Philology*, by Horatio Hale (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> (Sir) J. George Scott and J. P. Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Part i. vol. i. (Rangoon, 1900), p. 466.

<sup>4</sup> (Sir) J. G. Scott, *France and Tongking* (London, 1885), p. 348.

Aino  
women  
tattooed,  
but not  
the men.

Among the Ainos the women are tattooed but not the men. The parts of the body thus marked are the lips, the lower arms, the back of the hands, and in some districts the forehead between the eyebrows. The tattooing of the upper lip gives an Aino woman the appearance of wearing a moustache with the points turned up on her cheeks. This ornamentation or disfigurement of the mouth is begun early, often in a girl's sixth year, and is added to from time to time but not completed till marriage. The tattooing of the hands and arms is done at a single sitting, not before the fourteenth year of the girl's life. The operation is performed by old women.<sup>1</sup> The tattooing of an Aino woman's lips is never finished till she has been betrothed; when it is complete, "all men know that she is either a betrothed or married woman." If a woman marries without being properly tattooed, she commits a great sin and when she dies she will go straight to hell, where the demons will at once do all the tattooing with very large knives at a single sitting.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Batchelor was told that the intention of the tattoo marks is to frighten away the demon of disease, and that when an epidemic is raging in a village, all the women should tattoo each other in order to repel the foul fiend. Moreover, when the eyes of old women are growing dim, they should improve their failing sight by tattooing their mouths and hands over again.<sup>3</sup>

Women  
alone  
tattooed in  
some wild  
tribes of  
Bengal and  
Assam.

The custom of tattooing the women but not the men prevails among a number of the wild tribes of Bengal and Assam. Thus, the faces of the Khyen women "are tattooed to a most disfiguring extent, and they have a tradition that the practice was resorted to in order to conceal the natural beauty for which they are so renowned, that their maidens were carried off by the dominant race in lieu of tribute. Figures of animals are sometimes imprinted on their flesh as ornaments."<sup>4</sup> The Juang women tattoo three strokes on the forehead just over the nose and three on each of the temples.<sup>5</sup> Among the Kharrias "the women are all tattooed with the marks on the forehead and temples common to so many of these tribes." The marks consist of three parallel lines on the forehead, and two on each temple.<sup>6</sup> The Birhor women are tattooed on their chest, arms, and ankles, but not on their faces.<sup>7</sup> "The Oraon women

<sup>1</sup> B. Scheube, *Die Ainos*, p. 6. Compare A. S. Bickmore, "Some Notes on the Ainos," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vii. (1869) p. 18; Commander H. C. St. John, "The Ainos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ii. (1873) p. 249; *id.*, *Notes and Sketches from the Wild Coasts of Nippon* (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 22; H. von Siebold, *Studien über die Ainos* (Berlin, 1881), p. 15; Lieut. Holland, "The Ainos,"

*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iii. (1874) pp. 237 sq.; Rev. J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folklore* (London, 1901), pp. 20 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Batchelor, *op. cit.* p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. J. Batchelor, *op. cit.* p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> E. T. Dalton *op. cit.* p. 157.

<sup>6</sup> E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 161.

<sup>7</sup> E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 219.

are all tattooed in childhood with the three marks on the brow and two on each temple that distinguish a majority of the Munda females. . . . Girls when adult, or nearly so, have themselves further tattooed on the arms and back."<sup>1</sup> Amongst the wild Naga tribes of Assam the women are commonly tattooed on their legs, sometimes also on their faces, breasts, stomachs, and arms. In some of these tribes the men tattoo themselves little or not at all; in others, however, a man tattoos a mark on his body for every human head which he has taken.<sup>2</sup> Among the Chukchees, in the extreme north-east of Asia, women are commonly tattooed with a vertical line on each side of the nose and with several vertical lines on the chin. Childless women tattoo on both cheeks three equidistant lines running all the way around. This is considered to be a charm against sterility. Chukchee men are not tattooed, except in the Eskimo villages and the nearest Chukchee settlements, where a great many of them have two small marks tattooed on both cheeks near the mouth.<sup>3</sup>

Chukchee women alone tattooed.

Eskimo women are tattooed with lines on their faces, most commonly on their chins but sometimes also on other parts of their bodies such as the neck, breast, shoulders, arms, and legs. Among the Eskimo of Hudson Bay and Point Barrow the operation is performed on a girl at puberty. Among the Eskimo of Point Barrow men are sometimes tattooed as a mark of distinction, for example, to indicate that they have taken whales. The custom of tattooing the women seems to prevail among almost all the Eskimo tribes from Greenland to Bering Strait.<sup>4</sup> In some tribes of Californian Indians, such as the Karok and Patawat, the women tattoo three narrow leaf-shaped marks on their chins;<sup>5</sup> in tribes of the

Eskimo women alone tattooed.

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Lieut.-Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, "Notes on the Wild Tribes inhabiting the so-called Naga Hills," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xi. (1882) pp. 201, 204, 206, 207 sq., 209; S. E. Peale, "The Nagas and Neighbouring Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iii. (1874) p. 477; E. A. Gait, *Census of India, 1891, Assam, Report*, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) pp. 243, 245 sq.

<sup>3</sup> W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee* (Leyden and New York, 1904-1909), p. 254 (*Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*). Amongst the Koryaks also some women tattoo their faces as a charm against barrenness. See W. Jochelson, *The Koryak* (Leyden and New York, 1908), p. 46 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*,

*Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

<sup>4</sup> D. Crantz, *History of Greenland*, (London, 1767), i. 138; C. F. Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux* (London, 1864), ii. 315; F. Boas, "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1888), p. 561; J. Murdugh, "The Point Barrow Eskimo," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1892), pp. 138-140; L. M. Turner, "The Hudson Bay Eskimo," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 207 sq.; E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1899) pp. 50-52.

<sup>5</sup> S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, pp. 20, 96.

In some Californian tribes the women alone are tattooed.

Coast Range the women often have a rude figure of a tree tattooed on the abdomen and breast.<sup>1</sup> Among the Matooals of California the women tattoo nearly all over their faces, and the men also have a round spot tattooed in the middle of their forehead. Old pioneers in California "hold that the reason why the women alone tattoo in all other tribes is that in case they are taken captives, their own people may be able to recognize them when there comes an opportunity of ransom. There are two facts which give some color of probability to this reasoning. One is that the California Indians are rent into such infinitesimal divisions, any one of which may be arrayed in deadly feud against another at any moment, that the slight differences in their dialects would not suffice to distinguish the captive squaws. A second is that the squaws almost never attempt any ornamental tattooing, but adhere closely to the plain regulation-mark of the tribe."<sup>2</sup>

In some African tribes the women alone are tattooed.

Among the Nilotic tribes of Kavirondo, in British East Africa, the women are tattooed on the chest and stomach with thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine. The men are not tattooed.<sup>3</sup> Similarly among the Wakikuya of Eastern Africa tattooing is confined to the women.<sup>4</sup> The Kimbunda men of West Africa tattoo no part of their bodies, but "the Kimbunda women are wont to tattoo, not those parts of the body which remain uncovered, namely the face and arms, but those parts which nature commands to conceal, especially about the genitals, in the region of the groin and lower part of the stomach, also one or both buttocks, often also one or both shoulder-blades." The operation is usually performed soon after marriage.<sup>5</sup> The Mayombe women of Loango are tattooed, mostly with geometrical figures on both sides of the navel, sometimes up to the breast. But the Mayombe men are not tattooed, though they are often marked with scars caused by cupping or scarification.<sup>6</sup> Amongst the Duallas of Cameroon the bodies of the women are covered with tattooing, whereas the men only tattoo a few lines on their faces; indeed some men are not tattooed at all.<sup>7</sup> Amongst the Amazulus tattooing or rather scarification is sometimes met with, but only on women. The common pattern consists of two squares meeting at their angles. It is incised on one side of the pelvic region, towards

<sup>1</sup> S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, pp. 148, 242.

<sup>2</sup> S. Powers, *op. cit.* p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> H. E. O'Neill, in *Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society*, 1882, p. 743; C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda* (London, 1902), p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> J. M. Hildebrandt, "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn," *Zeitschrift für*

*Ethnologie*, x. (1878) p. 351.

<sup>5</sup> L. Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1857* (Budapest and Leipsic, 1859), pp. 341 sq.

<sup>6</sup> P. Gütsfeldt, *Die Loango Expedition* (Leipsic, 1879), p. 107.

<sup>7</sup> E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, xiii. 69; *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x. (1881) pp. 468 sq.

the loins; young girls so marked fetch a higher price in the marriage market.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand in some tribes it is the men alone who are tattooed. This is true of the Tongans,<sup>2</sup> the Samoans,<sup>3</sup> some tribes of South-Western New Guinea,<sup>4</sup> many Dyak tribes of Borneo,<sup>5</sup> the Khyyoungtha, a hill tribe of Chittagong,<sup>6</sup> and the Dinkas of the Upper Nile.<sup>7</sup> Among the Dinkas the pattern consists of ten lines radiating from the base of the nose and traversing the forehead and temples.<sup>8</sup>

In some tribes the men alone are tattooed.

When we observe how often the custom of tattooing women is observed at puberty or marriage, we may surmise that its original intention was not to beautify the body, but to guard against those mysterious dangers which apparently the savage apprehends at that period of life. The practice of tattooing the faces of women as a charm against barrenness<sup>9</sup> points in the same direction. But as to the exact nature of the dangers which the savage associates with puberty, and as to how the various mutilations inflicted on the youth of both sexes are supposed to guard against them, we are still totally in the dark.

P. 30. Each wears a helmet representing his totem.—In antiquity the Cimbrian cavalry wore helmets fashioned in the likeness of the heads of animals, with nodding plumes above them, which added to the apparent stature of the big men as they bestrode their horses and charged down in their glittering iron cuirasses, covering their breasts with their white shields, while they plied their long heavy broadswords among the Roman ranks.<sup>10</sup> But there is no evidence that the animals on their helmets represented the totems of these dashing cavaliers. Norsemen sometimes wore on

<sup>1</sup> A. Delegorgue, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe* (Paris, 1847), ii. 228.

<sup>2</sup> T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, Second Edition (London, 1860), i. 160 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), pp. 55 sq.

<sup>4</sup> G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), p. 250.

<sup>5</sup> C. J. Temminck, *Coup d'œil sur les Possessions Néerlandaises dans l'Inde Archipelagique* (Leyden, 1846-1849), ii. 352, 353; S. Müller, *Reizen en Onderzoekening in den Indischen Archipel* (Amsterdam, 1857), ii. 259; M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische Beschrijving der Dajaks* (Zalt-Bommel, 1870), pp. 92-94; Spenser St. John,

*Life in the Forests of the Far East*, Second Edition (London, 1863), i. 55. On the other hand in the tribes of Central Borneo both men and women are tattooed. See A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo* (Leyden, 1904-1907), i. 78, 275, 449 sqq., ii. 38; and for a full account of tattooing in Borneo, so far as it is known, see C. Hose and R. Shelford, "Materials for a Study of Tatu in Borneo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 60-91, with Plates vi.-xiii.

<sup>6</sup> T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India* (London, 1870), pp. 116 sq.

<sup>7</sup> G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa* (London, 1878), i. 50.

<sup>8</sup> G. Schweinfurth, *l.c.*

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 205, with note <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Plutarch, *Marinus*, 25.

the top of their helmets a complete figure of a boar as the symbol of the great god Frey.<sup>1</sup>

Men disguised as animals.

P. 31. **The human child is disguised as a wolf to cheat its supernatural foes.**—Among the Central Eskimo, when a man falls ill, the medicine-men will sometimes change his name in order to ward off the disease, or they will consecrate him as a dog to the goddess Sedna. In the latter case the man takes a dog's name and must wear a dog's harness over his inner fur-jacket for the rest of his life.<sup>2</sup> The Bedouins regard the ass, especially the wild ass, as a very robust animal, immune to disease. Hence when he has to enter a plague-stricken town, a Bedouin will sometimes pretend to be an ass, creeping on all fours and braying ten times. After that he believes himself quite safe; the plague will think that he is an ass indeed and that it would be labour in vain to attack him.<sup>3</sup> When one Karok Indian has killed another, "he frequently barks like a coyote in the belief that he will thereby be endued with so much of that animal's cunning that he will be able to elude the punishment due to his crime."<sup>4</sup> Such practices are quite independent of totemism.

P. 32.—**A custom of wrapping infants at birth in a bearskin.**—In the south of Iceland it is believed that if a child is born on a bearskin, he will be healthy and strong and will, like the polar bear, be insensible to cold.<sup>5</sup> The belief rests on the principles of sympathetic magic and has no connection with totemism.

Ceremonial birth from a cow.

P. 32. **He is born again from a cow.**—The curious ceremony described in the text is observed, for the reasons mentioned, in the Himalayan districts of the North-West Provinces of India.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes the ceremony is softened by merely placing the unlucky infant in a basket before a good milch cow with a calf and allowing the calf to lick the child, "by which operation the noxious qualities which the child has derived from its birth are removed."<sup>7</sup> Again, a person who has lost caste may be reinstated in it by passing several times under a cow's belly, which is probably a symbol of

<sup>1</sup> P. Hermann, *Nordische Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> F. Boas, "Die Sagen der Baffinland Eskimos," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte*, 1885, p. (164) (appended to *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xvii.); *id.* "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1888), p. 612.

<sup>3</sup> J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, Zweite Ausgabe (Berlin, 1897), pp. 162 sq.

<sup>4</sup> S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> M. Bartels, "Isländischer Brauch und Volksglaube in Bezug auf die Nachkommenschaft," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxii. (1900) p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> E. T. Atkinson, *The Himalayan Districts of the North-West Provinces of India*, ii. (Allahabad, 1884) p. 914.

<sup>7</sup> Alexander Mackintosh, *Account of the Origin and Present Condition of the Tribe of Ramoosies* (Bombay, 1833), p. 124.

being born again from it.<sup>1</sup> The passage through a metal image of a cow in imitation of birth from the animal is resorted to in India either in order to restore a person to a caste which he has forfeited by misconduct or to raise him to a higher caste than the one to which by his natural birth he belongs. When the two Brahmans whom Ragoba sent to England returned to India, it was decided that they must have defiled themselves by contact with the gentiles and that in order to cleanse them thoroughly from the taint they had contracted it was necessary that they should be born again. For the purpose of the new birth it is laid down that an image of a woman or of a cow shall be made of pure gold, and that the sinner shall be passed through the usual channel in order to emerge from it, like a new-born babe, in a state of innocence. But as a statue of pure gold and of the proper size would be exceedingly expensive, it is enough to make an image of the sacred *yoni* in gold and to let the offender creep through it. This was done; the two Brahmans solemnly crawled through the aperture, and so were happily restored to the communion of the faithful.<sup>2</sup> "It is on record that the Tanjore Nayakar, having betrayed Madura and suffered for it, was told by his Brahman advisers that he had better be born again. So a colossal cow was cast in bronze, and the Nayakar shut up inside. The wife of his Brahman *guru* acted as nurse, received him in her arms, rocked him on her knees, and caressed him on her breast, and he tried to cry like a baby."<sup>3</sup> Again, the Maharajah of Travancore is by birth a Sudra, but he can and does overcome this natural defect by being born again as a Brahman from a golden cow or a golden water-lily. The golden vessel, whether in the shape of a cow or of a water-lily, is half filled with water and the five products of a cow, to wit, milk, curd, butter, urine, and dung. The prince enters the vessel, the lid is clapped down on him, he ducks five times in the precious compound, and remains for about ten minutes absorbed in holy meditation, while the Brahmans chant prayers and hymns. Then he comes forth dripping, a new, a regenerate man to prostrate himself at the feet of the idol and to receive on his head the magnificent crown of Travancore. He has now been born again like the Brahmans; it is therefore his high privilege to be present when these holy men are eating their dinners and to share in their repast. But the members of his family may no longer eat with him; he has risen far above them by the rite of the new birth.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the Ovambo

This pretence of new birth from a cow is intended to restore a person to a caste which he has forfeited or to raise him to a higher caste.

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Dubois, *Mœurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde* (Paris, 1825), i. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Captain F. Wilford, "On Mount Caucasus," *Asiatic Researches*, vi. (London, 1801) pp. 537 sq. (8vo edition).

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1906), pp. 271 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. S. Mateer, *The Land of Charity* (London, 1871), pp. 169, 172; *North-Indian Notes and Queries*, iii. p. 215, § 465.

of South-West Africa a remedy for sickness consists in killing and flaying a cow, piercing the flanks in the region of the heart, and helping the patient to squeeze his way through the reeking carcass.<sup>1</sup> But it does not appear whether this bloody passage is regarded as a new birth.

P. 32. **Marriage ceremonies.**—There is no evidence or probability that any of the marriage ceremonies described in the text are in any way related to totemism. Some of them may possibly be intended to fertilise the young couple.<sup>2</sup> This may have been the intention of the ancient Hindoo ceremony of seating bride and bridegroom at marriage on a red bull's hide.<sup>3</sup> There is no reason to connect such a ceremony with totemism. However, "the Vaydas of Cutch worship the monkey god whom they consider to be their ancestor, and to please him in their marriage ceremony, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house dressed up as a monkey and there leaps about in monkey fashion."<sup>4</sup> And amongst the Bhils the totems are worshipped especially at marriage.<sup>5</sup>

P. 32. **An Italian bride smeared the doorposts of her new home with wolf's fat.**—In Algeria a bride smears the doorposts of her new home with butter.<sup>6</sup>

The custom of marrying persons to trees is often resorted to in India for the purpose of averting some threatened danger.

P. 32. **Marrying the bride and bridegroom to trees before they are married to each other.**—There is no ground for connecting this custom with totemism. Much more probable is the view suggested by Mr. W. Crooke that the custom "is based on the desire to bring the wedded pair into intimate connexion with the reproductive powers of nature";<sup>7</sup> in other words, that the ceremony is a rite of fertilisation intended to ensure the birth of children. Yet there are numerous facts which tend to shew that in India the custom of marrying persons to trees is intended to avert evil consequences from the bride or bridegroom. Many examples of such customs have been collected by Mr. Crooke.<sup>8</sup> Thus in the Punjab a Hindoo cannot be legally married a third time; but there is,

<sup>1</sup> (*South African*) *Folk-Lore Journal*, ii. (1880) p. 73. Compare E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), p. 256: "Certain tribes, after having slaughtered the victim, pierce it through and through, and cause the person who is to be purified to pass between the pieces."

<sup>2</sup> As to such fertilisation ceremonies see above, vol. ii. pp. 256-263; E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity* (London, 1909), i. 30 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *The Grihya-Sutras*, translated by H. Oldenberg, Part i. p. 383, Part ii. pp. 193 *sq.* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xxix. and xxx.).

<sup>4</sup> W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 154.

<sup>5</sup> See below, pp. 292 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> Villot, *Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie* (Algiers, 1888), p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> W. Crooke, "The Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) p. 242. Compare *id.*, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 121.

<sup>8</sup> W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. 115 *sqq.*

curiously enough, no objection whatever to his being married a fourth time. Hence if he wishes to take to himself a third wife, he circumvents the law by being first married to a Babul tree (*Acacia Arabica*) or to the Akh plant (*Asclepia gigantea*), so that the woman whom he afterwards marries is counted his fourth wife and the evil consequences of marrying for a third time are avoided.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the vegetable bride to which the gay widower is thus married for the purpose of evading the law is supposed to die soon after the marriage; which clearly shews the risk which a human bride would have run by wedding the ill-omened bridegroom.<sup>2</sup> Again, in Oudh it is deemed very unlucky to marry a couple if the ruling stars of the young man form a more powerful combination than those of the young woman; but the difficulty can be avoided by marrying the girl first to a peepul tree (*Ficus religiosa*).<sup>3</sup> In the Himalayas when the conjunction of the planets portends misfortune at a marriage, or when on account of some bodily or mental defect nobody is willing to marry him or her, the luckless or unattractive boy or girl is first wedded to an earthen pot, the marriage-knot being tied in the literal sense by a string which unites the neck of the bridegroom or bride to the neck of the pot; while the dedicatory formula sets forth that the ceremony is undertaken in order to counteract the malign influence of the adverse planets or of the bodily or mental blemish of the husband or wife.<sup>4</sup> Here the custom of marrying an unlucky person to a pot is clearly equivalent to the custom of marrying him or her to a peepul tree; the one and the other are plainly intended to divert the threatened misfortune from a human being to an inanimate object, whether a tree or a pot. Similarly, in some parts of the Punjab if a man has lost two or three wives in succession he marries a bird before he marries another human wife,<sup>5</sup> obviously with the intention of breaking his run of bad luck. In Madras men are often married to plantain trees for the following reason. Among orthodox Hindoos a younger brother may not marry before an elder brother. But it may be that the elder brother is deaf, dumb, blind, a cripple, or otherwise so maimed that nobody will give him his daughter to wife. How then can the younger brother marry? The difficulty is overcome by marrying the blind, lame, deaf, or otherwise defective elder brother to a plantain tree with all the usual

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. 115; *Panjab Notes and Queries*, ii. p. 42, § 252; (Sir) D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Panipat Tahsil and Karnal Parganah of the Karnal District* (Allahabad, 1883), p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 116.

<sup>3</sup> W. Crooke, *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> E. T. Atkinson, *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, ii. (Allahabad, 1884) p. 913; W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 117.

<sup>5</sup> *North Indian Notes and Queries*, i. p. 15, § 110; W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 119.

Custom of  
marrying  
people to  
trees in  
India.

formalities of a wedding. Then the Brahman priest fells the plantain tree and the whole family is plunged into mourning for the vegetable bride thus cut off in her prime. So the elder brother is now a widower and his younger brother is free to wed.<sup>1</sup> Once more, amongst the Gadariyas, a shepherd caste of the North-West Provinces of India, if a girl has a curl of hair which resembles a female snake, she is first married to a camel-thorn bush, apparently in order that her serpent-nature may discharge its venom on the bush rather than on her bridegroom. And if a bachelor marries a widow and she bears him a daughter, before he gives away his daughter in marriage, he goes through a form of marriage with a tree for the sake of annulling the evil influence which is supposed to emanate from the marriage of a bachelor with a widow.<sup>2</sup> The intention of all such ceremonies, as Mr. Crooke has pointed out,<sup>3</sup> seems to be to avert some threatened evil from the bride or bridegroom or from both and to transfer it to a plant, an animal, or a thing. Thus the customs in question fall under the head of those widespread transferences of evil of which the custom of the scapegoat is the most familiar example.<sup>4</sup> Yet Mr. Crooke may very well be right in thinking that the custom, practised by some of the wild hill-tribes of India, of making bride and bridegroom clasp a tree or tying them to it before marriage, springs from an entirely different order of ideas and is, in short, a fertilisation ceremony.<sup>5</sup> In any case, as I have said, it seems to have nothing to do with totemism.

P. 34. **Dancing girls of Goa are married to daggers, etc.**—The Uriyas of Ganjam have to marry their daughters before the period of puberty, and if a suitable husband is not to be found, they will fulfil their obligation by marrying the girl to an arrow.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes a bachelor who wishes to marry a widow is first wedded to a ring or a pitcher instead of to a plant.<sup>7</sup>

P. 34, note <sup>6</sup>. **The old Egyptian custom . . . of dressing a woman as a bride, etc.**—In the canal of Cairo it used to be customary to erect every year a round pillar of earth called "the bride" (*'aroseh*), which was regularly swept away by the rising waters of the Nile. "It is believed that the custom of forming this *'aroseh* originated from an ancient superstitious usage which is mentioned by Arab authors, and among them by El-Makreezee.

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Notes and Queries*, iv. p. 105, § 396.

<sup>2</sup> W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, ii. 363.

<sup>3</sup> W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 120.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 1 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 120, 121.

<sup>6</sup> "Notes on Marriage Customs in the Madras Presidency," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxv. (1896) p. 145.

<sup>7</sup> *Panjab Notes and Queries*, iii. p. 4, § 12.

This historian relates that in the year of the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, 'Amr Ibn-El-'A's, the Arab general, was told that the Egyptians were accustomed at the period when the Nile began to rise to deck a young virgin in gay apparel, and throw her into the river as a sacrifice, to obtain a plentiful inundation. This barbarous custom, it is said, he abolished."<sup>1</sup>

P. 34, note <sup>5</sup>. **Legends like those of Andromeda and Hesione.**—Examples of such tales might easily be multiplied. Their essence is the marriage of a woman to a water-spirit, and the tales probably reflect a real custom of sacrificing a woman to a water-spirit to be his bride.<sup>2</sup>

P. 35. **Egyptian queens were sometimes buried in cow-shaped sarcophaguses.**—This was probably done to place the dead queens under the protection of Isis, or perhaps rather to identify them with the goddess, who was herself sometimes represented by the image of a cow and in art regularly appears wearing horns on her head.<sup>3</sup> Some of the Solomon Islanders, who worship sharks, deposit the dead bodies of chiefs and the skulls of ordinary men in wooden images of sharks, which stand in their temples or *tambu*-houses.<sup>4</sup>

P. 35. **Men of the Sun totem are buried with their heads towards the sunrise.**—Similarly among the Battas of Sumatra men of different totems are buried with their heads in different directions,<sup>5</sup> but the reasons for these differences are not always manifest. On the analogy of the Hot-Wind totem and the Sun totem among the Wotjoballuk we may conjecture that the direction in which the body was buried was the direction in which the totem was supposed especially to reside, so that the intention of interring the bodies in these positions may have been to enable the released spirits of the dead to rejoin their totems. It might be worth while to collect similar rules of burial among other peoples. In antiquity the Athenians buried their dead with the heads to the west, while the Megarians buried theirs with the heads to the east.<sup>6</sup> In Korat, a province of French Tonquin, persons who die a natural death are buried in the sun's course with their heads to the west; but persons who

Custom of burying the dead with their heads to certain points of the compass.

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley, n. d.), ch. xxvi. p. 500.

<sup>2</sup> See my note on Pausanias, ix. 26. 7 (vol. v. pp. 143-145); and my *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* (London, 1905), pp. 179-599.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), pp. 300, 319.

<sup>4</sup> H. B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands*

and their Natives (London, 1887), pp. 53, 70 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 190.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, 10, θάπτονσι δὲ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς ἕω τοὺς νεκροὺς στρέφοντες, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. The expression is ambiguous, but I understand it in the sense I have indicated. According to Aelian (*Var. Hist.* vii. 19), the Athenians buried their dead turned towards the west, but the Megarians followed no rule in the matter.

Burial customs determined by a belief in a land of the dead far away in the west, where the sun goes down.

perish by violence and women who die in childbed are buried athwart the sun's course with their heads to the north.<sup>1</sup> Such customs naturally furnish no indication of totemism ; more probably they depend on the ideas which each people has formed of the direction in which lies the land of the dead, some races associating it with the rising and others with the setting sun. More commonly, it would seem, the souls are thought to descend with the great luminary as he sinks in a blaze of glory in the fiery west. Thus some aborigines of Victoria thought that the spirits of the dead go towards the setting sun.<sup>2</sup> The Woiworung or Wurunjerri tribe of Victoria believed that the world of the dead, which they called *ngamat*, lay beyond the western edge of the earth, and that the bright hues of sunset were caused by the souls of the dead going out and in or ascending up the golden pathway to heaven.<sup>3</sup> Some aborigines of New South Wales in burying their dead took great care to lay the body in the grave in such a position that the sun might look on it as he passed ; they even cut down for that purpose every shrub that could obstruct the view.<sup>4</sup> Among the Battas of Sumatra a burial regularly takes place at noon. The coffin is set crosswise over the open grave, the assembled people crouch down, and a solemn silence ensues. Then the lid of the coffin is lifted off, and the son or other chief mourner, raising his hand, addresses the dead man as follows : " Now father, you see the sun for the last time ; you will see it no more " ; or " Look your last upon the sun ; you will never see it again. Sleep sound." <sup>5</sup> Perhaps the original intention of this ceremony was to enable the spirit of the dead to follow the westering sun to his place of rest. We are told that some of the Calchaqui Indians of Argentina opened the eyes of their dead that they might see the way to the other world.<sup>6</sup> For a similar reason, perhaps, some of the savages of Tonquin open the eyes of the dead for a few

<sup>1</sup> É. Aymonier, *Voyage dans le Laos*, ii. (Paris, 1897) p. 327. In his earlier work, *Notes sur le Laos* (Paris, 1885), p. 268, the writer reverses the statement as to the position of the bodies. But his later and rather more detailed statement is to be preferred.

<sup>2</sup> W. Stanbridge, " Tribes in the Central Part of Victoria," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, i. (1861) p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 187, xvi. (1887) p. 41 ; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 438.

<sup>4</sup> Lieut.-Colonel Collins, *Account of*

*the English Colony in New South Wales* (London, 1804), p. 390 ; G. Barrington, *The History of New South Wales* (London, 1802), p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> F. Junghuhn, *Die Bataländer auf Sumatra* (Berlin, 1847), ii. 141 ; W. A. Henny, " Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Bataklanden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xvii. (1868) pp. 29 sq. ; Joachim Freiherr von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras* (Würzburg, 1894), pp. 235 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Pedro de Angelis, *Colección de Obras y Documentos relativos a la Historia antigua y moderna de las Provincias del Rio de la Plata*, ii. (Buenos-Ayres, 1836) p. 30.

moments before they shut the lid of the coffin down on him, "in order that he may see the sky."<sup>1</sup> The natives of Mangaia in the Pacific believe that the souls of the dead congregate on a bluff which faces towards the setting sun. Thence, as the day wears to evening, the mournful procession passes over a row of rocks or stepping stones to the outer edge of the reef, where the surf breaks eternally. Then, as the glowing orb sinks into the sea, they flit down

*The line of light that plays  
Along the smooth wave toward the burning west,*

to sink with the sun into the nether world, but not like him to return again.<sup>2</sup> The Karok Indians of California believe that for the blessed dead there is a Happy Western Land beyond the great water, and the path which leads to it they call the Path of the Roses.<sup>3</sup>

P. 36. **Ceremonies at Puberty.**—The statements in the text as to the relation of totemism to scars and other mutilations of the person must be corrected by what I have said above.<sup>4</sup> Nor is it true, as I now believe, to say that "the fundamental rules of totem society are rules regulating marriage"; for this assumes that exogamy is an integral part of totemism, whereas the evidence tends to shew that the two institutions were in their origin quite distinct, although in most totemic peoples they have been accidentally united.<sup>5</sup> I have already pointed out that, so long as we are ignorant of the views which savages take of the nature of puberty, we cannot expect to understand the meaning of the rites with which they celebrate the attainment by both sexes of the power of reproducing the species.<sup>6</sup> Hence I now attach little weight to the speculations on this subject in the text.

P. 38. **Kasia maidens dance at the new moon in March.**—According to other accounts this annual dance of the Kasias or Khasis takes place in the late spring, generally in May. The girls, richly clad in party-coloured silks, wearing crowns of gold or silver on their heads, their persons blazing with jewelry, dance demurely in a circle with mincing steps and downcast eyes. In the middle of the circle squat the musicians eliciting a loud barbaric music from droning bagpipes, clashing cymbals, and thunderous drums, and drawing fresh and fresh inspiration from an enormous punch-bowl of rice-beer which stands beside them. Outside the decorous circle

Dances of  
Kasia  
maidens and  
bachelors.

<sup>1</sup> Pinabel, "Notes sur quelques peuplades sauvages dépendant du Tong-King," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris), VII<sup>m</sup>e Série, v. (1884) p. 429.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific* (London,

1876), pp. 155-159.

<sup>3</sup> S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 198 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 8 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 194, 202, 207, also vol. iii. p. 453.

Dances at  
puberty.

of the maidens goes whirling round and round the giddy circle of the bachelors, rigged out in old uniforms, frock-coats, ladies' jackets, plumes, necklaces and tea-cosies, jigging, hopping, leaping, whooping themselves hoarse, brandishing knives, fly-flappers, and blue cotton umbrellas in wild confusion. Higher and higher rises the music, faster and more furious grows the dance, till the punch-bowl producing its natural consequences the musicians drop off one after the other to sleep, and the war-whoops of the dancers subside into doleful grunts and groans. Many matches are made at these annual Khasi balls.<sup>1</sup> Among the Barotse on the Zambesi girls on reaching puberty dance for weeks together, always about midnight, to the accompaniment of songs and castanets.<sup>2</sup> Among the Suzees and Mandingoes of Sierra-Leone girls are circumcised at puberty. Every year during the dry season, on the first appearance of a new moon, the damsels of each town who are to be circumcised are taken into a wood and kept there in strict seclusion for a moon and a day, charms being placed on every path to prevent intrusion. There the operation is performed by an old woman. Afterwards the girls go round the town in procession and dance and sing before every principal person's house till they receive a present. When this round of dances is completed, the young women are given in marriage to their betrothed husbands.<sup>3</sup>

Hunters  
disguised  
in skins of  
animals.

P. 40. **The savage disguises himself in the animal's skin, etc.—** The Bushmen of South Africa were adepts in the art of stalking game in such disguises. We read that "when taking the field against the elephant, the hippopotamus, or rhinoceros, they appeared with the head and hide of a hartebeest over their shoulders, and whilst advancing towards their quarry through the long grass, would carefully mimic all the actions of the animal they wished to represent. They appeared again in the spoils of the blesbok, with the head and wings of a vulture, the striped hide of the zebra, or they might be seen stalking in the guise of an ostrich."<sup>4</sup> In the last of these disguises they wear light frames covered with ostrich feathers and carry the head and neck of an ostrich supported on a stick.<sup>5</sup> Similarly the Mambowe of South Africa stalk game "by using the stratagem of a cap made of the skin of a leche's or poku's head,

<sup>1</sup> Lieut. E. H. Steel, "On the Khasia Tribes," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vii. (1869) p. 309; Mrs. J. C. Murray-Aynsley, "Some Account of the Secular and Religious Dances of Certain Primitive Peoples in Asia and Africa," *The Folk-Lore Journal*, v. (1887) pp. 273-276; Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis* (London, 1907), pp. 154-156.

<sup>2</sup> E. Holub, *Sieben Jahre in Süd-Afrika* (Vienna, 1881), ii. 258.

<sup>3</sup> John Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone* (London, 1791), pp. 70-73.

<sup>4</sup> G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa* (London, 1905), p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Sir James Edward Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa* (London, 1838), ii. 145-147.

having the horns still attached, and another made so as to represent the upper white part of the crane called jabiru (*Micteru Senegalensis*), with its long neck and beak above. With these on, they crawl through the grass; they can easily put up their heads so far as to see their prey without being recognised until they are within bowshot."<sup>1</sup> The Somalis disguise themselves as ostriches in order to shoot or to catch and tame the bird.<sup>2</sup> Some American Indians used to disguise themselves as deer or wild turkeys in order to kill these creatures.<sup>3</sup> The Eskimo clothe themselves in seal skins and snort like seals till they come within striking distance of the animals;<sup>4</sup> and in order to kill deer they muffle themselves in deer-skin coats and hoods and mimic the bellow of the deer when they call to each other.<sup>5</sup>

P. 40. It is at initiation that the youth is solemnly forbidden to eat of certain foods.—Amongst the Australian tribes such prohibitions are very common,<sup>6</sup> but they seem to be independent of totemism. Many of them come into operation before initiation and are not relaxed till long after it, sometimes not until the man or woman is well advanced in years. The penalties, real or imaginary, incurred by infringement of the rules are not civil but natural, being supposed to flow inevitably from the act itself without human intervention. Amongst them are accidents and ill-success in the chase, but for the most part they consist of certain bodily ailments or infirmities which appear to be purely fanciful. As a rule it is only the old men who are free to eat anything. For example, in some tribes of New South Wales youths at initiation were forbidden to eat eggs, fish, or any of the finer sorts of opossum or kangaroo. Their fare was therefore very poor, but as they grew older these restrictions were removed, and after passing middle age they might eat anything.<sup>7</sup> Again, among the natives of the Mary River and the *bunya-bunya* country in Queensland "there was hardly any animal, from a human being to a giant fly, that was not considered wholesome and lawful food to the elder men of the tribe. To minors, certain animals were proscribed as *mundha*. In the *bunya* season of 1875-76, *bunyas* were *mundha* to the females. The food prohibited to minors is porcupine, snakes, eels, fresh-water fish,

Foods prohibited to youths at initiation.

<sup>1</sup> D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), p. 490.

<sup>2</sup> Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die materielle Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Somali* (Berlin, 1893), p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales* (Paris, 1768), ii. 52 sq.; Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels* (London, 1813), ii. 197.

<sup>4</sup> H. Egede, *A Description of Greenland*, Second Edition (London, 1818), p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> Captain G. F. Lyon, *Private Journal* (London, 1824), p. 336.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 176 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, New Edition, ii. (New York, 1851), p. 194.

kangaroo injured in the chase, the eggs of the emu and scrub turkey, and the flying fox. Indulgence in forbidden foods is supposed to be punished with sickness and cancerous sores."<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that these prohibitions have been laid upon the young by the old either for the purpose of reserving the best of the food for themselves, or in order to prevent the extinction of certain species of edible animals.<sup>2</sup>

Such prohibitions of food may be based on superstition rather than on selfishness.

But it may be questioned whether these explanations are sufficient. In regard to the latter of the two motives suggested it seems very unlikely that improvident savages such as the Australians, who never store up food for future use, should be so far-seeing as to guard against the extinction of the animals on which they subsist. And with regard to the theory that these numerous taboos have been imposed by the older people on their juniors from purely selfish motives, and have been upheld by superstitious terrors which the seniors artfully impressed on the minds of their dupes, it may well be doubted whether the Australian aborigines are capable of conceiving or executing so elaborate a system of fraud. I prefer to suppose that the prohibitions in question are really based on mistaken beliefs as to the ill-effect of certain foods in certain circumstances, especially at particular times of life and above all at puberty. If we understood the conception which the savage has formed of the nature of puberty, we might also understand why on the one hand he forbids some foods to young people at this critical period, and why on the other hand he permits food of any kind to be eaten by old people, that is, by persons who have lost the power of reproducing their species. For it is probably that mysterious power which the savage is mainly concerned to guard and fence about by these rules of diet. In short, it seems likely that the prohibition of certain foods to young people is often founded rather on superstition than on selfishness.

Superstitious abstinences from

Certainly in their diet the Australian aborigines practise many abstinences which appear to be purely superstitious and which can hardly be explained by a theory that the practitioners have been

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 159. Compare R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 234: "The old men are privileged to eat every kind of food that it is lawful for any of their tribe to eat." A. W. Howitt, "On some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 456: "In some of the tribes, e.g., the Wolgal, these food rules only become relaxed gradually, so that it is the old man only who is free to use every kind of animal food."

<sup>2</sup> Rev. G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 16; R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 234 (quoted above, p. 177), 238; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 471, "The idea throughout is evidently that which obtains so largely in savage tribes of reserving the best things for the use of the elders, and, more especially, of the elder men"; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 611, 612, 613.

beguiled or bullied into them by designing persons who profit by the simplicity of their dupes. Thus, for example, among the tribes about the Nogoia River in Southern Queensland "certain restrictions respecting the use of food exist. Old people, for instance, are the only persons allowed to eat the flesh of the emu. Other articles of food are forbidden to a man whose brother has recently died, but this custom does not extend to sisters. A father, on the death of a child, male or female, abstains from eating iguanas, opossums, and snakes, of the male sex, but nothing of the kind occurs on the death of a wife. This prohibition of animals of a particular sex is widely prevalent in Australia."<sup>1</sup> Similarly among the natives of the Mary River district in Southern Queensland the flesh of certain animals was forbidden to persons in mourning.<sup>2</sup> Again, in some Australian tribes menstruous women might not partake of certain foods; and in this case the prohibition, like other taboos laid on women at such times, seems to have been purely superstitious. Thus among the natives of the Murray River menstruous women had to refrain not merely from eating fish but from going near a river or crossing it in a canoe, because it was believed that if they did any of these things they would frighten the fish.<sup>3</sup> The Arunta suppose that if a woman at one of her monthly periods were to gather certain bulbs, which form a staple article of diet for both men and women, the supply of the bulb would fail.<sup>4</sup>

certain foods among the Australian aborigines.

Menstruous women forbidden to eat certain foods.

With these examples before us, which might doubtless be easily added to, we need not doubt that the old Australian aborigines themselves implicitly believe in many of the absurd reasons which are alleged for debarring young people from certain viands. Thus in the Encounter Bay tribe old men appropriated to themselves the roes of fishes, and it was said and believed that if women, young men, or children ate of that dainty they would grow prematurely old.<sup>5</sup> The natives about King George's Sound in South-West Australia "have some superstitious notions in regard to peculiar food for different ages and sexes. Thus girls, after eleven or twelve years of age, seldom eat bandicoot, such foods being considered a preventive to breeding; young men will not eat *naïlots* or *warlits* (black eagle), or they will not have a fine beard; such food will also influence their success in the chase; and although kangaroos may abound, they will seldom see them, and always miss them when they attempt to spear them. I believe that it is not until the age of thirty that they may eat indiscriminately."<sup>6</sup> The Kulin of the

Australian superstitions as to food.

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 91.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Curr, *op. cit.* iii. 159.

<sup>3</sup> R. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 236.

<sup>4</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 473; *id.*,

*Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 615.

<sup>5</sup> H. E. Meyer, "Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 187.

<sup>6</sup> Scott Nind, "Description of the

Australian  
super-  
stitions as  
to food.

Goulburn River, in South-Eastern Australia, "believed that if the novice ate the spiny ant-eater or the black duck, he would be killed by the thunder. If he ate of the female of the opossum or native bear, he was liable to fall when climbing trees, and so on for other offences."<sup>1</sup> In the tribe which occupied the Main Dividing Range between the Cape and Belyando Rivers "the young men and women are forbidden to eat certain sorts of food, such as the emu, swan, scrub and plain turkeys, and the eggs of these birds. The eel, the black-headed snake, and other animals are also on the schedule of forbidden foods. The reason assigned by the old folks for these restrictions is, that the richness of these foods would kill the young, and so persuaded are the young of the truth of this assertion, that Mr. MacGlashan is convinced they would rather die of hunger than infringe their law. They call this law *knagana*, which means 'forbidden.'"<sup>2</sup> In the Arunta tribe an uncircumcised boy is forbidden to eat many animals or parts of animals, particularly kangaroo tail, the wild turkey and its eggs, the female bandicoot, large lizards, emu fat, all kinds of parrots and cockatoos, the large quail and its eggs, the eagle-hawk, the wild cat, the podargus and its eggs; and various penalties, such as premature age and decay and bleeding to death at circumcision, are denounced against him for infractions of the rules. Some of these imaginary pains consist of various bodily deformities, such as a large mouth and a hole in the chin, which may on the principle of sympathetic magic be suggested by similar peculiarities in the tabooed animals.<sup>3</sup> Again, in the interval between circumcision and subincision, and indeed until the wound caused by the second of these operations has completely healed, a young Arunta man must abstain from eating snakes, opossums, bandicoots, echidna, lizards, mound birds and their eggs, wild turkeys and their eggs, eagle-hawks and their eggs. Any infraction of these rules is thought to retard his recovery and inflame his wounds.<sup>4</sup> Similarly Arunta girls and young women until they have borne a child, or until their breasts begin to be pendent, are forbidden to eat female bandicoot, large lizards, the large quail and its eggs, the wild cat, kangaroo tail, emu fat, cockatoos and parrots of all kinds, echidna, and the brown hawk (*Hieracidea orientalis*). The penalties supposed to be incurred by breaches of the rules resemble those which overtake the men, except that some of the ailments and infirmities are peculiar to women, such as absence of milk from the breasts. Women

Natives of King George's Sound (Swan River) and Adjoining Country," *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, i. (1832) p. 37.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, "On Australian Medicine Men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887)

pp. 41 sq.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 471 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* p. 470.

believe that if they ate old brown hawks their sons would be afflicted with varicose veins on the forehead. Further, a woman may not eat opossum, large carpet snake, large lizard, nor fat of any sort during the time that elapses between the circumcision and the subincision of her son; for were she to partake of any of these foods, the Arunta think that it would retard her son's recovery.<sup>1</sup> These last prohibitions clearly rest on an imaginary bond of magic sympathy between the mother and her son. In the Kaitish tribe young men may not eat emu, snake, porcupine, wild cat, eagle-hawk, or large lizards; if they do, it is believed that their bodies will swell up and their hair will turn prematurely grey. The restrictions laid on young women are still more numerous. Among the foods forbidden to them are acacia seed, emu eggs, the wild turkey and its eggs, the wild dog, big snakes, echidna, big lizards, wild cat, eagle-hawk, kites, big rats, rabbit bandicoots, and fish. Infractions of these taboos are supposed to entail various bodily infirmities, such as sore throat, swollen cheeks, swollen head, swollen body, emaciation, sores on the head, and sores on the legs. The restrictions with regard to the food of women are said to be much the same through all of the Central tribes; everywhere apparently the women strictly abstain from eating the brown hawk, lest they should have no milk in their breasts; some people think that the eating of the brown hawk causes the breasts to wither up, others on the contrary affirm that it makes them swell up and burst. Very old women among the Kaitish are freed from these restrictions.<sup>2</sup> In the Warramunga tribe young men are gradually released from these taboos as they grow older, but a man is usually well on in middle age before he may eat such things as wild turkey, rabbit bandicoot, and emu. In the same tribe there is a general rule that nobody may eat eagle-hawks, because it is said these birds batten on the bodies of dead natives.<sup>3</sup> In the Binbinga tribe the newly initiated boy may not eat snake, female kangaroo, wallaby, female emu, turtle, big lizards, big fish, female bandicoot, native companion, *jabiru*, black duck, dingo, turkey and its eggs, pigeon, and yams. All of these things are tabooed to him till his whiskers are grown. Finally, he takes a snake and other offerings of food to an old man, his wife's father, who first puts the snake round his own neck and then touches the lad's mouth with it. After that the young man may eat snakes.<sup>4</sup>

The view that the extensive prohibitions of food enjoined on young people of both sexes in Australia are in the main dictated by superstition rather than by the calculating selfishness of their

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 472 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 611 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* p. 612.

<sup>4</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* p. 613.

Australian superstitions as to food.

Super-  
stitious  
abstinences  
from  
certain  
foods.

elders, may perhaps be confirmed by the observation that in other parts of the world it is precisely the young people and women who are most free, and the grown men the most restricted, in their diet. For example, in some Dyak tribes of Borneo women, boys, and sometimes old men are free to eat certain foods which are forbidden, from motives of superstition, to men in the prime of life.<sup>1</sup> Among the Dyaks of Melintam and Njawan women and children may eat the flesh of apes, deer, and crocodiles, but from the time that boys are circumcised they may no longer partake of these viands. It used to be thought that any man who ate of these animals would go mad.<sup>2</sup> Among the Melanesians of the Duke of York Group and the adjoining parts of New Britain and New Ireland "a singular custom prevails here with regard to the sons of many chiefs. About the time of their attaining the age of puberty they are taken into the bush, where a large house is built for them and their attendants. Here they remain for several months, and during this time they are well fed with pork, turtle, shark, and anything else they please. They are then initiated into certain ceremonies, and after this they never again taste either pork, turtle, or shark during the remainder of their lives. So scrupulous are they on this matter, that I have known a young man to suffer acutely from hunger rather than eat a piece of taro which had been cooked in the same oven with a piece of pork."<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Namaquas boys under puberty are free to partake of hares, but after they have attained to puberty and have been initiated, they are forbidden to eat hare's flesh or even to come into contact with a fire at which it has been cooked. A man who eats the forbidden food is not uncommonly banished from the village, though he may be admitted to it again on the payment of a fine. The reason which the Namaquas give for this custom is that the animal is the origin of death among men. For once on a time, the hare was charged by the moon to run to mankind and tell them, "As I die and am renewed, so shall you also be renewed." The hare ran as he was bid, but instead of saying, "As I die and am renewed," he perversely and of malice prepense said, "As I die and perish, so shall you." So old Namaquas say that they hate the hare for his evil tidings and will not eat his flesh.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the Baele of Ennedi, a district of the eastern Soudan, after boys have been

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 203-205.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. van Borekel, "Iets over de Dajaks van Melintam en Njawan," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxvi. (1881) pp. 431 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. G. Brown, "Notes on the Duke of York Group, New Britain,

and New Ireland," *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, xlvii. (1877) p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Sir James Edward Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa* (London, 1838), i. 169; C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, Second Edition (London, 1856), pp. 328 sq.

circumcised they may no longer eat fowls and other birds, fish, and eggs. In neighbouring districts of the Soudan these foods are similarly deemed unsuitable for grown men. But the women of Ennedi are free to partake of these viands.<sup>1</sup>

P. 41. **The Kurnai youth is not allowed to eat the female of any animal, etc.**—The Kurnai rules have since been stated by Dr. A. W. Howitt more fully. He says:—"The rules as to food animals are as follows: The novice may not eat the female of any animal, nor the emu, the porcupine, the conger-eel, nor the spiny ant-eater; but he may eat the males of the common opossum, the ringtail opossum, the rock wallaby, the small scrub wallaby, the bush-rat, the bandicoot, the rabbit-rat, the brushtail, and the flying-mouse. He becomes free of the flesh of the forbidden animals by degrees. This freedom is given him by one of the old men suddenly and unexpectedly smearing some of the cooked fat over his face."<sup>2</sup>

P. 42, note <sup>3</sup>. **Superstitious abstinence from salt.**—The custom of abstaining from salt on certain solemn occasions has been practised by many peoples, but there seems to be no reason for connecting it with totemism. One of the occasions on which the abstinence has been commonly practised is mourning for a death. Thus, according to the rules of ancient Hindoo ritual, mourners should eat no food containing salt for three nights.<sup>3</sup> The Juangs, a wild hill-tribe of Bengal, abstain from salt and flesh for three days when they are in mourning.<sup>4</sup> In Loango the widow of a dead prince is bound to sleep on the ground and to eat no salted food.<sup>5</sup> Mourners in Central Africa sometimes refrain from salt, warm food, and beer.<sup>6</sup> In the Karnal District of North-West India worshippers of the Sun God (*Suraj Devata*) eat no salt on his sacred day Sunday.<sup>7</sup> One of the sacred books of the Hindoos prescribes that no salt should be eaten on the tenth day of the moon.<sup>8</sup> In the month of Saon (July-August) crowds of women in Bihar call themselves the wives of the snake-god Nag and go out begging for two and a half days, during which they neither sleep under a roof nor eat salt.<sup>9</sup> Barren women among the Aroras in India sometimes

Super-  
stitious  
abstinence  
from salt.

<sup>1</sup> G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, ii. 178 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 633.

<sup>3</sup> Monier Williams, *Religious Life and Thought in India* (London, 1883), p. 283.

<sup>4</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, i. 167.

<sup>6</sup> Rev. Duff Macdonald, *Africana* (London, 1882), i. 110. The writer

does not name the tribes who observe this custom.

<sup>7</sup> (Sir) D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Panipat Tahsil and Karnal Parganah of the Karnal District* (Allahabad, 1883), p. 147.

<sup>8</sup> J. A. Dubois, *Mœurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde*, ii. 525. The book in which this rule is laid down is the *Vishnu-Purana*.

<sup>9</sup> G. A. Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life* (Calcutta, 1885), pp. 404 sq.

abstain from salt during the four rainy months,<sup>1</sup> apparently in the hope of thereby obtaining offspring. The Mohaves, an Indian tribe of North America, never ate salted meat for the next moon after the coming of a prisoner among them.<sup>2</sup> A Brazilian Indian, one of Mr. A. R. Wallace's hunters, "caught a fine cock of the rock, and gave it to his wife to feed, but the poor woman was obliged to live herself on cassava-bread and fruits, and abstain entirely from all animal food, peppers, and salt, which it was believed would cause the bird to die."<sup>3</sup> In Peru a candidate for the priesthood had to renounce the use of salt for a year.<sup>4</sup> Among the Dards the priest of a certain goddess must purify himself for an annual ceremony by refraining for seven days from salt, onions, beer, and other unholy food.<sup>5</sup> The Egyptian priests avoided salt when they were in a state of ceremonial purity.<sup>6</sup> Among the Arhuaco Indians of South America the medicine-men may eat no salt all their lives, but in other respects their diet is more generous than that of their fellows.<sup>7</sup>

Abstinence from salt combined with the practice of chastity.

Often abstinence from salt is combined with the practice of chastity. Thus it was a rule of ancient Hindoo ritual that for three nights after a husband has brought his bride home, the couple should sleep on the ground, remain chaste, and eat no salt.<sup>8</sup> When the Rajah of Long Wahou in Borneo has a son born to him, he must for five months sleep alone and take no salt with his food: he is also forbidden to smoke and to chew *sirih*.<sup>9</sup> Amongst some of the Dyaks of Borneo men who have returned successful from a head-hunting expedition have to keep apart and abstain from a variety of things for several days; in particular they may not have intercourse with women, nor eat salt or fish with bones, nor touch iron.<sup>10</sup> In the East Indian island of Nias the men who dig a pitfall for game have to observe a number of superstitious rules, the intention of which is partly to avoid giving umbrage to the beasts, partly to prevent the sides of the pit from falling in. Thus they are forbidden to eat salt, to bathe, and to scratch themselves in the pit; and the night after they have dug it they must have no

<sup>1</sup> *Panjab Notes and Queries*, ii. p. 59, § 362.

<sup>2</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 520 note <sup>141</sup>. As to the Mohaves see above, vol. iii. pp. 247-250.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London, 1889), p. 349.

<sup>4</sup> A. Bastian, *Die Culturländer des Alten America* (Berlin, 1878), i. 479.

<sup>5</sup> Major J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (Calcutta, 1880), p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales*,

viii. 8. 2; *id.*, *De Iside et Osiride*, 5.

<sup>7</sup> W. Sievers, *Reise in der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta* (Leipsic, 1887), p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> *The Grihya Sutras*, translated by H. Oldenberg, Part i. p. 357, Part ii. p. 267 (*Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xxix., xxx.).

<sup>9</sup> Carl Bock, *The Head Hunters of Borneo*, p. 223.

<sup>10</sup> S. W. Tromp, "Uit de Salasila van Koetei," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxvii. (1888) p. 74.

intercourse with women.<sup>1</sup> Among the Creek or Muskogee Indians of North America men who had been wounded in war were confined in a small hut at a distance from the village and had to stay there for the space of four moons, keeping strictly apart and leading a very abstemious life; in particular they had to abstain from salt and from women. To avert the risk of incontinence, which, it was believed, would have delayed the cure, each of the wounded warriors was waited upon by an old superannuated woman. "But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day."<sup>2</sup> When in the year 1765 a party of Chickasaw Indians returned home with two French scalps, the men had to remain secluded in the sweat-house for three days and nights fasting and purifying themselves with warm lotions and aspersions of the button-snake root. Meantime their women had to stand through the long frosty nights, from evening to morning, in two rows facing each other, one on each side of the door, singing for a minute or more together in a soft shrill voice to a solemn moving air, and then remaining profoundly silent for ten minutes, till they again renewed the plaintive tune. During all this time they might have no intercourse with their husbands and might neither eat nor touch salt.<sup>3</sup> Again, at the solemn annual festival of the Busk, when the first-fruits of the earth were offered and the new fire kindled, Creek men and women had for three days to remain strictly chaste and to abstain rigidly from all food, but more particularly from salt.<sup>4</sup> In the solemn religious fasts observed by the semi-civilised Indians of Mexico, Central America, and Peru it seems to have been a common, perhaps a general, rule that the people should practise continence and eat no salt and no pepper.<sup>5</sup> For example, from the

Abstinence from salt combined with the practice of chastity.

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Thomas, "De jacht op het eiland Nias," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxvi. (1880) pp. 276 sq.

<sup>2</sup> James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> James Adair, *op. cit.* pp. 164-166.

<sup>4</sup> A. A. M'Gillivray, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 268.

<sup>5</sup> A. de Herrera, *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of*

*America*, translated by Captain John Stevens (London, 1725-1726), iii. 270, iv. 342, 349; Oviedo, *Histoire du Nicaragua* (Paris, 1840), pp. 228 sq. (Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux*, etc.); Diego de Landa, *Relation des choses de Yucatan* (Paris, 1864), pp. 278, 279; Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, translated by C. R. Markham (London, 1880), ii. 339, 376 sq.; Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas*,

Abstinence from salt combined with the practice of chastity.

time that they sowed the maize till the time that they reaped it, the Indians of Nicaragua lived chastely and abstemiously, sleeping apart from their wives, eating no salt, and drinking neither *chicha* nor cocoa.<sup>1</sup> Similarly among the Peruvian Indians bride and bridegroom fasted for two days before marriage, eating no salt, no pepper, and no flesh, and drinking none of the native wine.<sup>2</sup> Every eight years the Mexicans celebrated a festival which was preceded by a fast of eight days. During this fast they ate nothing but maize-bread (*tamalli*) baked without salt and drank nothing but pure water. It was believed that if any one broke the fast, even in secret, God would punish him with leprosy. The reason which they assigned for this abstinence was singular. They said that the purpose of the fast observed on this occasion was to allow their means of subsistence to enjoy a period of repose; for they alleged that in ordinary times bread, which was their staple food, was fatigued by the admixture of salt and other spices, which humbled it and made it feel old. So they fasted from salt and other dainties in order to give back to the bread its lost youth. At the festival to which the fast was a prelude all the gods and goddesses were supposed to dance. Hence in the carnival or masked ball, which formed the chief feature of the celebration, there appeared a motley throng of dancers disguised as birds, beasts, butterflies, bees, and beetles; while others garbed themselves as costermongers, wood-sellers, lepers, and so forth. Round and round the image of the god Tlaloc circled the giddy dance, some of the dancers making desperate efforts to swallow living water-snakes and frogs, which they had picked up in their mouths from a tank at the feet of the image.<sup>3</sup>

This frequent association of abstinence from salt and abstinence from women is curious. The Nyanja-speaking peoples of British Central Africa extract salt from grass, and when a party of the people has gone to make salt, all the people in the village must observe strict continence until the return of the salt-makers. When the party returns, they must steal into the village by night without being seen by anybody. After that one of the village elders sleeps with his wife. She then cooks a relish and puts some of the new-made salt into it. This relish is handed round to the salt-makers, who rub it on their feet and under their armpits.<sup>4</sup> Similarly the

translated by C. R. Markham, vol. ii. p. 130; P. de Cieza de Leon, *Travels*, translated by C. R. Markham (London, 1864), pp. 296 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, *Histoire du Nicaragua* (Paris, 1840), pp. 228 sq.

<sup>2</sup> A. de Herrera, *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America*, translated by Captain John

Stevens (London, 1725-1726), iv. 342.

<sup>3</sup> Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, traduite par D. Jourdain et R. Simeon (Paris, 1880), pp. 170 sq. As to *tamalli* (maize-bread) see *id.* p. 20, note <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja* (London, 1907), pp. 191 sq.

workers in the salt-pans near Siphoum in French Tonquin must abstain from all sexual relations in the place where they are at work.<sup>1</sup> However, in savage society the same rule of continence is observed in other industrial operations than the manufacture of salt. For example, in the Marquesas Islands a woman who is making cocoa-nut oil must be chaste for five days, otherwise she could extract no oil from the nuts.<sup>2</sup> Among the natives of Port Moresby in New Guinea it is a rule that when a party goes on a trading voyage westward to procure arrowroot, the leader has to observe strict continence, else the canoe would sink and all the arrowroot be lost.<sup>3</sup> In ancient Arabia the men who were engaged in collecting incense from the trees might not pollute themselves with women or with funerals.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the Masai the brewers of poison and of honey-wine must observe strict continence, else it is supposed that the poison and the honey-wine would be spoiled.<sup>5</sup> These and many similar cases of continence practised from superstitious motives by savages rest on certain primitive ideas of the physical influence of sexual intercourse, which we do not as yet fully understand.

Continence observed in certain industrial operations.

P. 42. **A Carib ceremony.**—With this ceremony we may compare an initiatory rite observed by the Andaman Islanders. The friends of the young man or young woman who is being initiated at puberty hunt and kill a wild boar or a wild sow according to the sex of the novice. The chief presses the carcase of the animal heavily on the shoulders, back, and limbs of the novice as he sits on the ground. “This is in token of his hereafter becoming, or proving himself to be, courageous and strong.” The carcase is then cut up, the fat is melted and poured over the novice and rubbed into his person.<sup>6</sup> Amongst the Arunta uncircumcised lads are often struck on the calf of the leg with the leg-bone of an eagle-hawk, because this is supposed to impart strength to the boy’s leg.<sup>7</sup> In these and many similar customs which might be cited<sup>8</sup> the valuable properties of the animal are supposed to be transferred to human beings by external application. But the customs appear to be quite independent of totemism.

P. 43.—**The youths at initiation sleep on the graves of their ancestors.**—Speaking of the initiatory rights of the Australian aborigines a writer says: “On another occasion a young man who followed the occupation of a fisherman, told me that he was com-

<sup>1</sup> É. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos* (Paris, 1885), p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> G. H. von Langsdorff, *Reise um die Welt* (Frankfort, 1812), i. 119 sq.

<sup>3</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), pp. 349 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xii. 54.

<sup>5</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 410 sq.

<sup>6</sup> E. H. Man, *The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* (London, n.d.), p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 472.

<sup>8</sup> For some other examples see *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, ii.

364 sq.

pelled to lie for two nights on the grave of one of his ancestors, who had also been a fisherman of some note; by this means he was supposed to inherit all the good qualities of his predecessor."<sup>1</sup> Among the Niska Indians of North-West America the novice resorted to a grave, took out a corpse, and lay with it all night wrapt in a blanket.<sup>2</sup>

P. 43. In some of the Victorian tribes no person related to the youth by blood can interfere or assist in his initiation.—In the Peake River tribe of South Australia none of a boy's relations are present when he is being circumcised; they are supposed not to know that the operation is taking place.<sup>3</sup>

P. 43. The Australian ceremony at initiation of pretending to recall a dead man to life.—A pretence of killing a man and bringing him to life again is a common ceremony of initiation among many peoples. Elsewhere I have collected examples of it.<sup>4</sup> We have seen that it forms a prominent part in the initiation rites of some secret societies in North America.<sup>5</sup> The Kikuyu of British East Africa "have a curious custom which requires that every boy just before circumcision must be born again. The mother stands up with the boy crouching at her feet, she pretends to go through all the labour pains and the boy on being reborn cries like a babe and is washed. He lives on milk for some days afterwards."<sup>6</sup> In the rites of initiation I do not remember to have met with another equally clear imitation of a new birth for the novice. But a pretence of being born again has formed part of a rite of adoption among some peoples;<sup>7</sup> and we have seen that in India it is practised as a mode of averting ill-luck or of raising a person either to a higher rank or to one which he has for some reason forfeited.<sup>8</sup>

Pretence of new birth at circumcision.

Custom of plucking out the hair and beards of youths at initiation.

P. 44, note<sup>3</sup>. The plucking of the hair from the pubes or incipient beard of the youth at initiation.—This custom seems to have been widely diffused among the southern and eastern tribes of Australia. Thus among the tribes in the neighbourhood of Adelaide the hair of the pubes of novices was plucked out by operators of both sexes and various ages, even little children taking part in the work. When the hair had been pulled out, it was carefully rolled up in

<sup>1</sup> J. F. Mann, "Notes on the Aborigines of Australia," *Proceedings of the Geographical Society of Australasia, New South Wales and Victorian Branches*, i. (1885) p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 542.

<sup>3</sup> R. Schomburgk, "Über einige Sitten und Gebräuche der tief im innern Südaustraliens, am Peake-Flusse und dessen Umgebung hausenden Stämme," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1879, p. (235)

(appended to *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x.).

<sup>4</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 422 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 462 sqq., 487 sq., 489 sq., 505, 542, 546.

<sup>6</sup> Extract from a letter of Mr. A. C. Hollis to me. Mr. Hollis's authority is Dr. T. W. W. Crawford of the Kenia Medical Mission.

<sup>7</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 21 sq.

<sup>8</sup> See above, pp. 208 sq.

green boughs, the hair of each novice being kept separately, and the packets were given to a wise man to be properly disposed of.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Narrinyeri of South Australia the matted hair of the novices was combed or rather torn out with the point of a spear, and their moustaches and a great part of their beards plucked up by the roots. The lads were then besmeared from the crown of their head to their feet with a mixture of oil and red ochre.<sup>2</sup> In the Encounter Bay tribe of South Australia all the hair was singed or plucked out from the bodies of the novices except the hair of the head and beard; and then their whole bodies, with the exception of their faces, were rubbed over with grease and red ochre.<sup>3</sup> Among the tribes of South-West Victoria all the hairs of the beard were plucked out from the faces of novices at initiation.<sup>4</sup> Some of the tribes on the Murray River tore out the hair or down from the chins of the young men who were being initiated.<sup>5</sup> In the Moorundi tribe, about 180 miles up the Murray River, boys at initiation had the hair plucked from their bodies; the men who performed the operation were chosen from a distant tribe.<sup>6</sup> Among the Maraura-speaking tribes of the Lower Darling River the novice was stretched on the ground and all the hair was plucked from his cheeks and chin and given to his mother, who was present, crying and lamenting.<sup>7</sup> And with regard to the aborigines of the Darling River in general we are told that "the hair of the youth who is being initiated is cut short on his head and pulled out of his face, and red ochre, mixed with emu fat, smeared over his body; he wears a necklace of twisted opossum hair."<sup>8</sup> The Tongaranka, a tribe of the Itchumundi nation, to the west of the Darling River, depilated the private parts of the novices at initiation.<sup>9</sup> Among the tribes of the Paroo and Warrego Rivers in South Queensland the custom was to pluck out by the roots all the hairs of the novice's body.<sup>10</sup> The natives of the Mary River district in South Queensland shaved off the hair from all parts of the body but the head.<sup>11</sup> Similarly in Fiji at initiation the heads of novices were

<sup>1</sup> E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845), ii. 338.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 17; *id.* in E. M. Curr's *The Australian Race*, ii. 254 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. H. E. A. Meyer, "Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> R. Brough Smith, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 65.

<sup>6</sup> G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, i. 98.

<sup>7</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 675.

<sup>8</sup> F. Bonney, "On Some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 128.

<sup>9</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 675.

<sup>10</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. p. 273.

<sup>11</sup> E. M. Curr, *op. cit.* iii. 167.

shaved clean, and it is said that their shaven heads was an indication of childhood.<sup>1</sup>

The removal of the hair of novices at initiation was perhaps to assimilate them to new-born babes.

The meaning of this custom of removing the hair, especially the hair of the pubes and beard, of lads at initiation is not clear. But wherever the novice is supposed to be born again by means of these initiatory rites, it would be perfectly natural to remove the hair from his body, especially from these particular parts of it, in order to increase his resemblance to a new-born babe. For even the savage mind could hardly fail to be struck by the incongruity of a young man with a beard pretending to be a tender infant. The Australian practice of smearing the lads all over with red ochre may be an attempt to assimilate them still more closely to newly born infants, the red ochre being a substitute for blood; and the same may perhaps be said of the corresponding South African practice of daubing the novices all over with white clay just after they have been circumcised,<sup>2</sup> for the new-born children of black races are at first reddish brown and soon turn slaty grey.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the ancient Greek custom of polling the beards or the hair of youths and maidens at puberty or before marriage and dedicating the shorn locks to a god or goddess, a hero or a heroine,<sup>4</sup> may have been a survival of a similar pretence of a new birth at this critical time of life. Even the monkish tonsure may perhaps be remotely connected with the same primitive practice.

Robertson Smith's theory of a totem sacrament.

P. 44. **Connected with this mimic death and revival of a clansman appears to be the real death and supposed revival of the totem itself.**—With regard to what follows in the text I desire the reader particularly to observe, first, that there is no clear evidence that any of the slain animals are totems; and, second, that none of the slain animals are eaten by the worshippers. The instances cited, therefore, furnish no solid basis for a theory of what has been called a totem sacrament. That theory was a creation of my brilliant and revered friend the late W. Robertson Smith. For many years it remained a theory and nothing more, without a single positive

<sup>1</sup> Rev. L. Fison, "The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure, of Wainimala, Fiji," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) pp. 20, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, and Religions of South African Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890) pp. 268 sq.; J. Stewart, *Lovedale, South Africa* (Edinburgh, 1894), pp. 105 sq.: "They are covered from head to foot with white clay, which makes them look as if they were whitewashed. This gives them a very ghastly appearance, and they are commonly called the

white boys by Europeans. . . . After several weeks, the white clay is washed off in the nearest river, red clay takes its place, and a new *kaross* or blanket is given to each. All the old clothing, such as it is, is also burned. The lads are then assembled to receive advice and instruction from the old men as to their new duties. They are now to act as men, being acknowledged as such."

<sup>3</sup> E. B. Tylor, *Anthropology* (London, 1881), p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> See my article "Artemis and Hippolytus," *The Fortnightly Review*, December 1904, pp. 982, 985 sq.

instance of such a sacrament being known to support it. Then came the great discoveries of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia, which made an era in the study of primitive man. Amongst the many new facts which their admirable investigations brought to light was a custom which may in a sense be called a totem sacrament. For they found that the members of totem clans in Central Australia, while they generally abstain from eating their totemic animals or plants, nevertheless do at certain times partake of them as part of a solemn ritual for the multiplication of these animals or plants. When the totem is an edible animal or plant, the members of each totemic clan are bound to perform magical ceremonies (*intichiuma*) for the increase of their totems, in order that the animals and plants may be eaten by the rest of the community, although not as a rule by the performers themselves, who have these animals or plants for their totems. And that the ceremonies may accomplish their object successfully, it is deemed essential that the members of each totemic clan should eat a little of their totem; to eat none of it or to eat too much would equally defeat the aim of those magical rites which are designed to ensure a supply of food, both animal and vegetable, for the tribe.<sup>1</sup>

Totem sacrament in Central Australia.

Thus a totem sacrament of a sort has been discovered among the tribes of Central Australia, and "Robertson Smith's wonderful intuition—almost prevision—has been strikingly confirmed after the lapse of years. Yet what we have found is not precisely what he expected. The sacrament he had in his mind was a religious rite; the sacrament we have found is a magical ceremony. He thought that the slain animal was regarded as divine, and never killed except to furnish the mystic meal; as a matter of fact, the animals partaken of sacramentally by the Central Australians are in no sense treated as divine, and though they are not as a rule killed and eaten by the men and women whose totems they are, nevertheless they are habitually killed and eaten by all the other members of the community; indeed, the evidence goes to show that at an earlier time they were commonly eaten also by the persons whose totems they were, nay, even that such persons partook of them more freely, and were supposed to have a better right to do so than any one else. The object of the real totem sacrament which Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have discovered is not to attain to a mystical community with a deity, but simply to ensure a plentiful supply of food for the rest of the community by means of sorcery. In short, what we have found is not religion, but that which was first the predecessor, and afterwards the hated rival of religion; I mean magic."<sup>2</sup>

But the Central Australian totemic sacrament is magical, not religious.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), pp. 167-211; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), pp.

283-327. See also above, vol. i. pp. 102-112, 183-186, 214-242.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Frazer, "on some Ceremonies of the Central Australian

The only other apparent instance of what may be called a totem sacrament with which I am acquainted is the one which is reported by Mr. N. W. Thomas from West Africa.<sup>1</sup> But his report is brief, and it seems desirable to obtain fuller particulars of the custom before we can definitely assign it a place in the very short list of totem sacraments.

P. 44.—**Some Californian Indians killed the buzzard, and then buried and mourned over it.**—However, there is no evidence or probability that the buzzard was their totem. Totemism appears not to have been practised by any tribe of Californian Indians.<sup>2</sup>

Zuñi ceremony of bringing back the turtles and killing them.

P. 44. **A Zuñi ceremony described by an eye-witness, Mr. Cushing.**—The ceremony of bringing the tortoises or turtles to the village of Zuñi has been described much more fully by a later writer, Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson. It forms part of the elaborate ritual observed by these Indians at the midsummer solstice, when the sacred fire is kindled.<sup>3</sup> Envoys are sent to fetch "their otherselves, the tortoises," from the sacred lake Kothluwalawa, to which the souls of the dead are supposed to go. When the creatures have thus been solemnly brought to Zuñi, they are placed in a bowl of water near the middle of the floor, and ritual dances are performed beside them. "After the ceremonial the tortoises are taken home by those who caught them and are hung by their necks to the rafters till morning, when they are thrown into pots of boiling water. The eggs are considered a great delicacy. The meat is seldom touched except as a medicine, which is a curative for cutaneous diseases. Part of the meat is deposited in the river, with *kohakwa* (white shell beads) and turquoise beads, as offerings to the Council of the Gods."<sup>4</sup>

As the lake from which the turtles are brought is the place to which the souls of the departed are supposed to repair, Mrs. Stevenson's account confirms the interpretation which I had independently given of the ceremony. I pointed out that the Zuñis believe in their transmigration or transformation at death into their totemic animals, and that the tortoise or turtle is reported by one authority to be a Zuñi totem. Hence the intention of killing the turtles in which, according to Mr. Cushing's account, the souls of dead kinsfolk are supposed to be incarnate, is

Tribes," *Proceedings of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science* (Melbourne, 1901), pp. 316 sq. Elsewhere I have pointed out on how very slender a basis the theory of a totem sacrament has been built. See *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition (London, 1900), vol. i. pp. xviii. sq.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 589 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 1 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 237 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 153-161. As to Kothluwalawa, the lake of the dead, from which the turtles are brought, see above, vol. iii. p. 233 n.<sup>2</sup>.

apparently "to keep up a communication with the other world in which the souls of the departed are believed to be assembled in the form of turtles. It is a common belief that the spirits of the dead return occasionally to their old homes; and accordingly the unseen visitors are welcomed and feasted by the living, and then sent upon their way. In the Zuñi ceremony the dead are fetched home in the form of turtles, and the killing of the turtles is the way of sending back the souls to the spirit-land."<sup>1</sup>

This interpretation of the Zuñi custom of killing the turtles supersedes the one which, following W. Robertson Smith, I formerly suggested with some hesitation, namely, that it might be a peculiar sacrifice in which the god dies for his people.<sup>2</sup> But a doubt remains whether the ceremony is totemic or not; for though the turtle or tortoise is included in the list of Zuñi totems given by Captain J. G. Bourke, it is not included in the lists given by Mr. Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson.<sup>3</sup>

P. 60. **Phratries . . . subphratries.**—With Howitt and Fison I now prefer to call these exogamous divisions by the names of classes and subclasses.

P. 63, note<sup>3</sup>. **The custom . . . of imposing silence on women for a long time after marriage.**—We have seen that among the tribes of South-West Victoria, where husband and wife always spoke different languages, the newly married couple were not allowed to speak to each other for two moons after marriage, and that if during this time they needed to converse with one another the communication had to be made through friends.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere we meet with some scattered indications of an apparently widespread custom, which forbade a wife to speak to any one but her husband until she had given birth to a child. Thus with regard to the Taveta of British East Africa we read: "One singular custom of theirs in connection with marriage I must relate. Brides are set apart for the first year as something almost too good for earth. They are dressed, adorned, physicked, and pampered in every way, almost like goddesses. They are screened from vulgar sight, exempted from all household duties, and prohibited from all social intercourse with all of the other sex except their husbands. They are never left alone, are accompanied by some one wherever they may wish to go, and are not permitted to exert themselves in the least; even in their short walks they creep at a snail's pace, lest they should overstrain their muscles. Two of these celestial beings were permitted to visit me. Both were very elaborately got up and in precisely the same manner.

Silence imposed on women at marriage.

<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition (London, 1900), ii. 374. The belief in the periodical return of the dead to their old homes is illustrated with many examples in my *Adonis*, *Attis*,

*Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), pp. 301-318.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. iii. p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 466, 468.

Around the head was worn a band of parti-coloured beads, to which was attached a half-moon of bead-work in front, so as to fall down over the forehead. Below this, fastened round the temples, fell a veil of iron chain, hanging to below the lips in closely arranged lengths. . . . They honoured me only with their eyes; they did not let me hear the mellow harmony of their voices. They had to see and be seen, but not to be heard or spoken to. Brides are treated in this manner until they present their husbands with a son or daughter, or the hope of such a desired event has passed away."<sup>1</sup>

Silence of  
Armenian  
brides.

A similar custom is reported of Armenian brides. "Young girls go unveiled, bareheaded, wherever they please, the young men may woo them openly, and marriages founded on affection are common. But it is different with the young wife. The 'Yes' before the bridal altar is for a time the last word she is heard to speak! From that time on she appears everywhere, even in the house, deeply veiled, especially with the lower part of the face, the mouth, quite hidden, even the eyes behind the veil. No one sees her in the street, even to church she goes only twice a year, at Easter and Christmas, under a deep veil; if a stranger enters the house or the garden, she hides herself immediately. With no one may she speak even one word, not with her own father and brother! She speaks only with her husband, when she is alone with him! With all other persons in the house she may communicate only by pantomime."<sup>2</sup> In this dumbness, which is enjoined by custom, she persists till she has given birth to her first child. From that time on she is again gradually emancipated; she speaks with the new-born child, then her husband's mother is the first person with whom she talks; after some time she may speak with her own mother; then the turn comes for her husband's sister, and then also for her own sisters. Next she begins to converse with the young girls of the house, but all very softly in whispers, that none of the men may hear! Only after six or more years is she fully emancipated and her education complete. Nevertheless it is not proper that she should ever speak with strange men, or that they should see her unveiled."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Charles New, *Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), pp. 360 sq. This enforced silence of Taveta brides is not mentioned by Mr. A. C. Hollis in his account of the Taveta marriage customs ("Taveta Customs," *Journal of the African Society*, No. 1, October 1901, pp. 113-117). Perhaps the custom has fallen into disuse since Mr. New wrote.

<sup>2</sup> "I saw to my great astonishment that these pantomimes were the same that may often be seen as a game also

with us among young people, especially girls: signs are made with the hands, the fingers, by laying them over each other, by crossing the fingers or setting them side by side, etc., so to indicate letters or syllables. . . . What to us now seems an arbitrary, childish invention may ultimately have a deep historical significance!" (Haxthausen's note).

<sup>3</sup> A. Freiherr von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasien* (Leipsic, 1856), i. 200 sq.

The Ossetes of the Caucasus observe a similar custom. With them also custom enjoins the strictest reserve on a young wife until she has borne a child. Till then she may not exchange a word with any one but her husband; even with her parents and brothers and sisters she speaks only in pantomime. But as soon as she has given birth to a child, or, if she remains childless, after four years she is completely emancipated from the rule of silence.<sup>1</sup> Among the South Slavs it is said that in old times a bride wore her veil till the birth of her first child, and that all this time she did not speak to her father-in-law or mother-in-law.<sup>2</sup> In Albania it is contrary to all good manners for a bride to chat with her husband in presence of others, even of her husband's parents, until she has given birth to a child.<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere we meet with similar rules of prolonged silence imposed on brides without mention of the relief afforded by the birth of a child. Thus we read that among the Abchasses of the Western Caucasus a bride speaks with no one for some months after her marriage; then she begins to converse with the younger members of the household and of the village, afterwards with older people, and last of all with her father-in-law and mother-in-law.<sup>4</sup> Another traveller in the Caucasus says that for a year from the day of her marriage a Tartar bride is not allowed to speak a word louder than a whisper, not even with her own parents; but after the lapse of a year a feast is held, and then she recovers the full use of her tongue.<sup>5</sup> In the island of Peru, one of the Gilbert Group in the South Pacific, it was a custom "to prohibit a married woman, for years after marriage, from looking at or speaking to any one but her husband. When she went anywhere she covered herself up with a mat, made on purpose, and which was so folded in Corean style as to leave but a small hole in front for her to see the road before her. Any man observing her coming along would get out of the way till she passed. Any deviation from the rule would lead to jealousy and its revengeful consequences."<sup>6</sup> In Sardinia a similar custom of silence used to be imposed on lovers before marriage, as we learn from the following account: "The process of courtship in Sardinia was until a few years ago carried on in an exceptionally singular manner. The lovers were not permitted to meet either privately or in society, and if a meeting should accidentally occur, they recognised each other as distant acquaintances, neither shaking hands nor holding converse together. The only communication between them was conducted through the medium of the 'deaf and dumb' alphabet, the lady performer

Women  
forbidden  
to speak  
for some  
time after  
marriage.

<sup>1</sup> Von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasien*, ii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven* (Vienna, 1885), p. 450.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien* (Jena, 1854), i. 147.

<sup>4</sup> N. v. Seidlitz (Tiflis), "Die Abchassen," *Globus*, lxxvi. (1894) p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Edmund Spencer, *Travels in Circassia* (London, 1837), ii. 138.

<sup>6</sup> G. Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), p. 298.

hanging over the balcony, or half hidden by the curtain of her room, and the gentleman standing below; this process was continued very often for several hours, the rapidity and dexterity, as also the patience and perseverance, exhibited on these occasions being truly marvellous. Courtship after this fashion has been known to be protracted for years."<sup>1</sup>

Young  
wives for-  
bidden to  
speak with  
their  
husbands.

In the preceding cases the young wife, though she is forbidden to converse with other people, is allowed to speak to her husband. But in some African tribes she may not even do this. Thus among the Wabemba, to the west of Lake Tanganyika, "a young married woman refuses at first to speak and especially to eat in presence of her husband. This situation is prolonged in proportion to the high rank of the husband. The observation of this respectful silence is called *kusimbila*. However, there is something artful in the silence, for the husband must give his wife a present (*kusikula*) to untie her tongue. Sometimes, indeed often, the present is not enough and must be repeated twice or thrice. This is called *kuliana*."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, among the Wahorohoro "in the early days of marriage the wife remains absolutely dumb in presence of her husband; and just as among the Wabemba the husband must give her a present in order to hear her voice."<sup>3</sup>

The silence  
imposed  
on women  
after  
marriage  
has prob-  
ably its  
root in  
somesupe-  
stition.

What is the meaning of the rule of silence thus imposed on lovers before marriage or on brides after it? The example of the tribes of South-West Victoria supplies at least a possible explanation; for among them husband and wife always belonged to tribes speaking different languages, the pair continued to speak each his and her own language even after marriage, and both before marriage and for two months after it they were forbidden to converse with each other at all.<sup>4</sup> Thus it is suggested that the enforced silence may be only a formal acknowledgment of the difference of language between husband and wife and the consequent difficulty which they have in communicating with each other. In support of this explanation it might perhaps be urged that the custom in question appears to be especially prevalent among the peoples of the Caucasus, who belong to many different races and speak many different tongues, and amongst whom therefore it may often happen that husband and wife are unable to speak or understand each other's languages. Yet it seems very doubtful whether this explanation suffices for all the instances I have cited. How, for example, can it be supposed to apply to the Gilbert Islands in the South Pacific, where probably no speech but Polynesian was ever heard till the advent of Europeans? More probably the silence of

<sup>1</sup> R. Tennant, *Sardinia and its Resources* (Rome and London, 1885), p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Delhaise, *Notes ethno-*

*graphiques sur quelques Peuplades du Tanganika* (Brussels, 1905), pp. 17 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. Delhaise, *op. cit.* p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 466-468.

the wife till her first child is born rests on some superstitious belief touching her first pregnancy which as yet we do not understand. This view is to a certain extent confirmed by the parallel rule of silence which many peoples impose on widows, and sometimes on widowers, for a considerable time after their bereavement; for there is clear evidence that the silence of the widow or widower springs from a superstitious fear of attracting the dangerous attentions of the ghost of the deceased spouse.<sup>1</sup> But if a widow is tongue-tied by superstition, so may be the wife, though the particular superstition may be different. In the Warramunga tribe of Central Australia the custom of silence after a death is observed by many other women besides the widow; all the time they are under the ban, these women converse silently with each other on their fingers, and become so expert in the gesture language and so accustomed to it that some of them never resume the use of their tongue, but prefer to talk on their fingers, hands, and arms for the rest of their days.<sup>2</sup> Thus the substitution of the gesture language for speech occurs among some races at three of the most important periods of a woman's career, at her wooing, her early wedded life, and her widowhood. Probably in all three cases the motive for conduct so opposed to the natural instincts of women is superstition.

P. 64. **Amongst the Caribs the language of the men differed to some extent from that of the women.**—This remarkable peculiarity is shared by several other South American languages, though it has been oftenest noted among the Caribs.<sup>3</sup> The differences between

<sup>1</sup> See the evidence collected by me in my note, "The Silent Widow," in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908), i. 256-258. To the examples there cited I will add another from the Indians of California: "Around Auburn, a devoted widow never speaks, on any occasion or upon any pretext, for several months, sometimes a year or more, after the death of her husband. Of this singular fact I had ocular demonstration. Elsewhere, as on the American River, she speaks only in a whisper for several months" (S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 327).

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 500 sq.; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 525 sq.

<sup>3</sup> As to the differences between the modes of speech of men and women in the Carib language see J. B. du Tertre, *Histoire generale des Isles de S.*

*Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans l'Amerique* (Paris, 1654), p. 462; De Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Antilles* (Rotterdam, 1665), pp. 349 sq.; De la Borde, "Relation de l'origine, mœurs, coutumes, religion, guerres et voyages des Caraïbes, sauvages des Isles Antilles de l'Amerique," in *Recueil de divers voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amerique qui n'ont point esté encore publiés* (Paris, 1684), pp. 4, 39; Labat, *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique*, Nouvelle Edition (Paris, 1742), vi. 127 sq., 129; Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), i. 55; A. von Humboldt, *Reise in die Äquatorial-Gegenden des neuen Continents, in deutscher Bearbeitung*, von H. Hauff (Stuttgart, 1874), iv. 204 sq.; F. A. Ober, *Camps in the Caribbees* (Edinburgh, 1880), pp. 100 sq.; J. N. Rat, "The Carib Language as now spoken in Dominica, West Indies," *Journal of the*

Difference of language between men and women.

the speech of the sexes in these tribes extend both to the vocabulary and to the grammatical terminations. How they are to be explained is uncertain. They appear not to correspond at all to the differences which have been observed between the speech of men and women in some Caffre languages; for whereas the Caffre differences are based on a superstitious avoidance of certain words and syllables by the women and vary from one woman to another,<sup>1</sup> there is no evidence that the American differences originate in that way, and they seem to be constant for all the men and women of a tribe. I have conjectured that differences between the speech of the sexes, such as we find in South America, but hardly, if at all, anywhere else,<sup>2</sup> may account for the origin of grammatical gender in language, feminine terminations perhaps representing the speech of women and masculine terminations the speech of men.<sup>3</sup> But it cannot be said that there is much evidence to support the hypothesis.

Australian tradition of the origin of the Eaglehawk and Crow exogamous classes.

P. 64. Native Australian traditions as to the origin of these various tribal divisions.—“The aborigines of the northern parts of Victoria say that the world was created by beings whom they call *Nooralie*—beings that existed a very long time ago. They name a man who is very old *Nooralpily*. They believe that the beings who created all things had severally the form of the Crow and the Eagle. There was continual war between these two beings, but peace was made at length. They agreed that the Murray blacks should be divided into two classes—the *Mak-quarra* or Eaglehawk, and the *Kil-parra* or Crow. The conflict that was waged between the rival powers is thus preserved in song:—

*Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898), pp. 311 sq.; C. Sapper, “Mittel-amerikanische Caraiben,” *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, x. (1897), pp. 57 sq. As to other South American languages in which analogous differences between the speech of men and women have been observed, see Dobrzhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus* (Vienna, 1784), ii. 193; F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l’Amérique méridionale* (Paris, 1809), ii. 106 sq.; A. d’Orbigny, *L’Homme américain* (Paris, 1839), i. 153, ii. 135, 163; R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana* (Leipzig, 1847-1848), i. 227; C. F. Phil. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens*, i. (Leipzig, 1867), pp. 106 sq.; P. Ehrenreich, “Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasi-

liens,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxvi. (1894), pp. 23-50; Th. Koch, “Die Guaikuru-Gruppe,” *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (1903), pp. 16 sq.

<sup>1</sup> See *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 413 sq.

<sup>2</sup> In the Tenggerese language, spoken in the Tenger mountains of Eastern Java, the women say *Ingsum* and the men say *Reang* for “I,” the first personal pronoun singular. See J. H. F. Kohlbrugge, “Die Tenggèresen, ein alter javanische Volksstamm,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, liii. (1901) p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Frazer, “A Suggestion as to the Origin of Gender in Language,” *The Fortnightly Review*, January 1900, pp. 79-90.

<i>Thinj-ami</i>	<i>balkee</i>	<i>mako</i> ;
Knee	strike	Crow ;
<i>Nato-panda</i>	<i>Kambe-ar</i>	<i>tona</i> ;
Spear	father	of him.

The meaning of which is : 'Strike the Crow on the knee ; I will spear his father.' The war was maintained with great vigour for a length of time. The Crow took every possible advantage of his nobler foe, the Eagle ; but the latter generally had ample revenge for injuries and insults. Out of their enmities and final agreement arose the two classes, and thence a law governing marriages amongst these classes."<sup>1</sup>

This tradition is notable because it relates that the division of a tribe into two exogamous classes, Eaglehawk and Crow, arose through the reconciliation of two hostile beings. The division of a tribe into two classes *Mukwara* (*Mak-quarra*) and *Kilpara* (*Kil-parra*) extended over a great part of New South Wales.<sup>2</sup> The account of their origin which I have just quoted shews that the names mean Eaglehawk and Crow respectively ; so that this large group of tribes must be added to those whose exogamous classes or phratries are named after animals.<sup>3</sup> The natives of the Lower Darling River had a tradition that their ancestor arrived on the banks of the river, which were then uninhabited, with two wives called respectively *Mukwara* (*Mookwara*) and *Kilpara* (*Keelpara*) ; that the sons of *Mukwara* took to wife the daughters of *Kilpara*, and that the children of the marriage, taking their names from their mothers, were called *Kilparas* ; while conversely the sons of *Kilpara* took to wife the daughters of *Mukwara*, and the children of the marriage, taking their name from their mothers, were called *Mukwaras*. Afterwards, so runs the tradition, the two classes were subdivided, the *Mukwaras* into Kangaroos and Opossums, and the *Kilparas* into Emus and Ducks ; and henceforth, for example, a *Kilpara* man of the Emu subdivision could not marry any *Mukwara* woman indiscriminately, but only such as belonged to the proper subdivision. That, the natives said, was the origin of their exogamous classes and subclasses, and of the laws which regulated their marriage ever afterwards.<sup>4</sup> In this tradition the origin of the subclasses is explained, with great probability, by a subdivision of each of the original classes. The old law which divided the *Woiworing* tribe into two classes, Eaglehawk and Crow, was said to have been brought by the wizards from *Bunjil*, the headman in the sky.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 423 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 380-392.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> The tradition is reported by C. G.

N. Lockhart, cited by E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 165 sq.

<sup>5</sup> A. W. Howitt, "On some Australian Beliefs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 195.

Theory of a racial difference between the Eagle-hawk and Crow classes.

In regard to the diffusion of exogamous classes named after the eagle-hawk and the crow, it is to be observed that they are found in at least two other tribes (the Ngarigo and Wolgal tribes of South-Eastern New South Wales), whose native names for the two birds are quite different.<sup>1</sup> Arguing from the wide distribution of exogamous classes named after the eagle-hawk and crow in South-East Australia, and also from the native myths and superstitions which cluster round the birds, the Rev. John Mathew suggested that "the eaglehawk and the crow represent two distinct races of men which once contested for the possession of Australia, the taller, more powerful and more fierce 'eaglehawk' race overcoming and in places exterminating the weaker, more scantily equipped sable 'crows.'"<sup>2</sup> But there seems to be no sufficient evidence of any racial distinction between the exogamous divisions of the Australian aborigines; and, as I have already pointed out, it appears to be far more probable that these divisions arose by subdivision than by amalgamation.<sup>3</sup>

P. 67. **In Bengal . . . Mr. Risley . . . and his coadjutors have found no tribe with female descent, etc.**—In the text I refer to the Kasias (Khasis) of Assam as an exception which appeared to have escaped the attention of (Sir) H. H. Risley. But I was in error. Although Assam, the home of the Khasis, was included in Bengal when Col. Dalton composed his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, it had ceased to belong to it before Sir Herbert Risley wrote. Hence the mother-kin of the Khasis formed no exception to the general proposition laid down by him as to the universal prevalence of father-kin in Bengal. My mistake was courteously corrected by Sir Herbert Risley.<sup>4</sup>

P. 69. **In some Australian tribes sons take their totem from their father and daughters from their mother.**—This statement is not well founded and is probably quite incorrect. As to the Dieri I was misled by a statement of S. Gason, who appears to have been in error on this point.<sup>5</sup> As to the Ikula or Morning Star tribe the account in the text has not been repeated by Dr. A. W. Howitt in his book and is probably erroneous.<sup>6</sup>

P. 71. **A transition from female to male descent.**—Amongst the Melanesians who practise the system of mother-kin or female descent, Dr. Codrington has recorded some customs which seem to mark a transition to father-kin or male descent. The customs in question are observed at the birth of a first-born son. "At Araga,

As to Bunjil see A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 489 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 393 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. John Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow, a Study of the Australian*

*Aborigines* (London, 1899), p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 282 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> See also above, vol. ii. p. 318, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 345 note 1.

<sup>6</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 473, note 2.

Pentecost Island, a first-born son remains ten days in the house in which he was born, during which time the father's kinsmen take food to the mother. On the tenth day they bring nothing, but the father gives them food and mats, which count as money, in as great quantity as he can afford. They, the kin of the father and therefore not kin of the infant, on that day perform a certain ceremony called *huhuni*; they lay upon the infant's head mats and the strings with which pigs are tied, and the father tells them that he accepts this as a sign that hereafter they will feed and help his son. There is clearly in this a movement towards the patriarchal system, a recognition of the tie of blood through the father and of duties that follow from it. Another sign of the same advance of the father's right is to be seen in the very different custom that prevails in the Banks' Islands on the birth of a first-born son; there is raised upon that event, a noisy and playful fight, *vagalo*, after which the father buys off the assailants with payment of money to the other *veve*,<sup>1</sup> to the kinsmen that is of the child and his mother. It is hardly possible to be mistaken in taking this fight to be a ceremonial, if playful, assertion of the claim of the mother's kinsfolk to the child as one of themselves, and the father's payment to be the quieting of their claim and the securing of his own position as head of his own family."<sup>2</sup> In both these cases the members of the father's class (*veve*) establish a claim to the child by making presents to the members of the mother's class, to whom the boy belongs by birth; not to put too fine a point on it, they buy the child from his kinsmen. In short the transition from mother-kin to father-kin is here made very simply by purchase. Similarly among the Sakalava of Madagascar, "the marriage feast being over, the young husband, in order to secure an absolute right to his wife and the first child, but especially the child, makes a present of an ox to his wife's parents, and a further present of four yards of cloth or a large bag of rice to each of her nearest relatives. These must be presented before his wife gives birth to her first child, as they are regarded as the payment necessary to secure the child for himself, and if not made in proper time, he loses his right to be considered the father of the child, which then belongs to his father-in-law and mother-in-law."<sup>3</sup>

Transition from mother-kin to father-kin effected by buying the child from the mother's family.

<sup>1</sup> It may be remembered that in the Banks' Islands the people are divided into two exogamous classes, each of which is called a *veve*. See vol. ii. pp. 69 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melaneseans* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 230 *sq.* In New Ireland the birth of a first-born child is celebrated by sham fights between men and women, the men armed with cudgels, the women with

stones, clods, or anything hard that comes to hand. After exchanging some shrewd knocks they separate with laughter and jests. See R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 269 *sq.* Perhaps these sham fights may be a relic of contests between the father's clan and the mother's clan for possession of the child.

<sup>3</sup> A. Walen, "The Sakalava," *The*

Blood-covenant between husband and wife at marriage.

**P. 72. Smearing bride and bridegroom with each other's blood.—**

This custom is practised by the Birhors, a hill tribe of the Munda stock in India. At marriage "the only ceremony is drawing blood from the little fingers of the bridegroom and bride, and with this the *tilak* is given to each by marks made above the clavicle."<sup>1</sup> Among the Basutos, on the morning after the consummation of the marriage the medicine-man scratches husband and wife on the inner side of the elbow, hand, foot, and knee, takes the blood from the husband's wounds and smears it on the wounds of his wife, and similarly takes the wife's blood and smears it on the wounds of her husband.<sup>2</sup> Similarly among the Herero at marriage the mother of the bridegroom makes some cuts with a knife in the thighs of both the wedded pair, and rubs the man's blood over the woman's cuts and the woman's blood over the man's.<sup>3</sup> Such customs are clearly examples of the common ceremony known as the blood-covenant, whereby people are made of one blood in the most literal sense by putting some of the blood of each into the body of the other. But it is obvious that such a rite may be used just as well to transfer the husband to the wife's clan as to transfer the wife to the husband's; hence it might serve as a stepping-stone from father-kin to mother-kin quite as easily as a stepping-stone from mother-kin to father-kin. We cannot, therefore, assume, wherever we find the ceremony, that it is practised with the intention of altering the line of descent, still less that it is intended to alter it in one direction only, namely from maternal descent to paternal descent.

In some parts of Polynesia, curiously enough, it was the blood of the mothers of the married pair which was mingled at marriage. "On some occasions, the female relatives cut their faces and brows with the instrument set with shark's teeth, received the flowing blood on a piece of native cloth, and deposited the cloth, sprinkled with the mingled blood of the mothers of the married pair, at the feet of the bride."<sup>4</sup>

**P. 72. If the husband gives nothing, the children of the marriage belong to the wife's family.—**One of the commonest, as it is one of the easiest, modes of effecting a change of descent from the maternal to the paternal line would seem to be the purchase of the wife; for when she has been bought and paid for, any children whom she may bear are, in virtue of that payment,

*Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, No. 8 (Christmas, 1884), pp. 53 sq.

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> H. Grützner, "Über die Gebräuche der Basutho," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthro-*

*pologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte*, 1877, p. 77 (appended to the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, ix.).

<sup>3</sup> J. Irle, *Die Herero* (Gütersloh, 1906), p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, i. (London, 1832) p. 272.

regarded as the property of the purchaser, her husband, whether he is the actual father of the children or not. Thus for example with regard to the natives of the Lower Congo we read "a few other examples of native manners and customs may be of interest. I will give one concerning inheritance, which is rather curious. It has already been said that descent is reckoned through females; the meaning of this may not be clear to all. If a man die, the bulk of his property goes to his sister's son, not to his son; the reason being that of the blood-relationship of the nephew there can be no doubt, but the descent of the son may be questioned. The nephew is, therefore, looked on as a nearer relative than the son, and he is the heir, and should he die, more grief is felt than in the case of the son. A strange exception is made when a man marries a slave of his: the son then ranks first in this case, as the natives say that he is not only presumably the next-of-kin by birth, but also by purchase, as the mother belonged to the father."<sup>1</sup> Similarly among the Kimbunda "sons begotten in marriage are regarded as the property, not of their father, but of their maternal uncle; and their own father, even so long as they are minors and under his protection, has no power over them. Also the sons are not the heirs of their father but of their uncle, and the latter can dispose of them with unlimited authority, even to the extent of selling them in case of necessity. Only the children born of slave women are regarded as really the property of their father and are also his heirs."<sup>2</sup>

Change from maternal to paternal descent (from mother-kin to father-kin) effected by purchasing the wife and with her the children.

A similar distinction between the children of a wife who has been paid for and the children of a wife who has not been paid for seems to prevail widely among the peoples of the Indian Archipelago; there, also, the children of a purchased wife belong to the father, but the children of an unpaid-for wife belong to herself and to her family. Thus among the Alfoors or aborigines of Halmahera, when the bridal price has not been paid, the wife continues to live in her parents' house; the impecunious husband takes up his abode with them, and all his services go to the advantage of his wife. But as soon as he has paid the price, his wife becomes his legal property and he may either take her to live with his own parents or set up an independent household of his own. Further, we are told, "the conception of legal property is extended also to the children. Those whom he begets by the woman before the payment of the

Custom of purchasing wife and children in the Indian Archipelago.

<sup>1</sup> R. C. Phillips, "The Lower Congo, a Sociological Study," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvii. (1888) pp. 229 sq. The parts of Africa referred to in this paper are "the Congo River, from about Vivi downwards to the mouth, and the coast northwards to Loango, and southwards

as far as Kinsembo" (*ibid.* p. 214). Compare A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, i. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Ladislaus Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1857* (Buda-Pesth and Leipsic, 1859), p. 284.

bridal price (*besi*) do not belong to the father, but are the property of the mother."<sup>1</sup> So in Ceram, if a man has not paid for his wife he lives in her house as a member of her family and the children remain with her parents.<sup>2</sup> In the Timor Laut islands, also, so long as the bridal price is not fully paid, the wife has the right to stay with her parents and is not completely subject to her husband. It is a great advantage to him to pay the price of his wife in full before she bears a child, for he thus obtains entire power over her and a right to all her children.<sup>3</sup> Similarly among the Battas of Sumatra, if a man cannot pay for his wife he goes to live with her family and works for them till he is able to discharge the debt. Sometimes he stays with them till a daughter of his is grown up and given in marriage; whereupon with the sum of money he receives for her he pays the debt which he has long owed for her mother, his wife. But should he never succeed in meeting the obligations he incurred at marriage, then when he dies the children belong to the mother or, if she is dead, to her family.<sup>4</sup>

Effect of wealth in promoting the change from mother-kin to father-kin.

Thus it seems probable that in communities organised on the system of mother-kin a general increase of wealth may tend to promote a change to father-kin, and that in two ways, both by supplying a motive for the change and by furnishing the means to effect it. For the more property a man owns the more anxious he will be to bequeath it to his children, and the easier it will be for him to do so by compensating those who under the system of mother-kin would have been the rightful heirs.

In the customs which have been called couvade there is no good evidence that the father pretends to have given birth to the

Pp. 72 sq.—The couvade . . . is perhaps a fiction intended to transfer to the father those rights over the children, etc.—This view, though it has been held by Bachofen and other authorities of repute, is almost certainly erroneous. It rests on what seems to be a misinterpretation of the facts. For it assumes that the custom consists of a simulation of childbirth by the father in order that he may acquire those rights over his children which under a former system of mother-kin had been possessed by the mother and her family alone. But of such a custom not a single well-authenticated instance, so far as I know, has been adduced.<sup>5</sup> The ancient Greek

<sup>1</sup> C. F. H. Campen, "De Alfoeren van Halemahera," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, April 1883, pp. 286 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, *De stuijken- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 301.

<sup>4</sup> J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane-en Bila-Stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Neder-*

*landsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, Deel iii, Afdeling. Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 3 (Amsterdam, 1886), p. 472.

<sup>5</sup> For examples of the couvade see especially E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, Third Edition (London, 1878), pp. 291 sqq.; H. Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*, Zweite Auflage (Leipzig, 1884), ii. 143 sqq.; H. Ling Roth,

poet Apollonius Rhodius did indeed affirm that among the Tibareni of Pontus, when a woman had been delivered of a child, her husband lay groaning in bed with his head bandaged, while his wife prepared food and baths for him as if he had been the mother.<sup>1</sup> The custom so described is most naturally interpreted as an imitation of childbirth enacted by the husband. But there is no evidence or probability that the poet had seen the ceremony which he describes. It is more likely that he had only heard of it at second hand and misinterpreted it, as many people have misinterpreted similar customs since his time. Again, speaking of the Californian Indians, H. H. Bancroft says that "a curious custom prevails, which is, however, by no means peculiar to California. When child-birth overtakes the wife, the husband puts himself to bed, and there grunting and groaning he affects to suffer all the agonies of a woman in labor. Lying there, he is nursed and tended for some days by the women as carefully as though he were the actual sufferer."<sup>2</sup> In this description the statement that the husband "grunting and groaning affects to suffer all the agonies of a woman in labor" is probably a pure addition of the writer, who compiled his account at second hand and does not pretend to have seen what he describes. Of the two authorities whom he cites in support of his description one at least says nothing about a simulation of childbirth by the husband.<sup>3</sup> Again, in one of the earliest accounts of the custom it is said that as soon as his wife has been delivered of a child, the Carib husband "takes to his bed, complains, and acts like a woman in childbed."<sup>4</sup> And still more emphatically Du Tertre tells us that in these circumstances the Carib husband, "as if the pain of the wife had passed into the husband, begins to

child for the purpose of acquiring those rights over it which had previously been enjoyed by the mother.

"On the Signification of Couvade," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxii. (1893) pp. 204-241; E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, ii. (London, 1895) pp. 400-411. I have made a large collection of evidence on this subject, but must reserve it for another work.

<sup>1</sup> Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, ii. 1011-1014. The expression used by the poet *λοερὰ λεχώια*, "child-bed baths," clearly implies that in the poet's mind the man was treated as a mother.

<sup>2</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 391.

<sup>3</sup> M. Venegas, *Natural and Civil History of California* (London, 1759), i. 82. All that Venegas says of the husband is that he "lay in his cave,

or stretched out at full length under a tree, affecting to be extremely weak and ill."

<sup>4</sup> "Relation de l'Origine, Moeurs, Coustumes, Religion, Guerres et Voyages des Caraïbes Sauvages des Isles Antilles de l'Amérique, faite par le Sieur de la Borde, employé à la Conversion des Caraïbes, estant avec le R. P. Simon Jesuite," printed in *Recueil de Divers Voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amérique, qui n'ont point esté encore publiés* (Paris, 1684), p. 32. De la Borde's full description of the custom (pp. 32-34) agrees closely with that of Du Tertre (see the next note) and may be the original of it. We are not informed when De la Borde served as a missionary among the Caribs and wrote his description of them.

complain and to utter loud cries, just as if the child had been torn from his belly in small pieces.”<sup>1</sup> Yet even these expressions may only be the interpretation of the civilised observer; they do not necessarily imply that the father actually pretended to play the part of the mother. This has been rightly remarked by Professor E. B. Tylor, who says with justice: “Nor is there much in these practices which can be construed as a pretence of maternity made by the father.”<sup>2</sup>

The supposed presence of childbirth by the father appears to be a mistake of observers.

Thus no sufficient evidence has been adduced to shew that the couvade involves a simulation of childbirth on the part of the father; the theory that it does so appears to be supported neither by the practice nor by the statements of the natives themselves; it is to all appearance an unwarranted assumption made by civilised persons who misunderstood what they saw or read about. The assumption and the misunderstanding are embodied in the German name for the custom, *das Männerkindbett*.

Moreover, the couvade is practised by people who have mother-kin; how then can it be a transition to father-kin?

But if the couvade, so far as is known, does not imply any pretence of maternity on the part of the father, it can hardly be explained as an attempt to secure for the father under a system of father-kin those rights over the children which had previously been enjoyed by the mother under a system of mother-kin. That explanation appears indeed not only to be unsupported by the facts but actually to conflict with them. For according to it the custom should be found only among peoples who are either passing out of a system of mother-kin or have actually reached a system of father-kin; whereas on the contrary some of the best attested examples of the custom occur among tribes who have mother-kin only. To quote Prof. Tylor again: “Still more adverse to Bachofen’s notion, is the fact that these Macusis [who practise the couvade], so far from reckoning the parentage as having been transferred to the father by the couvade, are actually among the tribes who do not reckon kinship on the father’s side, the child belonging to the mother’s clan. So among the Arawacs, though the father performs the couvade, this does not interfere with the rule that kinship goes by the mother.”<sup>3</sup> On the whole, Bachofen’s theory that the couvade is a fiction intended to effect a transition from mother-kin to father-

<sup>1</sup> J. B. du Tertre, *Histoire Generale des Isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans l’Amerique* (Paris, 1654), pp. 412-415. This account was afterwards repeated by Du Tertre in his *Histoire Generale des Antilles*, published at Paris in 1667, from which it is commonly quoted by writers on the couvade. The account of the custom given by Rochefort in his *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles Antilles*,

Seconde Edition (Rotterdam, 1665), was probably copied either from De la Borde or from Du Tertre’s earlier work. His language seems to agree more closely with that of De la Borde; thus he uses the same phrase “*faire l’accouche*” “to act like a woman in childbed.”

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, Third Edition (London, 1878), p. 298.

<sup>3</sup> E. B. Tylor, *l.c.*

kin may be safely set aside not only as unproved but as inconsistent with the facts.

The true explanation of the actually observed couvade has been given by Professor E. B. Tylor,<sup>1</sup> and after him by Mr. E. S. Hartland.<sup>2</sup> In fact the custom is merely one of the innumerable cases of sympathetic magic. The father believes that there exists between him and his child a relation of such intimate physical sympathy that whatever he does must simultaneously affect his offspring; for example, if he exerts himself violently, the child will be fatigued; if he eats food that disagrees with him, the child will be sick or have a pain in its stomach; and so on. This is not an hypothesis. It is the actual belief of the savages, avowed by them in the plainest language again and again, and it fully explains the custom. We have no right, therefore, to reject their testimony and to substitute for their explanation another which, far from explaining the facts, is actually contradicted by them.<sup>3</sup> The fact is that what in this custom seems extravagantly absurd to us seems perfectly simple and natural to the savage. The idea that

The customs called couvade are an application of sympathetic magic, based on a supposed physical bond of sympathy between father and child.

<sup>1</sup> E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, Third Edition (London, 1878), pp. 295 sqq. He rightly explains the custom by "the opinion that the connexion between father and child is not only, as we think, a mere relation of parentage, affection, duty, but that their very bodies are joined by a physical bond, so that what is done to the one acts directly upon the other" (pp. 295 sq.), and he speaks of the couvade being "sympathetic magic" (p. 298). In this work Prof. Tylor justly rejected Bachofen's theory of the couvade, assigning as his reasons for doing so practically the same grounds which I have put forward in the text. But he afterwards changed his mind and accepted Bachofen's view. See E. B. Tylor, "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, viii. (1889) pp. 254 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, ii. 400 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> The theory of the couvade as a mark of transition from mother-kin to father-kin has now got into books and through them into the minds of observers, who interpret the facts accordingly. For example Dr. L. A. Waddell, after remarking that the Miris of the Brahmaputra valley are in a

transition-stage from the maternal to the paternal form of society, proceeds as follows: "They retain survivals of the maternal stage; but appear only recently to have adopted the paternal. As if to emphasise the change and to show that the father has a direct relation to his child, the father is represented as a second mother and goes through the fiction of a mock-birth, the so-called *couvade*. He lies in bed for forty days, after the birth of his child; and during this period he is fed as an invalid" (L. A. Waddell, "The Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxi. Part iii. Calcutta, 1901, p. 3). In this passage the sentence "the father is represented as a second mother and goes through the fiction of a mock birth" appears to be only Dr. Waddell's interpretation of the actual custom which he describes in the next sentence: "He lies in bed for forty days, after the birth of his child; and during this period he is fed as an invalid." There is nothing in this to justify the description of the custom as "the fiction of a mock birth." Dr. Waddell is indeed right in saying that the custom proves a direct relation of the father to the child; but he appears to be wrong in assuming the relation to be maternal.

Firm belief of savages in sympathetic magic and telepathy.

persons and things act on each other at a distance is as firmly believed by him as the multiplication table or the law of gravitation is by us. Sympathetic magic and telepathy are fundamental axioms of his thinking; he as little doubts them as we doubt that two and two make four or that a stone unsupported will fall to the ground. To him there is nothing extraordinary or exceptional in the physical sympathy between a father and his newborn child; he believes that sympathy of exactly the same kind exists between parted husband and wife, between friends at home and friends far away fishing, hunting, journeying, fighting; and he not only holds the belief in the abstract but acts on it; for by the code of savage morality friends and relations are required so to regulate their conduct that their acts shall not injuriously affect the distant dear ones. Nor is this bond of physical sympathy supposed to exist merely between friends; it equally joins enemies, and the malignant arts of the sorcerer are based on it.<sup>1</sup> All this is the merest commonplace to the savage. The astonishment which customs like the *couvade* have excited in the mind of civilised man is merely a measure of his profound ignorance of primitive modes of thought. Happily this ignorance is being gradually dissipated by a wider and more exact study of savagery.

Simulation of childbirth for the purpose of relieving a woman of her travail-pangs.

While there is, so far as I am aware, no good evidence that the customs which have been classed under the head of *couvade* involve a simulation of childbirth practised for the purpose of giving a father power over his children, such curious dramas have certainly been acted by men at childbirth, but with an entirely different intention, namely, for the sake of relieving the real mother of her pangs and transferring them, whether by sympathetic magic or otherwise, to the pretended mother. The following instances will make this clear. Among some of the Dyaks of Sarawak "should any difficulty occur in child delivery the *manangs* or medicine men are called in. One takes charge of the proceedings in the lying-in chamber, the remainder set themselves on the *ruai* or common verandah. The *manang* inside the room wraps a long loop of cloth around the woman, above the womb. A *manang* outside wraps his body around in the same manner, but first places within its fold a large stone corresponding to the position of the child in the mother's womb. A long incantation is then sung by the *manangs* outside, while the one within the room strives with all his power to force the child downwards and so compel delivery. As soon as he has done so, he draws down upon it the loop of cloth and twists it tightly around the mother's body, so as to prevent the upward return of the child. A shout from him proclaims to his

<sup>1</sup> I have illustrated the principles of sympathetic magic, both in its benevolent and in its malevolent aspect, at

some length in *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 9 *sqq.*

companions on the *ruai* his success, and the *manang* who is for the occasion personating the mother, moves the loop of cloth containing the stone which encircles his own body a stage downwards. And so the matter proceeds until the child is born."<sup>1</sup> Again, in some parts of New Ireland, when a woman is in hard labour and a compassionate man desires to aid her delivery, he does not, as we might expect, repair to the bedchamber of the sufferer; he betakes himself to the men's clubhouse, lies down, feigns to be ill, and writhes in fictitious agony, whenever he hears the shrieks of the woman in childbed. The other men gather round him and make as if they would alleviate his pangs. This kindly meant farce lasts till the child is born.<sup>2</sup>

In both these cases there is a deliberate simulation of childbirth for the purpose of facilitating a real birth. In both cases the mode of operation is sympathetic or imitative magic; the desired effect is thought to be brought about by imitating it. But there seems to be this distinction between them that in the first case the immediate object is to hasten the appearance of the child, in the second it is to relieve the woman's pangs by transferring them to the pretended mother. In both cases the pretended mother is a man, but in neither is he the woman's husband. In the one he is a medicine-man hired for the occasion; in the other he is a compassionate neighbour who, touched with pity for the woman's sufferings, tries in the true spirit of chivalry to relieve her by taking her heavy burden on himself. In Borneo an attempt is sometimes made to shift the travail-pains to an image; but the principle is the same. A little wooden figure is carved lying down in a little wooden house; it is supposed to suffer the throes of maternity vicariously.<sup>3</sup>

In other cases the same notion of vicarious suffering appears to be applied for the relief of women at the expense of their husbands. Thus in Gujarat there is worshipped a certain Mother Goddess whose power "is exerted in a remarkable way for the benefit of women after childbirth. Among a very low-caste set of basket-makers (called Pomlā) it is the usual practice of a wife to go about her work immediately after delivery, as if nothing had happened. The presiding Mātā of the tribe is supposed to transfer her weakness to her husband, who takes to his bed and has to be supported with good nourishing food."<sup>4</sup> Again, in the Telugu-speaking districts of Southern India there is a wandering tribe of fortune-

The simulation of childbirth need not be performed by the father; it may be performed by a stranger or even by an image.

Sometimes, however, the travail-pains are supposed to be transferred to the woman's husband.

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Leggatt, quoted by H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (London, 1896), i. 98 sq.

<sup>2</sup> R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> F. Grabowsky, "Gebrauche der

Dajakten Südost-Borneos bei der Geburt," *Globus*, lxxii. (1897) p. 270. One of these figures is now in the Anthropological Museum at Berlin.

<sup>4</sup> Monier Williams, *Religious Life and Thought in India* (London, 1883), p. 229.

tellers, swine-herds, and mat-makers called Erukalavandlu. Among them "directly the woman feels the birth-pangs, she informs her husband, who immediately takes some of her clothes, puts them on, places on his forehead the mark which the women usually place on theirs, retires into a dark room, where there is only a very dim lamp, and lies down on the bed, covering himself up with a long cloth. When the child is born, it is washed and placed on the cot beside the father. Assafoetida, *jaggery*, and other articles are then given, not to the mother, but to the father. During the days of ceremonial uncleanness the man is treated as the other Hindus treat their women on such occasions. He is not allowed to leave his bed, but has everything needful brought to him."<sup>1</sup>

This transference of pains to the husband is quite a different custom from what has been called couvade.

This last custom has been cited as an example of the couvade;<sup>2</sup> but it appears to differ in two important respects from the couvade as it is practised in South America. For whereas the South American couvade consists in a certain diet and regimen observed by the father for the sake of his child, the South Indian couvade, if we may call it so, consists apparently in a simulation of childbirth enacted by the husband for the sake of his wife. For in the light of the preceding instances we may reasonably suppose that the intention of the South Indian custom is to relieve the wife by transferring the travail-pains to her husband. If that is so, two such different customs ought not to be confounded under the common name of couvade; and as the name of couvade may now by prescription be fairly claimed for the South American custom, that is, for the strict diet and regimen observed by a father for the sake of his child, another name should be found for the very different South Indian custom, that is, for the pretence of childbirth practised by the husband for the sake of his wife.

In Europe also attempts have often been made to shift the pains of childbirth from the mother to the father. Examples from Ireland.

If any doubt remains in the reader's mind as to whether the South Indian husband who dresses in his wife's clothes at childbirth does so for the purpose of relieving her pains, the doubt will probably be removed by comparing the similar customs still practised in Europe with that expressed intention. Thus in Ireland "there is also a way by which the pains of maternity can be transferred from the woman to her husband. This secret is so jealously guarded that a correspondent in the west of Ireland, who had been asked to investigate the matter, was at last obliged to report: 'In regard to putting the sickness on the father of a child, that is a well-known thing in this country, but after making every inquiry I could not make out how it is done. It is strictly private.' It came out, however, in a chance conversation with a woman who,

<sup>1</sup> *The Indian Antiquary*, iii. (1874) p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> By Mr. H. Ling Roth, "On the Signification of Couvade," *Journal of*

*the Anthropological Institute*, xxii. (1893) p. 213; and by Mr. E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1906), p. 548.

when a child, had once been selected to wait upon a nurse on such an occasion. At a critical moment the nurse 'hunted her out of the room,' and then, taking the husband's vest, she put it upon the sick woman. The child had hid behind the door in the next room and saw the whole operation, but was too far off to hear the words which were probably repeated at the same time. It is asserted by some that the husband's consent must first be obtained, but the general opinion is that he feels all the pain, and even cries out with the agony, without being aware of the cause."<sup>1</sup> The account thus given by Mr. James Mooney, now a distinguished member of the American Bureau of Ethnology, is confirmed by other testimony. Thus the local doctor of Kilkeiran and Carna, in South Connemara, reported in 1892 that a woman occasionally wears the coat of the father of the expected child, "with the idea that he should share in the pains of childbirth";<sup>2</sup> and similarly Dr. C. R. Browne writes that in the counties of Tipperary and Limerick "women in childbirth often wear the trousers of the father of [the] child round the neck, the effect of which is supposed to be the lightening of the pains of labour. I have myself seen a case of this in Dublin, about two years ago."<sup>3</sup>

Similarly in France, when a woman is in hard labour, it is an old custom to put her husband's trousers on her "in order that she may bring forth without pain";<sup>4</sup> and in Germany also they say that it greatly facilitates a woman's delivery in childbed if she draws on her husband's trousers.<sup>5</sup> Esthonian women have a different way of accomplishing the same object. "In the Werrosch a superstition prevails that a woman can greatly relieve the pains of childbirth by drawing her husband into sympathy and making him a sharer of these sufferings. This is effected in the following way. On the marriage evening she gives him plenty of beer to drink seasoned with wild rosemary (*Ledum palustre*), that he may fall into a deep sleep. While he lies in this narcotic slumber, the woman must creep between his legs without his perceiving it (for if he wakes up, all the good of it is lost), and in that way the poor man gets his share of the future travail-pains." Other Esthonian women seek to transfer their maternal pangs to a cock by killing the bird and pressing it, in the death-agony, to their persons. In that way they believe that they shift the worst of the

Attempts to shift the pains of childbirth from the mother to the father in France, Germany, and Esthonia.

<sup>1</sup> James Mooney, "The Medical Mythology of Ireland," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxiv. (January to June, 1887) No. 125, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Dr. A. C. Haddon, "A Batch of Irish Folk-lore," *Folk-lore*, iv. (1893) p. 357.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Dr. A. C. Haddon, *op.*

*cit.* p. 359.

<sup>4</sup> J. B. Thiers, *Traité des Superstitions* (Paris, 1679), p. 327, "Quand une femme est en mal d'enfant, luy faire mettre le haut de chausse de son mari, afin qu'elle accouche sans douleur."

<sup>5</sup> J. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, i. (Göttingen and Leipsic, 1852) p. 251.

Attempts to shift the pains of childbirth from the mother to the father in Scotland.

pain to the deceased chanticleer, reserving only an insignificant portion of it for themselves.<sup>1</sup> In Scotland similar attempts have been made to shift the pains of parturition to other people, whether men or women, to animals and to things. In the year 1591 a lady named Eufame Macalyane was tried for witchcraft, and among the charges brought against her was that of resorting to enchantments for the purpose of relieving her agonies in childbed. It seems that with this intention she had placed a holed stone under her pillow, had tied a paper of enchanted powder in her hair, and in the actual throes had caused her husband's shirt to be stripped from him, folded, and placed under the foot of the bed. These nefarious practices, we are informed, were so successful that at the birth of her first son her sickness was cast upon a dog, which ran away and was never seen again; and on the birth of her last son her "natural and kindly pain was unnaturally cast upon the wanton cat in the house, whilk likewise was never seen thereafter." However, her judges took good care that she never gave birth to another son; for they burned her alive on the Castle-hill at Edinburgh.<sup>2</sup> Again, when Queen Mary was brought to bed of her son, afterwards James VI., in the Castle of Edinburgh, two other ladies, the Countess of Athole and the Lady Reirres, were in the same condition at the same time in the same place, and Lady Reirres complained "that she was never so troubled with no bairn that ever she bare, for the Lady Athole had cast all the pain of her child-birth upon her."<sup>3</sup> At Langholm in Dumfriesshire in the year 1772 the English traveller Pennant was shewn the place where several witches had suffered in the last century, and he adds: "This reminds me of a very singular belief that prevailed not many years ago in these parts; nothing less than that the midwives had power of transferring part of the primæval curse bestowed on our great first mother, from the good wife to her husband. I saw the reputed offspring of such a labour; who kindly came into the world without giving her mother the least uneasiness, while the poor husband was roaring with agony in his uncouth and unnatural pains."<sup>4</sup>

Such attempts to transfer the pains appear to rest on the principle of

Thus it appears that attempts to shift the pains of childbirth from the mother to other persons or to animals, but especially to the husband, have been made in many parts of the world, not least of all in Europe. The mode by which the shift is supposed to be effected appears to be a simple application of sympathetic

<sup>1</sup> Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten* (St. Petersburg, 1854), pp. 47 sq.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1834), pp. 130 sq., 133. The quotations in the text are from the official records of

the trials. I have modernised the spelling. For other charges against Eufame Macalyane, see *id.* pp. 340-342.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Dalyell, *op. cit.* p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Pennant, "A Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides in 1772," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, iii. 211.

magic ; and the process belongs to that very numerous class of superstitions which I have called the transference of evil and have illustrated at some length elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> However, in regard to some of the cases it may perhaps be doubted whether the dread of demons and the wish to deceive them has not its share in the transference. Certainly women in childbed are supposed to be peculiarly obnoxious to the machinations of evil spirits, and many are the precautions adopted to repel or outwit these dangerous, though invisible, enemies. It may, therefore, be that the person, whether the husband or another, who dresses or acts as the mother at the critical moment, is merely a dummy put up to draw the fire of the devils, while the real patient steals a march on them by giving birth to the child before they can discover the deceit that has been practised on them and hasten back, with ruffled temper, to the real scene of operations. For example, the Tagals of the Philippines believe that women at childbirth are the prey of two malignant spirits called Patianac and Osuang, who hunt in couples, one of them appearing as a dwarf, the other as a dog, a cat, or a bird. To protect women in their hour of need against these dreaded foes the people resort sometimes to craft, sometimes to intimidation, and sometimes to sheer physical force. Thus they bung up the doors and windows to prevent the ingress of the devils, till the poor patient is nearly stifled with heat and stench. They light fires all round the hut ; they stuff mortar-pieces with powder to the muzzle and let them off again and again in the immediate neighbourhood of the sufferer ; and the husband, stark naked and armed to the teeth, mounts the roof and there hews and slashes in the air like a man demented, while his sympathising friends, similarly equipped with swords, spears, and shields, and taking their time from him, attack the demons with such murderous fury, laying about them not only all round the house, but also underneath it (for the houses are raised on posts), that it is a chance if the poor devils escape with a whole skin from the cataract of cuts and thrusts. These are strong measures. Yet they do not exhaust the resources of the Tagals in their dealings with the unseen. Sometimes their mind misgives them that the expectant mother may not be wholly safe even within a ring of blazing fires and flashing swords ; so to put her out of harm's way, when the pains begin, they will sometimes carry the sufferer softly into another house, where the devils, they hope, will not be able to find her.<sup>2</sup>

sympathetic magic. But it is possible that a wish to deceive the demons who are supposed to harass women in childbed may also count for something in them.

For the same purpose the nomadic Turks of Central Asia beat

<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 1-134.

<sup>2</sup> F. Blumentritt, "Der Ahnencultus

und die religiösen Anschauungen der Malaien des Philippinen-Archipels," *Mittheilungen der Wiener geographischen Gesellschaft*, 1882, pp. 178 sq.

Protecting women in childbed from demons.

with sticks on the outside of a tent where a woman lies in childbed, and they shriek, howl, and fire off their guns continually to drive away the demon who is tormenting her. If the pains still continue after the child is born, they resort to a number of devices for putting an end to them. Thus they cause a horse with large bright eyes to touch the bosom of the sufferer in order to repel the devil, and for the same purpose they bring an owl into the tent and oblige it to hoot, or they put a bird of prey on her breast. Sometimes they pepper the woman with gooseberries, in the hope that the devil will stick to them and so drop off from her, or they burn the berries for the purpose of chasing him away with the foul smell. And for a like reason they bury a sword in the ground, edge upwards, under the place where the poor suffering head is lying; or a bard rushes into the tent and beats the woman lightly with a stick under the impression that the blows fall not on her but on the devil.<sup>1</sup>

Similar examples of attempts to relieve women in childbed by repelling or outwitting the evil spirits which are supposed to infest them at these critical times might be multiplied almost indefinitely. It is possible that such superstitions have played a part in the customs which are commonly grouped under the head of *couvade*.<sup>2</sup> But there seems to be no positive evidence that this is so; and in the absence of proof it is better perhaps to regard the pretence of childbirth by another person, whether the husband or another, as a simple case of the world-wide transference of evil by means of sympathetic magic.

Results of discussion.

To sum up the results of the preceding discussion, which I hope to resume with far ampler materials in another work, I conclude that:—

1. Under the name of *couvade* two quite distinct customs have commonly been confounded.

1. Under the general name of *couvade* two quite distinct customs, both connected with childbirth, have been commonly confounded. One of these customs consists of a strict diet and regimen observed by a father for the benefit of his newborn child, because the father is believed to be united to the child by such an intimate bond of physical sympathy that all his acts affect and may hurt or kill the tender infant. The other custom consists of a simulation of childbirth by a man, generally perhaps by the husband, practised for the benefit of the real mother, in order to relieve her of her pains by transferring them to the pretended mother. The difference between these customs in kind is obvious, and in accordance with their different intentions they are commonly observed at different times. The simulation of *travail-pangs* takes place simultaneously with the real pangs before the child is born. The

<sup>1</sup> H. Vambery, *Das Türkenvolk* (Leipsic, 1885), pp. 213 sq.

<sup>2</sup> This was the view of Adolph Bastian. He thought that the hus-

band's keeping his bed was a trick played on the guileless devil, who mistook him for the real patient. See A. Bastian, *Ein Besuch in San Salvador* (Bremen, 1859), pp. 194-196.

strict diet and regimen of the father begin only after the child is born; for it is only then that he betakes himself to his bed and subjects himself to the full rigour of his superstitious abstinences, though he has often for similar reasons to regulate his conduct during his wife's pregnancy by many other rules which a civilised man would find sufficiently burdensome. It is strange that two customs so different in their intention and in the manner and time of their observance should have been confounded under the common name of *couvade*. If, however, writers on these subjects prefer to retain the one name for the two things, they should at least distinguish the two things by specific epithets attached to the generic name. One, for example, might be called the prenatal and the other the post-natal *couvade* on the ground of the different times at which they are observed; or the one might be called the dietetic *couvade* and the other the pseudo-maternal *couvade* on the ground of the different modes in which they are performed.

2. Both customs are founded on sympathetic magic, though on different branches of it. The post-natal or dietetic *couvade* is founded on that branch of sympathetic magic which may be called contagious, because in it the effect is supposed to be produced by contact, real or imaginary. In this case the imaginary contact exists between father and child. The prenatal or pseudo-maternal *couvade* is founded on that branch of sympathetic magic which may be called homoeopathic or imitative, because in it the effect is supposed to be produced by imitation.<sup>1</sup> In this case the imitation is that of childbirth enacted by the father or somebody else.

3. Neither the one custom nor the other, neither prenatal or dietetic *couvade*, nor post-natal or pseudo-maternal *couvade*, appears to have anything to do with an attempt to shift the custom of descent from the maternal to the paternal line, in other words, to initiate the change from mother-kin to father-kin.

P. 73. **The apparently widespread custom of men dressing as women and women as men at marriage.**—On their wedding night Spartan brides were dressed in men's clothes when they received the bridegroom on the marriage bed.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Egyptian Jews in the time of Maimonides the bridegroom was adorned as a woman and wore a woman's garments, while the bride with a helmet on her head and a sword in her hand led the wedding dance.<sup>3</sup> In some Brahman families of Southern India at marriage the bride is disguised as a boy and another girl is dressed up to represent the bride.<sup>4</sup> In the elaborate marriage ceremonies observed by the

<sup>1</sup> As to sympathetic magic and its two branches see further my *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* (London, 1905), pp. 37 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Sepp, *Altbayerischer Sagenschatz* (Munich, 1876), p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1906), p. 3.

people of Southern Celebes the bridegroom at one stage of the proceedings puts on the garments which have just been put off by the bride.<sup>1</sup>

Exchange  
of clothes  
between  
men and  
women  
(other than  
the bride-  
groom and  
bride) at  
marriage.

Sometimes it is not the principals but the assistants at a marriage who appear disguised in the costume of the other sex. Thus among the Wasambara of East Africa the chief bridesmaid is dressed as a man and carries a sword and a gun.<sup>2</sup> Among the western Somali tribes, while the bride and bridegroom are shut up in the nuptial chamber, seven young bachelors and seven maidens assemble in the house. A man appointed for the purpose performs a mock marriage over these young people, wedding them in pairs, and the mock wife must obey the mock husband. Sometimes the couples exchange garments, the young men dressing as women and the young women as men. "The girls dress up their partners, using padding to make the disguise as complete as possible; and then, assuming all the airs of husbands, they flog their partners with horsewhips, and order them about in the same manner as they themselves had been treated by the young men." These frolics last seven days, at the end of which the seven bachelors and the seven maids are paid a dollar a head by the bridegroom and the bride.<sup>3</sup> In Torwal, of the Hindoo Koosh, the bridegroom's party is accompanied by men dressed as women, who dance and jest, and the whole village takes part in the entertainment of the bridegroom's friends.<sup>4</sup> At a Hindoo wedding in Bihar a man disguised as a woman approaches the marriage party with a jar of water and says that he is a woman of Assam come to give away the bride.<sup>5</sup> Among the Chamars and other low castes of Northern India boys at marriage dress up as women and perform a rude and sometimes unseemly dance. Among the Modh Brahmans of Gujarat at a wedding the bridegroom's maternal uncle dresses himself up as a Jhanda or Pathan fakir, whose ghost is dangerous, in woman's clothes from head to waist and in men's clothes from the waist downwards, rubs his face with oil, daubs it with red powder, and in this impressive costume accompanies the bridal pair to a spot where two roads meet, which is always haunted ground, and there he waits till the couple offer food to the goddess of the place.<sup>6</sup> Similar exchanges of costume between men and women are practised

<sup>1</sup> B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes* (The Hague, 1875), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> J. P. Farler, "The Usambara Country, in East Africa," *Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society*, New Series, i. (1879) p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Captain J. S. King, "Notes on the Folk-lore and some Social Customs of the Western Somali Tribes," *The*

*Folk-lore Journal*, vi. (1888) pp. 121 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Major J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (Calcutta, 1880), p. 80; compare *id.* p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> G. A. Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life* (Calcutta, 1885), p. 365.

<sup>6</sup> W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 8.

at marriage in various parts of Europe. At Kukus in Bulgaria a girl puts on the bridegroom's robes, claps a fez on her head, and thus disguised as a man leads the wedding dance.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes in Upper Brittany on the day after a wedding young men disguise themselves as girls and girls disguise themselves as young men.<sup>2</sup> In the Samerberg district of Bavaria a bearded man in woman's clothes is palmed off as the bride on the bridegroom; he is known as "the Wild Bride."<sup>3</sup> Similarly at an Esthonian wedding the bride's brother, or some other young man, dresses up in woman's garments and tries to pass himself off on the bridegroom as the bride;<sup>4</sup> and it is an Esthonian marriage custom to place the bridegroom's hat on the head of the bride.<sup>5</sup>

What is the meaning of these curious interchanges of costume between men and women at marriage? In the text I have suggested that the pretended exchange of sex between the bridegroom and the bride may have been designed to give the husband those rights over the children which had formerly been possessed by the wife, in other words, that the intention was to effect a transition from an old system of mother-kin to a new system of father-kin. This explanation might perhaps suffice for the cases in which the disguise is confined to the married couple, but it could hardly apply to the cases in which the disguise is worn by other persons. And the same may be said of another suggested explanation, namely, that the dressing of the bride in male attire is a charm to secure the birth of male offspring,<sup>6</sup> for that would not account for the disguise of the bridegroom as a woman nor for the exchange of costume between men and women other than the bridegroom and bride. On the whole the most probable explanation of these disguises at marriage is that they are intended to deceive the malignant and envious spirits who lie in wait for the happy pair at this season. For this theory would explain the assumption of male or female costume, especially the costume of the bridegroom or bride, by other persons than the principals at the ceremony. Persons so disguised may be supposed to serve as dummies to attract the attention of the demons and so allow the real bride and bridegroom to escape unnoticed. This is in substance the theory of Mr. W. Croke, who conjectures that "some one

The most probable explanation of these interchanges of costume between men and women at marriage is that they are disguises intended to protect bride and bridegroom from the demons who lie in wait for them.

<sup>1</sup> F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven* (Vienna, 1885), p. 438.

<sup>2</sup> P. Sébillot, *Coutumes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne* (Paris, 1886), p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Von Duringsfeld, *Hochzeitsbuch* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> L. von Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Esten* (Berlin, 1888), p. 218; compare *id.* p. 220.

<sup>5</sup> L. von Schroeder, *op. cit.* pp. 95 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), p. 434. I now see that the same motive for dressing women as men at marriage had previously been suggested by the Hon. J. Abercromby. See his article, "An Amazonian Custom in the Caucasus," *Folk-Lore*, ii. (1891) pp. 179-181.

Custom of  
the False  
Bride.

assumes the part of the bride in order to divert on himself from her the envious glance of the Evil Eye."<sup>1</sup> He points out very justly that this theory would explain the common European custom known as the False Bride, which consists of an attempt to palm off on the bridegroom some one else, whether a man or a woman, disguised so as to resemble the bride.<sup>2</sup> The Somali custom, described above,<sup>3</sup> lends itself particularly to this explanation; for the seven mock-married couples who keep up the pretence of marriage for seven days after the wedding may very well, quite apart from the interchange of clothes between them, be designed to divert the attention of malignant spirits from the real bride and bridegroom, who are actually closeted with each other in the bridal chamber. That they are believed to render a service to the married pair is manifest, for they are paid by the bride and bridegroom for what they have done at the end of the seven days. The payment of mock-married pairs would be superfluous and meaningless if their performance was nothing more than an outburst of youthful gaiety on a festive occasion. Further, this explanation of the interchange of dress between the sexes at marriage is confirmed, as Mr. Croke has pointed out, by the parallel custom of disguising young boys as girls; for the intention of this last custom appears unquestionably to be to avert the Evil Eye.<sup>4</sup> But the exchange of dress between men and women is a custom which has been practised under many different circumstances and probably from many different motives.<sup>5</sup>

Masai lads  
dressed  
as girls  
after  
circum-  
cision.

P. 73. In Central [rather Eastern] Africa a Masai dresses as a girl for a month after marriage.—On this subject Mr. A. C. Hollis, one of our best authorities on the Masai, writes to me as follows: "The Masai do not dress as girls a month before marriage, as stated by Thomson, but Masai boys dress as women for a month immediately after circumcision. A similar custom is followed by the Kikuyu and by the Nandi-Lumbwa group. Amongst the latter group girls when about to be circumcised dress as warriors." The custom in regard to Masai boys is this. When they have been circumcised they are called Sipolio (recluse). "They remain at home for four days, and bows are prepared for them. They then sally forth and shoot at the young girls, their arrows being blocked with a piece of honey-comb so that they cannot penetrate into the girls' bodies. They also shoot

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore in Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> W. Crooke, *l.c.* As to the custom, compare Miss Gertrude M. Godden, "The False Bride," *Folk-Lore*, iv. (1893) pp. 142-148.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 256.

<sup>4</sup> W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 8. As to the widespread custom of dressing boys as girls, see my article "Achilles at Scyros," *The Classical Review*, vii. (1893) pp. 292 sq.

<sup>5</sup> I have dealt with some particular cases of the custom in my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, pp. 428-434.

small birds, which they wear round their heads together with ostrich feathers. The Sipolio like to appear as women and wear *surutya* earrings and garments reaching to the ground. They also paint their faces with chalk. When they have all recovered, they are shaved again and become Il-barnot (the shaved ones). They then discard the long garments and wear warriors' skins and ornaments. After this their hair is allowed to grow, and as soon as it has grown long enough to plait, they are called Il-muran (warriors)."<sup>1</sup>

P. 73. **The transference of the child to the father's clan may be the object of a ceremony observed by the Todas.**—The ceremony in the question has been described more fully in another part of this book.<sup>2</sup> There is little or nothing in it to favour the view that its intention is to transfer the child to the father's clan. As an alternative theory I have suggested that the ceremony may be designed to fertilise or impregnate the woman.<sup>3</sup> To this explanation of the custom it may reasonably be objected that being observed in the seventh month of pregnancy the ceremony is too late to be regarded as one of impregnation, since indeed many children are born in that month. This objection tells forcibly and perhaps fatally against the theory in question. Ceremonies have commonly been observed in the seventh month of a woman's pregnancy by other peoples besides the Todas, but their intention seems to be to ensure a safe delivery, whether by keeping off demons, by manipulating the woman's body, or in other ways.<sup>4</sup> In Java a curious feature of the ceremonies on this occasion is a mock birth carried out on the person of the pregnant woman. The part of the baby is played by a weaver's shuttle and that of the after-birth by an egg. When the shuttle drops to the ground, an old woman takes it up in her arms, dandles it like a baby, and says, "Oh, what a dear little child! Oh, what a beautiful little child!"<sup>5</sup>

Ceremonies  
in the  
seventh  
month of  
pregnancy.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), p. 298.

(*Sacred Books of the East*, xxix.); S. Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore* (London, 1883), pp. 48, 113, 118 sq.; Jagor, "Einige Sklaven-Kasten in Malabar," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte*, 1878, p. 239 (appended to the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x.); B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes* (The Hague, 1875), pp. 48 sqq.; "De Leenvorstendom Boni," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xv. (1865) pp. 57 sq.; T. Stamford Raffles, *History of Java* (London, 1817), i. 316, 322 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 256 sqq. The ceremony has also been described by Mr. J. W. Brecks, in his *Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris* (London, 1873), p. 19. His account is less detailed than the one in the text but agrees substantially with it.

<sup>3</sup> Above, vol. ii. pp. 258 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> See the description of the custom in *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 20. To the authorities

<sup>4</sup> For examples of these ceremonies see Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne, traduite par D. Jourdanet et R. Simeon* (Paris, 1880), pp. 424-431; *The Grihya-Sutras*, translated by H. Oldenberg, Part i. (Oxford, 1886) pp. 47 sqq.

Manifestly this little drama is intended to facilitate the real birth by simulating it; the ceremony is an example of sympathetic or imitative magic.

Badaga ceremony in the seventh month of pregnancy.

In the seventh month of a woman's pregnancy the Badagas of the Neilgherry Hills observe a ceremony which has been described as a second marriage ceremony in confirmation of the first. The husband asks his father-in-law, "Shall I bind this cord round the neck of your daughter?" As soon as "Yes" is said, the cord is fastened round her neck and then after a few minutes taken off. Before the couple are set two vessels, into one of which the relations of the husband put money, while the relations of the wife put it into the other. A feast of milk and vegetables follows.<sup>1</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the ceremony observed by the Todas in the seventh month of pregnancy is also an old marriage ceremony, as Dr. Rivers has suggested;<sup>2</sup> and if that were so the interpretation of it as a rite of impregnation would not be wholly excluded.

Cannibalism in Australia.

P. 73. **As a rule, perhaps, members of the same totem clan do not eat each other.**—Definite information on this subject seems to be almost entirely wanting, so that no general rule can be laid down. In the Mukjarawaint tribe of Victoria a man who transgressed the marriage laws was killed and eaten by men of his own totemic clan.<sup>3</sup> But this is the only case I remember to have met with in which it is definitely affirmed that people ate a man of their own totem. On the other hand there seems to be little or no evidence that they were forbidden to do so. It was a common custom among the Australian aborigines to eat the members of their own tribe who were either slain in battle or died a natural death. And, besides that, in times of famine children were often killed and devoured by their relations and friends. Enemies killed in war were eaten by some tribes, but the practice of eating friends and relations appears to have been more frequent; indeed it is affirmed of some tribes that while they ate their friends they refused to eat their enemies.<sup>4</sup> In the

Both friends and foes are eaten, but the custom of eating friends seems to be the commoner.

there cited may be added C. F. Winter, "Instellingen, Gewoonten en Gebruiken der Javanen te Soerakarta," *Tijdschrift voor Nêerland's Indie* (Batavia, 1843), Eerste Deel, pp. 691-694; J. Knebel, "Varia Javanica," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xliv. (1901) p. 36. In the former of these accounts the places of the shuttle and the egg are taken by two coco-nuts; in the latter account the simulation of birth does not come clearly out.

<sup>1</sup> Jagor, "Über die Badagas im Nilgiri-Gebirge," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie,*

*Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1876, pp. 200 sq. (appended to *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, viii.).

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt. *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 247. See above, vol. i. p. 461.

<sup>4</sup> J. D. Lang, *Queensland* (London, 1861), pp. 354-360, 388 sq.; R. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. xxxvii. sq., 244-247; J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 67; W. Ridley, *Kamilaroi*, p. 160; R. Schomburgk, in *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1879, p. (237)

Binbinga tribe, who eat their dead, the body is cut up, roasted and eaten by men of the other exogamous class or moiety. For example, if the deceased was a Tjurulum man, his carcase is devoured by Tjuanaku, Tjulantjuka, Paliarinji, and Pungarinji men, who together make up that moiety of the tribe to which the Tjurulum subelass does not belong. No woman of the tribe is allowed to partake of human flesh.<sup>1</sup> In the Mara and Anula tribes the flesh may be eaten by members of both the exogamous classes or moieties. "In the case of an Anula woman, whose body was eaten a short time ago, the following took place. The woman belonged to the Wialia division of the tribe, and her body was disembowelled by a Roumburia man. Those present during the rite and participating in it were four in number; two of them were her tribal fathers, belonging therefore to the Wialia group—that is, to her own moiety of the tribe; the other two were her mother's brothers, and therefore Roumburia men belonging to the half of the tribe to which she did not belong. The woman's totem was Barramunda (a fresh-water fish); the tribal fathers', wild dog; the mother's two brothers were respectively alligator and night-hawk; so that it will be clearly seen that the rite of eating the flesh of a dead person is in no way concerned with the totem group. In another instance—that of the eating of an Anula man who was a Roumburia—the body was disembowelled by an Urtalia man who was the mother's brother of the deceased; the other men present and participating were one Wialia, two Urtalia, and one Awukaria."<sup>2</sup> Hence in neither of the cases thus described by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen was the flesh of the dead partaken of by persons of his or her own totem clan. Whether this exclusion of persons of the same totem from the cannibal repast was accidental or prescribed by custom, does not appear.

The motives which induce the members of an Australian tribe to eat the bodies of their own dead are various. Often the motive is sheer hunger, and under the pressure of this powerful incentive it would seem that infants are commonly the first victims. We are told that in hard summers the Kaura tribe near Adelaide used to

Motives of the Australian aborigines for eating their dead friends.

(appended to *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xi.); E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 89, 290, 370, 380, 422, ii. 18, 119, 159, 179, 322, 331 sq., 341 sq., 346, 351, 361, 371, 376, 390, 393, 400, 403, 404, 408, 427, 428, 432, 449, 465, 474, iii. 36, 121, 138, 144, 147, 159, 166, 353, 545; W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 166; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 750-756. For statements that friends

but not foes are eaten see J. D. Lang, *op. cit.* p. 359; J. Dawson and W. Ridley, *ll. cc.*; E. M. Curr, *op. cit.* ii. 449; A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 753.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 548. As to the classes and subclasses of the Binbinga tribe, see above, vol. i. p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* pp. 548 sq. As to the classes and subclasses of the Anula tribe, see above, vol. i. p. 271.

Sometimes the Australian aborigines eat their dead kinsfolk from motives of respect and affection.

devour all the new-born infants.<sup>1</sup> The Mungerra tribe in Queensland, when sorely pinched by famine, have been known to kill and eat some of their female children.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the motive assigned for the practice is affection. Thus among the tribes on Moreton Bay in New South Wales it is said to have been customary for parents to partake of the flesh of their dead children "as a token of grief and affection for the deceased."<sup>3</sup> The well-informed Mr. James Dawson, speaking of the tribes of South-West Victoria, says: "There is not the slightest doubt that the eating of human flesh is practised by the aborigines, but only as a mark of affectionate respect, in solemn service of mourning for the dead. The flesh of enemies is never eaten, nor of members of other tribes. The bodies of relatives of either sex, who have lost their lives by violence, are alone partaken of; and even then only if the body is not mangled, or unhealthy, or in poor condition, or in a putrid state. The body is divided among the adult relatives—with the exception of nursing or pregnant women—and the flesh of every part is roasted and eaten but the vitals and intestines, which are burned with the bones. If the body be much contused, or if it have been pierced by more than three spears, it is considered too much mangled to be eaten. The body of a woman who has had children is not eaten. When a child over four or five years of age is killed accidentally, or by one spear wound only, all the relatives eat of it except the brothers and sisters. The flesh of a healthy, fat, young woman is considered the best; and the palms of the hands are considered the most delicate portions. On remarking to the aborigines that the eating of the whole of the flesh of a dead body by the relatives had the appearance of their making a meal of it, they said that an ordinary-sized body afforded to each of numerous adult relatives only a mere tasting; and that it was eaten with no desire to gratify or appease the appetite, but only as a symbol of respect and regret for the dead."<sup>4</sup> Evidence to the same effect was given by a convict Davies as to some Queensland tribes with whom he had lived. He said that with the exception of the bodies of old people the dead were regularly eaten by the survivors, whether they had fallen in battle or died a natural death; it was an immemorial custom and a sacred duty with them to devour the corpses of their departed relatives and friends; but their enemies slain in battle they would not eat.<sup>5</sup> The Tangara carry their dead about with them, and whenever they feel sorrow for their death, they eat some of the flesh, till nothing remains but the

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 749. *Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, i. 73.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 465; compare *id.* p. 351. <sup>4</sup> J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and* <sup>5</sup> J. D. Lang, *Queensland* (London, 1861), pp. 355, 359 sq.

bones.<sup>1</sup> When a child dies, the aborigines of the Peake River in South Australia eat it, saying that unless they did so they would always grieve for it. They give the head to the mother, and the children in the camp get some of the flesh to make them grow. They also eat different parts of men and women who die, particularly those parts in which their best abilities are supposed to reside.<sup>2</sup> Some of the Kamilaroi placed their dead in trees, kindled fires under them, and sat down to catch the droppings of the fat, hoping thus to acquire the courage and strength, for example, of the deceased warrior. Others ate the heart and liver of their dead for the same purpose. They did not eat enemies slain in battle.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes parents would kill their newborn baby and give its flesh to their older children to eat for the purpose of strengthening them. This was done, for example, in the Wotjobaluk and Luritcha tribes.<sup>4</sup> Among some of the tribes on the Darling River, before a body was buried it used to be customary to cut off a piece of flesh from the thigh, if it was a child, or from the stomach, if it was an adult. The severed flesh was then taken from the grave to the camp, dried in the sun, chopped up small, and distributed among the relations and friends of the deceased. Some of them used the gobbet to make a charm called *yountoo*; others sucked it to get strength and courage; and others again threw it into the river to bring a flood and fish, when both were wanted.<sup>5</sup>

Amongst the Dieri, when a dead body had been lowered into its last resting-place, a man, who was no relation of the deceased, stepped into the grave and proceeded to cut off all the fat that adhered to the muscles of the face, thighs, arms and stomach. This he handed round to the mourners to be swallowed by them. The reason they gave for the practice was that the nearest relations might forget the departed and not be continually weeping. "The order in which they partake of their dead relatives is this:—The mother eats of her children. The children eat of their mother. Brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law eat of each other. Uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, grandchildren, grandfathers, and grandmothers eat of each other. But the father does not eat of his offspring, or the

Practice of the Dieri as to eating their dead relations.

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 751.

<sup>2</sup> R. Schomburgk (of Adelaide), "Über einige Sitten und Gebräuche der tief im innern Südaustraliens, am Peake-Flusse und dessen Umgebung hausenden Stämme," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1879, p. (237) (appended to *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xi.).

<sup>3</sup> Rev. W. Ridley, *Kamilaroi* (Sydney, 1875), p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> W. E. Stanbridge, "Tribes in the Central Part of Victoria," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, i. (London, 1861) p. 289; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 749, 750; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 475.

<sup>5</sup> F. Bonney, "On some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) pp. 134, 135.

offspring of the sire. After eating of the dead the men paint themselves with charcoal and fat, marking a black ring round the mouth. This distinguishing mark is called *Munamuroomuroo*. The women do likewise, besides painting two white stripes on their arms, which marks distinguish those who have partaken of the late deceased; the other men smearing themselves all over with white clay, to testify their grief."<sup>1</sup> Thus in the Dieri tribe women as well as men partook of the bodies of the dead. However, in some tribes women were forbidden to eat human flesh.<sup>2</sup>

Custom of eating dead enemies.

Among the Australian tribes which ate their slain enemies the favourite joints seem to have been the arms and the legs, the hands and the feet.<sup>3</sup> The Theddora and Ngarigo thought that they acquired the courage and other qualities of the enemies whom they had eaten.<sup>4</sup> The Luritcha, who eat their enemies, take great care to destroy the bones and especially the skulls; otherwise they think that the bones will come together, and that the dead men will arise and pursue with their vengeance the foes who have devoured them.<sup>5</sup>

Although exogamous classes or phratries sometimes bear animal names, they seem not to be totemic.

P. 76. **Some phratries, both in America and Australia, bear the names of animals.**—From this and other indications I have inferred in the text that the Australian phratries and subphratries (classes and subclasses) were formerly totemic clans, and that as phratries and subphratries (classes and subclasses) they may have retained their totems after they had been subdivided into totem clans proper. The evidence now seems to me altogether inadequate to support this inference, which I withdraw accordingly. In this view I entirely agree with the mature judgment of Dr. A. W. Howitt, who in like manner had formerly inclined to the opinion that the phratries or classes may once have been totemic clans.<sup>6</sup> On the

<sup>1</sup> S. Gason, "The Dieyeri Tribe," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 274. Compare A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 448 *sq.*, 751.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 179, 332; Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 548. It has been suggested by Mr. E. S. Hartland (*Primitive Paternity*, i. 231 *sq.*) that one motive for eating dead friends may have been to ensure their rebirth. This motive could hardly operate in tribes which forbid women to partake of human flesh.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 751, 752; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 545.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 752.

<sup>5</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*

*of Central Australia*, p. 475.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. A. W. Howitt writes thus (*Folk-Lore*, xvii. 1906, p. 110): "Mr. Hartland quotes a passage in one of my earlier papers to the effect that in my opinion the exogamous moieties of the Australian tribes were originally totemic clans. I did incline, many years back, to this belief, but the wider knowledge of later years has so far altered my opinion, that I consider the weight of evidence to be against it." With regard to the Port Mackay tribe in Queensland (see vol. i. pp. 77 *sq.*) the evidence for the existence of phratries and subphratries totems seems altogether insufficient. The evidence for the phratries totems consists of a single statement of Mr. Bridgman that "the symbol of the Yoongaroo division is the alligator and of the Wootaroo the kangaroo" (Fison

whole the Australian evidence points to the conclusion that the phratries and subphratries, or classes and subclasses, are social divisions of an entirely different order from the totemic clans. As I have already pointed out, they seem to be of later origin than the totemic clans and to have been deliberately instituted for the purpose of regulating marriage, with which the totemic clans had previously nothing to do.<sup>1</sup> When the exogamous divisions were introduced, it was convenient, though not absolutely necessary, to have names for them;<sup>2</sup> and these names would naturally be significant of something, for it is very unlikely that they would be new words arbitrarily coined for the purpose. Among them the names of animals and plants would probably figure, since on animals and plants, the sources of their food-supply, the minds of the natives are constantly dwelling. It is no wonder, therefore, that the names of some Australian phratries or classes should be those of animals; the wonder rather is that among so many Australian names of phratries or classes so few should be known to be those of animals. But the mere designation of such divisions by the names of animals by no means proves that the eponymous animals are totems. A special reason for naming any particular phratry after an animal or plant might very well be, as has been suggested by Dr. Washington Matthews,<sup>3</sup> the existence within it of an important totemic clan of that name; the phratry or class would thus be named after one of its members, the whole after the part, as happens not infrequently. Thus the inference that, whenever we meet with a phratry or class bearing the same name as one of its totemic clans, the clan has arisen by subdivision of the phratry and has taken its name from it, is not necessarily right; it may be on the contrary that the phratry or class has borrowed its name from the clan. Another way in which phratries or classes might come to bear the names of animals and so to simulate totemic clans may be, as Professor Baldwin Spencer has suggested, through the extinction of all the totems except two, one in each of the phratries or classes, so that henceforth the totemic clan would coincide with the phratry or class. This, as he says, may have happened to the Wurunjjerri tribe.<sup>4</sup> In point of fact,<sup>1</sup> both in North-Central Australia and in

and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 40); and the evidence for the totems of the subphratries in like manner rests on the single statement of Mr. W. Chatfield (Fison and Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 41), whose evidence on another subject has been doubted by good authorities. See above, p. 199. Mr. Chatfield's statement is repeated by Mr. E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 468.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. 162 *sq.*, 251 *sq.*, 257 *sq.*, 272 *sq.*.

<sup>2</sup> I have already pointed out that both in Australia and Melanesia some of the exogamous divisions have no special names. See above, vol. i. pp. 265 *sq.*; vol. ii. p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 243 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Baldwin Spencer's suggestion is mentioned by Dr. A. W. Howitt in *Folk-Lore*, xvii. (1906) p. 110. As to the Wurunjjerri tribe, see above, vol. i. pp. 435, 437.

Sometimes the animal name of an exogamous class or phratry may be borrowed from one of the totemic clans included under it.

Queensland we have found evidence of the extinction of the totemic clans and their absorption in the exogamous classes or phratries, with the accompanying transference of the old totemic taboos from the clans to the classes.<sup>1</sup>

P. 81. **The growth, maturity, and decay of totems.**—The theory here suggested of the growth and decay of totems must be corrected by the preceding note, in which I have pointed out that there is no sufficient proof of the existence of phratric and subphratric totems. Nor is it at all clear that subtotems are undeveloped totems; indeed the relation between the two things is very obscure. Subtotems are found elsewhere than in Australia,<sup>2</sup> but it is only in Australia, apparently, that an attempt has been made to classify the whole of nature under the exogamous phratries or clans.

The Central Australian aborigines, like all existing savages, are primitive only in a relative, not in an absolute, sense.

P. 93. **Here, then, . . . the scientific inquirer might reasonably expect to find the savage in his very lowest depths, etc.**—In this somewhat too rhetorically coloured passage I do not intend to suggest that the Central Australian aborigines are in the condition of absolutely primitive humanity. Far from it. I believe that even the lowest of existing savages, amongst whom I reckon the tribes of Central Australia, have in respect of intelligence, morality, and the arts of life advanced immeasurably beyond the absolutely primitive condition of humanity, and that the interval which divides them from civilised men is probably far less than the interval which divides them from truly primitive men, that is, from men as they were when they emerged from a much lower form of animal life. It is only in a relative, not in an absolute, sense that we can speak of the Australian or of any other known race as primitive; but the usage of the language perfectly justifies us in employing the word in such a sense to distinguish the ruder from the more highly developed races of man. Indeed we have no synonym for the word in English, and if we drop it in deference to an absurd misunderstanding we cripple ourselves by the sacrifice of an indispensable term. Were we to abstain from using every word which dunces have misunderstood or sophists misrepresented, we should be reduced to absolute silence, for there is hardly a word which has not been thus perverted.<sup>3</sup>

P. 96. **An immemorial sanctuary within which outlawed and**

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 527 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> For example, see above, vol. ii. pp. 14-16, 30 *sq.*, 48 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> On the use and abuse of the term primitive as applied to savages I may refer the reader to my remarks in *The Scope of Social Anthropology* (London, 1908), pp. 7-9. In the present work

I have already given my reasons for regarding the tribes of Central Australia as, on the whole, not only the most primitive savages of that continent but also as the most primitive race of men about whom we possess accurate information. See above, vol. i. pp. 314-339, 342 *sq.*

**desperate men have found safety.**—Since this sketch of the development of sanctuaries or asylums in primitive society was written, the subject has been handled by Dr. Albert Hellwig in two treatises, to which I may refer the reader for further details.<sup>1</sup>

P. 97. **In Upolu, one of the Samoan Islands, etc.**—The right of sanctuary seems to have been more highly developed in Hawaii, where there were certain sacred enclosures called *puhonuas*, which have been described as Cities of Refuge. “These *puhonuas*,” we are told, “were the Hawaiian cities of refuge, and afforded an inviolable sanctuary to the guilty fugitive who, when flying from the avenging spear, was so favoured as to enter their precincts. This had several wide entrances, some on the side next the sea, the others facing the mountains. Hither the manslayer, the man who had broken a tabu, or failed in the observance of its rigid requirements, the thief, and even the murderer, fled from his incensed pursuers, and was secure. To whomsoever he belonged, and from whatever part he came, he was equally certain of admittance, though liable to be pursued even to the gates of the enclosure. Happily for him, those gates were perpetually open; and as soon as the fugitive had entered, he repaired to the presence of the idol, and made a short ejaculatory address, expressive of his obligations to him in reaching the place with security. Whenever war was proclaimed, and during the period of actual hostilities, a white flag was unfurled on the top of a tall spear, at each end of the enclosure, and, until the conclusion of peace, waved the symbol of hope to those who, vanquished in fight, might flee thither for protection. It was fixed a short distance from the walls on the outside, and to the spot on which this banner was unfurled, the victorious warrior might chase his routed foes; but here, he must himself fall back; beyond it he must not advance one step, on pain of forfeiting his life. The priests, and their adherents, would immediately put to death any one who should have the temerity to follow or molest those who were once within the pale of the *pahu tabu* [sacred enclosure]; and, as they expressed it, under the shade or protection of Keave, the tutelar deity of the place. In one part of the enclosure, houses were formerly erected for the priests, and others for the refugees, who, after a certain time, or at the cessation of war, were dismissed by the priests, and returned unmolested to their dwellings and families; no one venturing to injure those who, when they fled to the gods, had been by them protected. We could not learn the length of time it was necessary for them to remain in the *puhonua*; but it did not appear to be more than

Right of  
sanctuary  
in Hawaii.

<sup>1</sup> A. Hellwig, *Das Asylrecht der Naturvölker* (Berlin, 1903); *id.*, *Beiträge zur Asylrecht von Ozeanien* (Stuttgart, 1906).

two or three days. After that, they either attached themselves to the service of the priests, or returned to their homes."<sup>1</sup>

One of these sanctuaries which Mr. Ellis examined at Honaunau is described by him as capacious and capable of containing a vast multitude of people. It was more than seven hundred feet long and four hundred feet wide; the walls were twelve feet high and fifteen feet thick. In time of war the old men, women, and children used to be left within it, while the warriors went out to fight.<sup>2</sup>

Sanctuaries  
on the  
Gold Coast.

P. 100. **In Western Africa . . . sanctuaries, etc.**—Among the Ga people of the Gold Coast every tribal fetish has the right to protect its suppliants. Slaves or freemen in distress may flee to it and find sanctuary. The fugitive says, "Hear, priest, I give myself to the fetish. If you let anybody wrench me away, you will die." After that the pursuer will not molest him. Such fugitives, when they have taken sanctuary, are not free; they are regarded as the clients or servants of the fetish-priest and of the king of the town. The king uses them as messengers, drummers, and so forth; the priest makes them lay out and cultivate his gardens, fetch wood, and serve him in other ways. When a fetish is famous, like Lakpa in La, there are many such refugees. They are called "fence people," because once a year they must make a new fence round the fetish-house; but they need not always dwell in its immediate neighbourhood.<sup>3</sup>

Ceremonies  
over dead  
animals to  
disenchant  
them.

P. 129. **Whenever one of these creatures is killed a ceremony has to be performed over it, etc.**—With this ceremony we may compare the ceremonies performed by the Malays over the game which they have killed, for the purpose of expelling the evil spirit or mischief (*badi*) which is thought to lurk in certain species of wild animals. Amongst the animals and birds supposed to be haunted or possessed by this evil spirit are deer, the mouse-deer (*Tragulus*), the wild pig, all monkeys (except gibbons), monitor lizards, certain snakes and crocodiles, the vulture, the stork, the jungle fowl (*Gallus gallus*), and the quail. The elephant, the rhinoceros, and the tapir have no *badi* in the strict sense of the word, but they have a *kuang*, which comes to much the same thing. If any of these creatures is killed without the evil spirit or mischief (*badi*) being cast out of the carcase, it is believed that all who are in at the death will be affected by a singular malady; for either they go mad and imitate the habits of the dead animal, or certain parts of their bodies are transformed into a likeness of the beast. Thus, if the creature that has been killed is a jungle fowl, the sufferer will crow

<sup>1</sup> W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, iv. (London, 1836) pp. 167 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. Ellis, *op. cit.* iv. 168.

<sup>3</sup> B. Struck, "Zur Kenntniss des Gästammes (Goldküste)," *Globus*, xciii. (1908) p. 31.



Food regarded as a cause of pregnancy.

P. 159. **Amongst the objects on which her fancy might pitch as the cause of her pregnancy we may suppose that the last food she had eaten would often be one.**—The tribes of the Cairns district in North Queensland actually believe that the acceptance of food from a man by a woman is the cause of conception.<sup>1</sup> In like manner “some of the aboriginal tribes of Malaya still hold the belief that the souls of men are incarnate in the form of birds and are born into the world through the birds being eaten by women. A theory of the same kind seems to underly the curiously important part played in Malay romance by the ‘longings’ (*idam*) of pregnant women.”<sup>2</sup> I have already suggested that the longings of pregnant women may have had a large share in the origin of totemism by inducing mothers to identify their offspring with the things for which they had longed in their pregnancy and so to determine their children’s totems.<sup>3</sup> It is even possible that these whims may be partly responsible for the existence of subtotems; since it is conceivable that a woman may often have enjoined her child to respect a number of animals, plants, or other objects on which her maternal heart had been set in the critical period.

P. 163, note <sup>1</sup>. **This observation . . . was communicated by me to my friend Dr. A. W. Howitt.**—In point of fact Dr. Howitt had himself made the same observation quite independently many years before, though at the time of my communication he and I had both forgotten it. The credit of the discovery, which is of the utmost importance for the understanding of the marriage system of the Australian aborigines, belongs to Dr. Howitt alone.<sup>4</sup>

Deliberate institution of exogamy among the Khonds.

P. 163. **They were deliberately devised and adopted as a means of preventing the marriage, etc.**—It appears that the Khonds of India at the present time occasionally lay interdicts on the intermarriage of two neighbouring tribes, whenever they think that through a prolonged practice of intermarriage between the two communities husbands and wives are apt to be too nearly related to each other by blood: in other words, they deliberately institute a new exogamous group. On this subject Mr. J. E. Friend-Pereira writes as follows: “An essential condition of marriage is that the contracting parties be not of the same tribe or sept; and even when they are of different tribes or septs, consanguinity up to the seventh generation is strictly prohibited. As there are no professional bards or genealogists among them, they resort to an ingenious device to guard against marriages within the forbidden degrees. When a neighbouring tribe, from which they have been

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 577.

<sup>2</sup> R. J. Wilkinson, *Malay Beliefs* (London and Leyden, 1906), p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 64 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 261 note <sup>2</sup>, 285 note <sup>1</sup>.

in the habit of procuring wives, begins to show signs of blood relationship in the course of time, a ban is placed on further marriages, and the two tribes, as is becoming among kinsmen, enter into a closer bond of friendship which is to last for fourteen generations. After that lapse of time a general council of the elders of the tribes is held, the interdict is removed, and intermarriage is once more resumed, to continue for another indefinite period."<sup>1</sup> It deserves to be noted that among the Khonds the regulation of intermarriage and the maintenance of exogamy between neighbouring groups appears to be in the hands of the councils of elders. This supports the opinion that among the Australian aborigines also the institution of exogamy has been created and upheld by the elders assembled in council.<sup>2</sup>

P. 279. **The aborigines of Australia . . . entertain a deep horror of incest, that is, of just those marriages which the exogamous segmentations of the community are fitted to preclude.** Division of opinion among the Australian aborigines as to the marriage of first cousins.

—This statement is too general. It applies universally to those marriages of brothers with sisters and of parents with children which the segmentation of the community first into two and afterwards into four exogamous divisions was designed to prevent; but it does not apply universally to the marriage of certain first cousins, namely the children of a brother and of a sister; for though some Australian tribes disapproved of and forbade the marriage of all first cousins without exception, others, for example the Urabunna, not only allow the marriage of these particular first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, but regard them as the most natural and appropriate of all. Thus in Australia, as elsewhere, the incest line wavers in respect to first cousins; in some tribes it includes all marriages of first cousins; in other tribes it distinguishes between them, placing some within and others without the ban. A similar difference in the treatment of first cousin marriages occurs in many other peoples besides the Australian; for whereas some rigidly interdict them all, others not only permit but enjoin the marriage of those first cousins who are the children of a brother and of a sister respectively.<sup>3</sup>

P. 281. **External nature certainly acts on him, but he reacts on it, and his history is the resultant of that action and reaction, etc.**—The same thought, which I have here expressed from the point of view of human history, has been expressed quite in-

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Friend-Pereira, "Marriage Customs of the Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. lxxi. Part iii. Anthropology, etc. (Calcutta, 1903), p. 18. As to the exogamous divisions of the Khonds, see above, vol.

ii. pp. 304 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 352-356, 402.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 108, 120; and the references in the Index, s. v. "Cousins."

Influence  
of the  
environ-  
ment  
on the  
organism.

dependently by Professor J. Y. Simpson from the point of view of biology in language which agrees almost verbally with mine. He says: "Finally, we are unable to forget the dominating rôle of the environment in all development: without its stimuli the inherited organization of the living creature would not work itself out. The living form is at any moment the resultant of external stimuli acting upon its inherited organization. This has been experimentally proved time and again: a normal development is the response to normal conditions. The development is thus educed, and it may be modified by the environment; but the fundamental character and cause of it lie in the inherited organization. The developing organism and its environment react the one upon the other independently; yet in virtue of its adaptiveness the organism continually sets itself free from the control of the environment and proves itself the more constant of the two. Separation of the two is practically impossible; we are almost compelled to consider the organism and its environment as a single system undergoing change."<sup>1</sup>

Recogni-  
tion of the  
simplest  
relation-  
ships  
by the  
founders of  
exogamy.

P. 288. **If we assume . . . that the founders of exogamy in Australia recognised the classificatory system of relationship, and the classificatory system of relationship only, etc.**—This statement is too absolute. I assume that the founders of exogamy recognised the simplest social and consanguineous relationships, namely, the cohabitation of a man with a woman, the relationship of a mother to her children, and the relationship of brothers and sisters, the children of the same mother, to each other; and that they extended these simple relationships into the classificatory relationships by arranging all the men and women of the community into one or other of two exogamous and intermarrying classes. The cardinal relationship, on which the whole classificatory system hinged, was the relation of husband and wife or, to put it more generally, the cohabitation of a man with a woman.<sup>2</sup>

P. 397. **The Kamilaroi type of social organisation, etc.**—Speaking of the Kamilaroi marriage system another writer says: "It is also a curious arrangement in these tribes that every man in any one class is supposed to have marital rights over every woman in the class with which he can marry; thus every Ipaï regards every Kubbitha woman as his wife *in posse*. Hence a young man of the Ipaï class, as soon as by tribal ceremonies he has acquired the right to marry, may go to the abode of a family of Kubbitha girls and say to one of them, in the presence of her parents, *Ngaia coolaid karramulla yaralla*, 'I wife will take by and by.' His demand thus

<sup>1</sup> Professor J. Y. Simpson, article ii. (Edinburgh, 1909) p. 634.  
"Biology," in Dr. J. Hastings's  
*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*,

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 112 *sqq.*

made cannot be refused, and the parents must keep the girl until he comes to take her as his wife."<sup>1</sup>

P. 404. **A woman might neither speak with nor look at her daughter's husband.**—In some of the tribes of New South Wales, particularly it would seem among the Kamilaroi, if a man had spoken to his wife's mother he had to leave the camp and pitch his rude shelter of branches and bark at a distance from it. There he had to remain in seclusion till the taint contracted by talking to his mother-in-law might be supposed to be purged or worn away.<sup>2</sup> Among the Arunta of Central Australia a man has to avoid not only his actual mother-in-law but also all the women who belong to her subclass, and similarly a woman has to avoid not only her actual son-in-law but also all the men who belong to his subclass. On this subject Mr. F. J. Gillen tells us that "no man may speak to, look at, or go anywhere near a woman of the class to which the mother of his wife, or wives, belongs. All women of this class are *mūra* to him. The same law applies to the woman—that is to say, she must not speak to, look at, or go near any man of the class from which the husband of a daughter would be drawn. This law is strictly carried out even now. A man or woman *mūra* to each other will make a detour of half a mile rather than risk getting within distinguishing distance of the features."<sup>3</sup> "There is a very extraordinary custom prevailing among the Watchandies (and perhaps among other tribes) whereby a newly married man is not permitted to look on his mother-in-law (*ābrācurrā*) for a certain space of time. When she approaches he is obliged to retire, and should he not perceive her as she comes towards him, one of his fellows warns him of the fact and of the direction in which she is, and thereupon he retires in the opposite direction, without looking towards her, hiding himself behind a bush or a tree until it pleases her to go away, of which event he is immediately apprised by his comrades. I was not able to learn the origin of this custom, or the penalties entailed on those who infringe it."<sup>4</sup>

Custom of avoidance between a man and his wife's mother in Australia.

P. 405. **An obligation rested on the men of the same subclass and totem as the victim to avenge his death.**—Similarly of the tribes of New South Wales we are told that "when a blood feud has to be atoned, the whole totem (say, black-snake) of the aggressor

<sup>1</sup> John Fraser, "The Aborigines of New South Wales," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xvi. (1882) p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> John Fraser, *op. cit.* p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> F. J. Gillen, in *Report on the Work of the Horn Scientific Expedition to Central Australia*, Part iv. (London

and Melbourne, 1896) p. 164. From the context it appears that by "class" Mr. Gillen here means any one of the four subclasses Panunga, Purula, Bulthara, and Kumara.

<sup>4</sup> A. Oldfield, "On the Aborigines of Australia," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, iii. (1865) p. 251.

meets the totem (say, bandicoot) of the victim; champions are selected to represent each side as above, and the remainder of the men of these totems are spectators."<sup>1</sup>

Wives  
obtained  
by the  
exchange  
of sisters  
or other  
female  
relatives.

P. 409. **This custom of exchanging sisters, etc.**—The custom of obtaining a wife by giving a sister or other female relative in exchange was widespread among the Australian aborigines. Speaking of the natives of the Lower Murray and Lower Darling Rivers a writer observes: "Polygamy is allowed to any extent, and this law is generally taken advantage of by those who chance to be rich in sisters, daughters, or female wards, to give in exchange for wives. No man can get a wife unless he has a sister, ward, or daughter, whom he can give in exchange. Fathers of grown-up sons frequently exchange their daughters for wives, not for their sons, however, but for themselves, even although they already have two or three. Cases of this kind are indeed very hard for the sons, but being aboriginal law they must bear it as best they can, and that too without murmur; and to make the matter harder still to bear, the elders of a tribe will not allow the young men to go off to other tribes to steal wives for themselves, as such measures would be the certain means of entailing endless feuds with their accompanying bloodshed, in the attempts that would surely be made with the view of recovering the abducted women. Young men, therefore, not having any female relatives or wards under their control must, as a consequence of the aboriginal law on the subject, live all their lives in single blessedness, unless they choose to take up with some withered old hags whom nobody owns, merely for the purpose of having their fires cared for, their water-vessels filled, and their baggage carried from camp to camp."<sup>2</sup>

P. 501. **In Africa . . . the custom of polyandry is apparently unknown.**—This is a mistake. Polyandry is practised by the Bahima and Baziba of Central Africa.<sup>3</sup>

P. 503. **Australia, where the husband regularly goes to live with her husband's people.**—However, according to Mr. Aldridge, of Maryborough, Queensland, "when a man marries a woman from a distant locality, he goes to her tribelet and identifies himself with her people. This is a rule with very few exceptions. Of course, I speak of them as they were in their wild state. He becomes part of and one of the family. In the event of a war expedition, the daughter's husband acts as a blood-relation, and will fight and kill

<sup>1</sup> John Fraser, "The Aborigines of New South Wales," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xvi. (1882) p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Beveridge, "Of the Aborigines inhabiting the great Lacustrine

and Riverine Depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Murrumbidgee, Lower Lachline, and Lower Darling," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xvii. (1883) p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 538.

his own blood-relations if blows are struck by his wife's relations. I have seen a father and son fighting under these circumstances, and the son would most certainly have killed his father if others had not interfered." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Professor E. B. Tylor, "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 250 *sq.* I regret that in

arguing against Prof. Tylor's view (vol. i. pp. 503 *sq.*) I overlooked this statement of Mr. Aldridge, though it was quoted by Prof. Tylor in the paper to which I referred.

# NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

## VOLUME II

P. 46. **Totemism in South-Eastern New Guinea.**—The evidence for the practice of totemism in South-Eastern New Guinea and the neighbouring islands has now been published more fully by Dr. C. G. Seligmann. I will here supplement the account given in the text by some further particulars drawn from his book.<sup>1</sup>

The two  
races of  
New  
Guinea, the  
Papuan  
and the  
Melan-  
esians.

Dr. Seligmann tells us that New Guinea is inhabited by two entirely different races of men, the Papuans in the west and the Melanesians in the east. The Papuans of the west are a congeries of frizzly-haired and often mop-headed peoples of a dark chocolate or sooty brown complexion, with high heads, long arched noses, prominent brow-ridges, and receding foreheads. The Melanesians are smaller and of a lighter complexion, with shorter noses, less prominent brow-ridges, and rounded, not retreating foreheads; their hair, like that of the Papuans, is frizzly. Further, Dr. Seligmann distinguishes the Melanesians of New Guinea into two branches, a Western and an Eastern. The Western Melanesians border on the Papuans at Cape Possession and extend thence eastward to Orangerie Bay. They seem to have absorbed some Papuan elements by admixture with the aborigines whom they probably found in possession of the country when they immigrated into it from the east; indeed many of them, for example the Koita near Port Moresby, still speak Papuan languages. The Eastern Melanesians or Massim, as Dr. Seligmann calls them, occupy the south-eastern extremity of British New Guinea from Cape Nelson on the north and Orangerie Bay on the south, and they are also spread over the adjacent archipelagoes, including the Louisiade Archipelago, the Trobriand Islands, the Marshall Bennet Islands, and Murua or Woodlark Islands.<sup>2</sup>

Totemism  
of the  
Eastern  
Melanesians  
or Massim

The most characteristic feature in the culture of the Eastern Melanesians or Massim is the existence of a peculiar form of totemism with maternal descent. The members of each clan have as totems a series of associated animals belonging to different

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Seligmann, M.D., *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910).

<sup>2</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 1-7.

classes of the organic kingdom ; ordinarily these linked totems, as Dr. Seligmann calls them, are a bird, a fish, a snake, and a plant. But a four-footed vertebrate, such as the monitor lizard or the crocodile, may be added to each series of linked totems, while one of the orders of the animal kingdom, which ought to be represented in the series of linked totems, may be absent in a particular place. Towards the north-western borders of the district the typical arrangement of the totems into a linked series of living organisms has disappeared and rocks may be added to the list of totems, and in these parts the snake totem is particularly important ; indeed the snake is here sometimes regarded as the creator of the world. On the whole, however, throughout the area occupied by the Eastern Melanesians or Massim the most important totems are the birds, and the first question commonly put to a stranger is, "What is your bird?" In old days the rule of exogamy was strictly observed by the totemic clans, but at present it is being disregarded.<sup>1</sup>

The totemic system of the Eastern Melanesians, so far as it is practised at Wagawaga on Milne Bay and in Tubetube, a small island of the Engineer Group off the eastern extremity of New Guinea, has already been described<sup>2</sup> and nothing further need be said on the subject. But it may be well to give some particulars as to the totemism of these Eastern Melanesians or Massim in other places.

Thus at Bartle Bay, on the northern coast of British New Guinea, there are three communities called respectively Wamira, Wedau, and Gelaria, each of which is divided into a number of totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line. The Wamira communities comprise twenty-one clans each, while the Gelaria community comprises only three. Each clan has usually a series of linked totems. Thus, for example, in the Wamira community the Mara clan has for its totems the white pigeon and the mountain bird ; the Iriki clan has for its totems the cockerel, the blue pigeon, and a red poisonous snake (*irikiet*) ; the Ianibolanai clan has for its totems the lizard, the sea-gull, and the quail ; the Radava clan has for its totems the cassowary, a snake (*gabadi*), and a fish ; the Inagabadi clan has for its totems the cassowary, a snake (*gabadi*), and two kinds of fish ; the Iaronai clan has for its totems the white pig, the quail, the crow, and the eel ; the Vava and Gebai clans have each for their totems a hawk, a small bird, and the shark ; and the Garuboi clan has for its totems the crow, a snake (*garuboi*), a fish, and a bird. In the Wedau community the Garuboi clan has for its totems the moon and a snake (*garuboi*) ; the Iriki clan has for its totems the cockerel, the blue pigeon, and a snake (*irikiet*) ; the Manibolonai clan has for its totems the sea-

Totemism  
at Bartle  
Bay in  
New  
Guinea.

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 9 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 46-55.

gull, the quail, a sea bird, and a snake; the Aurana clan has for its totems the sea-hawk, the hawk, and the cockerel; the Bouni clan has for its totems a sea fish, a freshwater fish, and a bird; the Derama clan has for its totems the lizard, the quail, the sea-gull, and a sea bird; the Diguma clan has for its totems the alligator, a bird, and a snake; the Lavarata clan has for its totems a tree and two stones; and the Gora clan has for its totems the sun and a parrot. In the Gelaria community the Garuboi clan has for its totems a constrictor snake (*garuboi*) and the hornbill; the Girimoa clan has for its totems a constrictor snake (*garuboi*), the hornbill, and the pig; and the Elewa clan has for its totems the dog and the pigeon.<sup>1</sup>

Exogamous  
classes at  
Bartle Bay  
in New  
Guinea.

Respect  
shewn for  
the totem.

Further, these totemic clans are grouped in exogamous classes or phratries. Six such exogamous classes or phratries are recorded for the Wamira, nine for the Wedau, and two for the Gelaria.<sup>2</sup> Though the clans are inherited from the mother, a man is forbidden to marry into his father's clan as well as into his own; the rule of exogamy is absolute.<sup>3</sup> A man will not eat the flesh of his totemic animal, though in some cases he may kill it. Further, he will not eat or injure his father's totem. If a man sees his totem snake lying on the path, he will go round it to avoid touching it. But the natives deny that their totems help them; the only exception to this rule is the Elewa clan of the Gelaria community, who have the dog for their chief totem. They think that their dogs help them, and that strange dogs will not bite them. They are fond of the animal, and bury a dead dog if they find it. A Wamira man of the Logaloga clan will kill his totemic bird, the red parrot, and he will wear its feathers, but he will not eat the bird. An Ianibolanai man will not kill or eat the monitor lizard, his most important totem, but he will use a drum, the tympanum of which is formed of the lizard's skin. An Iaronai man will keep white pigs, his totem, though he will not eat them. A Lavarata man, who has the *modewa* tree for his totem, will not use the wood of the tree as fuel. One Wedau clan which has a stone for one of its totems will boil chips of the sacred stone and drink the water in order to get strength in war; people come from far and near to drink the invigorating beverage.<sup>4</sup> The Wamira word for a totem is *bariaua*, a term which they apply to any supernatural or uncanny agency, including white men. They speak of the totemic animal, reptile, or bird as the father or grandfather of the family.<sup>5</sup>

In battle a man would avoid men of his own totem on the other side and would not throw spears at them. "He would recognize

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 446-450.

<sup>2</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 437-439.

<sup>3</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* p. 447.

<sup>4</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 450-452.

<sup>5</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* p. 446, quoting the Rev. Copland King.

his clansmen by their *gia* (lit. nose), probably meaning face, having previously met them at the feasts given for miles around, for no distinctive clan badge is worn in battle."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps among these people, as among the Baganda,<sup>2</sup> each totemic clan has its own physical type which an experienced eye can recognise at once.

About thirty-five miles west of Bartle Bay is the Mukaua community, occupying six settlements separated from each other by not more than two hundred yards. Four of the settlements are hamlets containing households of only one totemic clan. The remaining two settlements contain two clans each; but the houses of each clan, though they are built close together, are held to form separate hamlets, each with its own name and headman. Each clan has its totem or totems, which children inherit from their father. The totems of the Murimuri clan are the Goura pigeon, the crow, five kinds of fish, a clam, and a cephalopod. The totems of the Wairapia clan are the dog, the cuscus, the bandicoot, a fish, a large lizard (perhaps the *Varanus* sp.), and two kinds of banana. The Kaiwunu clan has for its totem a fish of the same name (*kaiwunu*). The Inauboana clan has for its totems the turtle, a constrictor snake, and two kinds of fish. The Yabayabata clan has for its totems the red parrot, a cephalopod, a fish (perhaps a kind of sea-perch), and a kind of banana. The Kaukepo clan has for its totems the flying fox, a constrictor snake, the turtle, the dugong, and the *bonugegadara*, which is perhaps a small whale. The clan Natuwosa has for its totems the turtle, a lizard, the sting ray, and another kind of fish. The Mukaua people do not kill or eat their totems, but they use feathers of their totemic birds. If a man who has the monitor lizard or the cuscus for his totem kills one of these animals, the headman is very angry and the culprit himself suffers from boils. If a man catches his totemic fish by accident, he will not return it to the water; but a man of another totem will disengage the fish from the hook and eat it. A man who has bananas for his totem may plant them and pick the fruit for other people, although he may not himself partake of it.<sup>3</sup>

Some four miles to the east of the Mukaua community is the Bogaboga community, who speak the same language and observe the same customs. The Bogaboga are divided into five totemic clans. Among the totems are birds, fish, bananas, forest trees, and a prominent mountain, which is the chief totem of the Kibiris clan. People who have trees for their totems may not fell or injure the trees, nor may they use the wood for building houses or canoes, nor for burning. People who have the mountain for their totem may not look at it or set foot on it. Boils are believed to

Totemism  
at Mukaua  
in New  
Guinea.

Totemism  
at  
Bogaboga  
in New  
Guinea.

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesian*,  
of *British New Guinea*, p. 451.

<sup>3</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp.  
740-742, from information furnished  
by Mr. E. L. Giblin.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 505 sq.

break out on people who eat their totemic fish. A Bogaboga man made the following statement as to certain totemic charms which he made use of: "Each one of my fish-totems has a spell (*muara*) named after it, and when I am fishing if I see a fish that in any way reminds me of that fish [*i.e.* the totem fish] in its appearance, movement or colour, I use the spell of that fish [*i.e.* of that totem fish], and then am sure to catch successfully and to spear straight. In fighting I would pray to the *muara* of the *manubada* [the fish-hawk] so that just as it darts down from the sky and never misses its prey, so will my spear dart straightly and pierce deeply. When on a raid I would repeat the *muara* of the *kisakisa* [a hawk] so that even as it snatches meat from a man's hand or from a cooking-pot, so may I snatch or seize my spoil from the place of the enemy."<sup>1</sup>

Totemism  
among  
the Kubiri  
at Cape  
Nelson.

Still further to the west, at Cape Nelson, "totemism is well developed among the Kubiri. The crocodile is a totem and its intercession is sought by placing food in the rivers for it to eat. The more common customs of totemism are in full force. The crocodile clan has many subsidiary totems; these include two shell-fish, because their shells are like the scales of the crocodile, three freshwater fish, because the crocodile feeds on them, a variety of taro, and a kind of banana which has the same name as the crocodile and which is used to feed it. Even subsidiary totems may not be eaten, and in some cases they may not be touched."<sup>2</sup>

From this brief but interesting notice of Kubiri totemism it would seem that the system is developing into a religion, since the totemic crocodile is propitiated by offerings of food. Further, we learn some of the causes which give rise to subsidiary totems. It appears that anything connected with the principal totem, such as the animals which it feeds on, or anything that resembles it in appearance, or anything, however different, which bears the same name, may thereby acquire a sacred character and become a subsidiary totem.

So much for totemism among the Massim or Eastern Melanesians on the mainland of New Guinea. A similar system of linked totems is in vogue among the people of the same stock who inhabit the archipelagoes immediately to the east of that great island.

Totemism  
in the  
Trobriand  
Islands.

Thus the natives of the Trobriand Islands are divided into four totemic and exogamous clans, the names of which, with their linked totems, are as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 740, 742 sq.

<sup>2</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 743

sq., quoting Dr. Strong. We have seen that totemism is practised among the Kworafi of Cape Nelson. See above, vol. ii. p. 55.

Name of Clan.	Bird Totem.	Animal Totem.	Fish Totem.	Plant Totem.
Malasi .	pigeon .	pig .	? <i>mawa</i> .	<i>kaiaula</i>
Lukuba .	fish-hawk .	dog .	? <i>mamila</i> .	<i>meku</i>
Lukosisiga .	green parrot .	crocodile .	? <i>kaisoa</i> .	<i>girigiri</i>
Lokulobuta	lory .	monitor lizard	? <i>mwaluya</i> .	<i>butir</i>

Of these totems the birds are in every clan of paramount importance. Doubts exist as to the fish totems, which in any case are unimportant by comparison with the other totems.<sup>1</sup> A man ought not to eat his totemic bird; if he breaks the rule, his stomach will swell and he may die. However, even this fundamental rule is now breaking down under foreign influence. Some people who have the pig for one of their totems think that if they ate wild pigs, their stomachs would swell up. Others would eat tame black pigs, but not yellowish-brown pigs, because that, they say, is the colour of man. Some men of the Malasi clan keep pigs, their totem; and throughout the Trobriand Islands the pig is well treated.<sup>2</sup> The totemic clans are exogamous, in other words, no man may marry a woman of his own totem. However, the rule is now being relaxed. In the old days a man was also forbidden to marry a woman of his father's totemic clan. Some men also refrain from eating their father's totemic birds and fish. But contact with white traders is rapidly wearing away the scruples of the natives on these points.<sup>3</sup>

The natives of the Trobriand Islands have the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term, *tama*, to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term, *ina*, to his mother, to his mother's sisters, to the wives of his father's brothers, and to the wives of his mother's brothers. In his own generation a man applies the same term, *luguta*, to his sisters and to his female cousins, the daughters either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term, *tua*, to his elder brother, to his elder sister, to his cousin, the child either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, and also to his wife's sister. A woman applies the same term, *tua*, to her husband's brothers. A man applies the same term, *bwada*, to his younger brother, to his younger sister, to his male cousin, the son either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, and also to his wife's sister and to her husband. A woman applies the same term, *bwada*, to her husband's brother and to his wife. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term, *latu*, to his

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 677 sq.

<sup>2</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 680

<sup>3</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* p. 683.

own child, to his brother's child, and also to the child of his mother's brother.<sup>1</sup> This last application suggests that a man has, or used to have, access to the wife of his mother's brother, since he applies the same term to her child that he applies to his own. We have seen that a similar implication is conveyed by classificatory terms in Mota, Uganda, and some tribes of North American Indians.<sup>2</sup>

Totemism  
in the  
Marshall  
Bennet  
Islands.

A similar system of totemism prevails in the Marshall Bennet Islands to the east of the Trobriands. Of the linked totems the birds are the most important, next to them perhaps come the fish totems, and after them the plant totems. The snake totems are insignificant; indeed some clans are said to have no snake totems. Further, certain four-footed vertebrates, the dog, the pig, and the large monitor lizards are totem animals on some, if not all, of the islands. On Gawa there are five clans with the fish-hawk, the pigeon, the frigate-bird, the lory, and a bird called *tarakaka* for their chief totems. On Iwa there are four clans with the fish-hawk, the pigeon, the frigate-bird, and the lory for their chief totems. In each island one particular clan is recognised as traditionally the strongest and most influential. In Gawa the dominant clan is the Fish-hawk clan; in Iwa it is the Pigeon clan. Men will not eat or injure their totemic birds and fishes. The objection to coming into contact with the totem fish is carried so far that a married man or woman will not bring his or her spouse's fish into the house, but will cook and eat it on the beach. A man will not injure his totemic plant, but if it proves troublesome in his garden he might ask a man of another totem to cut it down for him. Every one shews nearly the same respect for his father's totemic animals that he shews for his own. No one will kill or eat his father's bird and fish totems, nor will he uproot or injure his father's totemic plant. The totemic clans are still strictly exogamous. No man marries a woman of his own totem, and in the old days no man or woman would marry into his or her father's totemic clan. The origin of the totemic clans is explained in Iwa by a legend that each clan came out of a different hole in the ground bringing with it the totemic animals, while the totemic plants grew near the holes from which they emerged.<sup>3</sup> In the Trobriand Islands the origin of the totemic clans is set forth in a similar legend.<sup>4</sup>

Totemism  
in Murua  
or  
Woodlark  
Islands.

A system of linked totems is found also in Murua or Woodlark Island, to the east of the Marshall Bennet Islands. Among the linked totems are the Torres Straits pigeon and a large fish called *gudowara*; the scarlet lory and the turtle; the fish-hawk and the rock-cod; the cockatoo and a large red fish called *digbosara*; the

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 707. *esians of British New Guinea*, pp. 684-688.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii, pp. 510 sq.

<sup>4</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* p.

<sup>3</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *The Melan-* 679.

crow and the shark ; the flying fox and a big predatory fish called *gagatu* ; the megapod and the dugong ; the blue pigeon and a snake ; the frigate-bird and the crocodile. There is some difference of opinion as to how a man should treat his totem bird, but no one will hesitate to kill and eat his totem fish. On the other hand, no one will kill, eat, or in any way come into contact with his father's totem bird or fish, if he can help it ; and no one will marry into his father's totemic clan. The name for a totemic clan is *man*.<sup>1</sup>

Again, a system of linked totems prevails in the Louisiades, an archipelago situated some way to the south-east of New Guinea ; but details of the system are wanting. Every person has a number of linked totems, which may consist of one or more birds with a fish, a snake, and often a tree. One of the bird totems is more important than the others. The place of the fish totem may be taken by a turtle or alligator, and the place of the snake totem is sometimes taken by a lizard. There seems to be no grouping of the clans in classes or phratries in any of the islands of the Louisiades.<sup>2</sup>

Totemism  
in the  
Louisiades.

P. 47. **Totemism at Wagawaga.**—At Wagawaga, in South-eastern New Guinea, and in the neighbouring small island of Tubetube, relations by marriage observe some of those customs of ceremonial avoidance of which we have met with so many examples among totemic and exogamous peoples. Many such relations may not mention each other's names. Thus, a man may not mention the name of his daughter-in-law, and she may not mention his. Husband and wife are also forbidden to utter each other's names, and so are brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. But the restriction is not limited to persons of different sexes ; for brothers-in-law will not mention each other's names, nor will a father-in-law and a son-in-law. Further, "the majority of connections by marriage who are of opposite sexes and between whom there is a name avoidance also avoid coming into contact with each other. A man would most rigidly avoid talking to a sister of his wife whether he met her alone or in the company of others. If he met her alone he would avoid coming near her at all ; if this were impossible, as when meeting on a jungle track, brother-in-law and sister-in-law would turn their backs to each other in passing and one, usually the woman, would step aside into the bush. A man avoids his mother-in-law less rigidly than his wife's sisters, although if he meets her alone he treats her in the same way, and even in public does not usually enter her house unless he is living there. In his own house he may talk to her a little, and he may eat food she has cooked, but he does not take the pot containing food directly from her. Father-in-law and daughter-in-law avoid each other very much

Mutual  
avoidance  
of rela-  
tions by  
marriage at  
Wagawaga  
and in  
Tubetube.

Avoidance  
of a wife's  
sister.

Avoidance  
of a wife's  
mother.

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 689-691.

<sup>2</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 736 sq.

as do mother-in-law and son-in-law. A man does not avoid his brothers' wives."<sup>1</sup> This custom of rigidly avoiding a wife's sisters can hardly be explained otherwise than as a precaution intended to prevent an improper intimacy between a man and his sisters-in-law.

The Kaya-  
Kaya of  
Dutch  
New  
Guinea.

P. 59. **The Tugeri or Kaya-Kaya . . . are reported to have a complicated totemic system.**—The Kaya-Kaya are a large tribe, numbering many thousands, who inhabit the southern coast of Dutch New Guinea from Merauke westward as far at least as the village of Makaling. They are a tall, slender, but muscular race with long hooked noses and a light-brown skin. Their staple food is sago, but they also plant bananas, yams, and taro. These plantations are very carefully kept, and in the low swampy lands, which skirt the coast, channels are cut at right angles to each other for the purpose of running off the flood water. The first work of laying out a new plantation is done by the men; afterwards the women keep it in order. Many coco-nut palms are planted near the villages and along the coast. The only domestic animals bred by the Kaya-Kaya are pigs and dogs; but dogs were quite unknown to the tribe before they came into contact with Europeans. Game is plentiful and is much hunted. The favourite quarry is the wild boar and a large species of wallaby; but crocodiles, cassowaries, and many marsh birds are also killed and eaten.<sup>2</sup>

The houses of the Kaya-Kaya are built on the ground, not raised on piles. All the male inhabitants of a village live and sleep together in a few men's houses (*anmanga safá*), which generally stand at each end of the village. Between them in a row are the women's houses (*búbti safá*), a house for every mother, her children, and female relatives. Thus the number of the women's houses corresponds roughly to the number of the families. The unmarried men (*ewáti*) sleep in the men's houses, but must pass the day in the *kotad*, which is a bachelor's club-house outside of the village. The men may not enter the women's houses, and the women may not enter the men's houses.<sup>3</sup>

Every year when the weather is favourable the Kaya-Kaya make joint raids into the territory of neighbouring tribes to carry off human heads. Before they behead a prisoner they ask him his name; then having decapitated him they leave the trunk weltering in its blood and carry back the dripping head to the village. They eat the brain and the tongue, and having mummified the head or stripped it of the flesh they hang it up in one of the

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 485 sq.

<sup>2</sup> R. Pöch, "Vierter Bericht über meine Reise nach Neu-Guinea," *Sitzungsberichte der mathematisch-*

*naturwissenschaftlichen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), cxv. (1906) pp. 895 sq., 897 sq.

<sup>3</sup> R. Pöch, *op. cit.* p. 899.

men's houses. The man who took the head bestows the name of the slain man on a child who is his next of kin. Children for whom no head has been cut off have no name.<sup>1</sup>

From time to time great festivals are held, to which many hundreds of people come from neighbouring villages. On these occasions dances are danced in which the dancers wear masks representing various animals. The occasions of such festivals are the successful issue of a head-hunt, the initiation of young men, a marriage, a good harvest, and so on. The Kaya-Kaya are acquainted with the bull-roarer, which they call *sosom*. They give the same name *Sosom* to a mythical giant, who is supposed to appear every year with the south-east monsoon. When he comes, a festival is held in his honour and bull-roarers are swung. Women may not see the bull-roarers, or they would die. Boys are presented to the giant and he kills them, but brings them to life again.<sup>2</sup>

The Kaya-Kaya are divided into totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the paternal line; in other words, no man may marry a woman of his own clan, and children take their totem from their father. Some of the clans include totemic subclans. Both animals and plants figure among the totems. The following is the list of the Kaya-Kaya clans and subclans, so far as they were ascertained by Mr. R. Pöch:—

1. The *Gépsi* or Coco-nut-palm people: to them belong the *Kiú-boan* or Descendants of the Crocodile.

2. The *Mahise* or Sago-palm people: to them belong the *Gât-boan* or Descendants of the Dog.

3. The *Kahise* or Cassowary people: to them belong the *Samkáke* or Kangaroo people, and the *Takáf-boan* or the Fire people, so called because they set fire to the grass in hunting.

4. The *Bragise* or the Yam people: to them belong the *Kidiú-boan* or Descendants of the Eagle.

5. The *Dirwarek* or the *Djamboe* people (*djamboe* is a Malay word applied to an apple-like tree-fruit): to them belong the *Sohé-boan* or Potatoe people, and the *Anda-boan* or Descendants of a certain Fish (German *Neunfisch*).

6. The *Basise* or the Pig people.

7. The *Wábarik* or the Lizard people.

The *Gépsi* or Coco-nut-palm people enjoy a high reputation, but on the strength of it they are not entitled to order the Sago-palm people about. Marriage between the clans is regulated by custom; thus it is said that the Coco-nut-palm man is the husband of the

<sup>1</sup> R. Pöch, "Vierter Bericht über meine Reise nach Neu-Guinea." *Sitzungsberichte der mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Klasse der*

*Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), cxv. (1906) p. 901.

<sup>2</sup> R. Pöch, *op. cit.* pp. 901, 902.

Sago-palm woman. Each clan is forbidden to eat certain foods. Thus the Coco-nut-palm people may eat coco-nuts, but not the flying squirrel (*Petaurus*), which lives in these palms. The Sago people may eat sago, but not dogs, because they are descended from a dog. A man's wife and children abstain from the same food from which he abstains.<sup>1</sup>

Thus finding totemism practised by a large tribe in Dutch New Guinea we may reasonably surmise that it is practised by many more tribes of the same region, though the existence of the institution appears to have escaped the notice of the Dutch.

P. 65. **The New Caledonians have apparently the classificatory system of relationship.**—Another writer tells us that among the New Caledonians “the uncle takes the place of the father and is also designated by the word ‘papa,’ and similarly the aunt is designated by the word ‘mamma,’ the native term for ‘papa’ being *baba*, and the native term for ‘mamma’ being *gnagna*.”<sup>2</sup>

Mutual avoidance of brothers and sisters in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia.

P. 77. **Rules of avoidance . . . between brothers and sisters.**—On this custom in the New Hebrides another writer (Father A. Deniau) observes: “At Malo brother and sister never eat together and never go in each other's company. If a sister is in a gathering and her brother afterwards appears there, she escapes or, if she cannot, she goes to a distance, squats on her heels, with her back turned and her eyes cast down to the ground, till her brother has disappeared. If by chance she meets him on the path, she throws herself aside, with her face turned in the opposite direction and her eyes lowered. If it is absolutely necessary that brothers and sisters should communicate with each other, they may do so only through the medium of a third person.”<sup>3</sup> Similarly in New Caledonia brothers and sisters “are very fond of each other. The brother will everywhere protect his sister, but will never speak to her; on the contrary he shuns every occasion of being with her. He is completely separated from her by his education and he never addresses a word to her. I could not learn the cause of this custom.”<sup>4</sup>

P. 96.—**Dr. Rivers omitted to enquire whether a man may or may not marry a woman who has the same conceptional totem as himself.**—Since the passage in the text was printed Dr. W. H. R. Rivers has learned from his correspondent in Melanesia that, just as I had

<sup>1</sup> R. Pöch, “Vierter Bericht über meine Reise nach Neu-Guinea,” *Sitzungsberichte der mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), cxv. (1906) p. 900.

<sup>2</sup> L. Moncelon, in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, Troisième Série, ix. (1886) p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> Father A. Deniau, “Croyances religieuses et mœurs des indigènes de l'île Malo (Nouvelles Hébrides) à l'arrivée des missionnaires en 1887,” *Les Missions catholiques*, xxxiii. (1901) p. 358.

<sup>4</sup> Glaumont, “Usages, mœurs et coutumes des Néo-Calédoniens,” *Revue d'ethnographie*, vii. (1889) p. 84.

conjectured, two persons who have the same conceptional totem are free to marry each other. Thus all the inferences which I had provisionally drawn from my conjectural anticipation of this information are confirmed. The resemblances between the conceptional totemism of the Banks' Islanders and that of the Central Australians are hence very close indeed. In neither people are the totems hereditary; in both they are determined for each individual by the fancy of his or her pregnant mother, who imagines that she has conceived through the entrance into her of a spirit without any help from the male sex. But of the two systems the Melanesian is the more primitive; indeed it answers exactly to what I had postulated on theoretical grounds as the absolutely primitive type of totemism.<sup>1</sup> For whereas the Australian mother imagines that what has entered her womb is a human spirit with an animal or plant for its totem, the Melanesian mother imagines that what has entered her womb is a spirit animal or spirit plant, and when her child is born she identifies it with the spirit animal or spirit plant which she had conceived. Further, while both peoples have a strict system of exogamous classes, neither of them applies the rule of exogamy to their totems; among the Melanesians, as among the Central Australians, a man is quite free to marry a woman who has the same conceptional totem as himself. The reason why both peoples, while adhering strictly to the rule of exogamy as regards the classes, do not apply the rule to their totems is very simple, as I have already explained.<sup>2</sup> When totems are not inherited but determined fortuitously by the fancies of pregnant women, the application to them of the rule of exogamy could not effect what exogamy was designed to effect, namely, the prevention of the marriage of near kin. Hence in the Banks' Islands as in Central Australia the institutions of totemism and exogamy exist independently side by side without mingling with or in any way affecting each other. In both places the exogamous class is a totally different thing from the totemic group or clan. Here we have pure totemism and pure exogamy.

Parallel between the conceptional totemism of the Banks' Islanders and that of the Central Australians

P. 183. **They are divided into a large number of exogamous families or clans.**—Another Micronesian people who are divided into exogamous clans are the Mortlock Islanders. Their islands form part of the Caroline Group. Each clan traces its descent from a single ancestress and is hereditary in the female line. No man may marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan. A breach of this rule is regarded as incest of the most heinous sort to be expiated only by death. Every member of the criminal's clan would avenge such an outrage. Each clan has its own lands, which are sometimes in different islands. The social

Exogamous clans in the Mortlock Islands.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 157 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. pp. 165 *sq.*, vol. ii. pp. 96 *sq.*, vol. iv. pp. 127 *sq.*

Exogamous  
clans in the  
Mortlock  
Islands.

head of the clan is the oldest woman, who is treated with particular respect; the political head of the clan is the oldest man of the oldest family. When a chief dies, he is succeeded by his brother or other nearest male relation. Men and women of the same clan are kept strictly apart; all the traditional laws and customs of the islanders, we are told, aim at making impossible the near approach of the two sexes to each other in the same clan. Hence a brother and sister never sleep in the same house. The brother sleeps in the large men's house (*fel*); the sister sleeps in her mother's hut (*im*). In the presence of her husband a woman may not stand beside her brother while he sits, and she may not touch him with her hand. If she sees him sitting on the shore and he refuses to rise at her bidding, she must pass him in a stooping attitude. It is only in the earliest years of childhood that brothers and sisters are allowed to play together. As the men of each clan have to seek their wives or other female consorts in a different clan, they are almost always absent from home. And as the children never belong to their father's clan but always to their mother's, it follows that in a war between the clans fathers and sons may be arrayed against each other. On the other hand, if two warriors meet in a fight and learn that they are members of the same clan, they will not hurt each other. In short, the whole social system of the Mortlock Islanders is built up on these exogamous clans with descent in the maternal line.<sup>1</sup>

Separation  
of husband  
and wife  
in the  
family life  
of the  
Malays  
of South  
Sumatra.

P. 193. **A woman at marriage remains in her mother's family and her mother's house, where she is visited by her husband.**—A social system under which husband and wife live all their lives long apart from each other in separate families and in separate houses is so alien to our habits that it may be well to illustrate it a little more fully. Apparently within the East Indian Archipelago this remarkable arrangement prevails only in Sumatra among some Malay peoples who practise exogamy and mother-kin.<sup>2</sup> The following is the account given of the custom by the late Professor G. A. Wilken, one of the best authorities on Malay institutions. Speaking of the custom of tracing descent in the female line, which he calls by the common but inappropriate name of matriarchate, Wilken observes:<sup>3</sup> "There are only a few peoples among whom this institution is preserved intact. Amongst them are the Malays of South Sumatra, with whom exclusive descent in the female line lies at the foundation of their social life. The children of the daughters therefore belong to the family, but the children of the sons do not.

<sup>1</sup> J. Kubary, "Die Bewohner der Mortlock-Inseln," *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg*, 1878-79, pp. 21-29, 37 (separate reprint).

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), p. 325.

<sup>3</sup> G. A. Wilken, *op. cit.* pp. 323-59

The family is propagated through the woman; she is heir. A necessary consequence of this is that at her marriage the woman remains in the family, in the household, to which she belongs; that is, she remains with her brothers and sisters. In fact, she does not even quit the house in which she was born and grew up. But the husband also on his side remains at marriage, like his wife, in his family and similarly does not quit the family dwelling. Thus marriage does not bring with it cohabitation; in truth even then man and wife live apart. Their wedded life manifests itself only in the form of visits which the husband pays to his wife. That is, he goes to his wife by day, helps her in her work at the rice-fields, and shares with her the noontide meal. At least that is the procedure in the honeymoon. Afterwards the visits by day grow rarer, and the husband comes now and then at evening to her house and stays there, if he is a faithful spouse, till the next morning. Thus what we have to bear in mind is that husband and wife do not live together nor form a common household, but that each of them stays in his or her family and household with his or her brothers and sisters and forms with them a single household. So the household consists not of husband, wife, and children, but of brothers, sisters, and sisters' children. At the head of the household stands the eldest brother and wields authority also over his sisters' children in as much as they belong to the household. The maternal uncle, the *mamak*, is in respect of his rights and duties the proper father also of his sisters' children, the *kamanakan*.

The  
mother's  
eldest  
brother  
the head  
of the  
household.

“The father, in as much as he does not belong to the household, has nothing to say to his children. In his turn he also, at least if he is an eldest brother, stands at the head of the household composed of his brothers and sisters and his sisters' children. On the death of the eldest brother the next brother becomes head of the household, and so on till all the brothers are dead. Then the household is broken up. Each sister with her children then forms a new household, and when she dies the children again form a household with the eldest son at their head. Thus the household does not always consist of brothers, sisters, and sisters' children; sometimes it consists of a mother with her children. Yet the first is the normal household, the second only a transitional one. Properly speaking a woman, if she is married and has children, belongs to two households, namely, to the household of her brothers and sisters and to the nascent household of her children. The latter remains in a state of abeyance so long as the former exists; it only comes into independent being when the other, through the death of all the brothers, has ceased to exist.

“With this institution the right of inheritance is bound up. In the first place it is to be remarked that in marriage there is no such

No community of goods between husband and wife.

thing as community of goods between husband and wife. From the nature of the case such a community is impossible, since husband and wife never form a single household but always belong to two different households. The goods of the husband pass at his death to his heirs and those of the wife to her heirs. But the heirs are, first, those who belong to the household of the testator. If the husband dies, his children do not inherit because they do not belong to his household ; but in the first place his brothers and sisters inherit, and failing them his sisters' children, boys and girls alike. However, at the death of the wife it is her children, her sons and daughters, who inherit, and if there are none, then her brothers and sisters. Properly speaking it is only the women, whether daughters or sisters, who inherit ; for the inheritance, the *harta pusaka*, which is not divided, serves primarily for the maintenance of the female members of the household, and the male members only get anything that remains over. Thus it is with great justice that the Sanscrit word *pusaka* has been applied in this connection and has only gradually acquired the meaning of inheritance. What we must therefore keep in view is, that as a logical consequence of the whole matriarchal constitution of the household the children do not inherit from their father. Indeed his household, his brothers and sisters, take good care that nothing of the estate which he has left goes to his children. As soon as the father is dead, his relations, the heirs, hasten to his wife's house to demand the goods which may have been bequeathed by the deceased. Only by gifts in his lifetime can a father do anything for his children. However, a custom has gradually grown up in many places, that a father may dispose of the half of his property in gifts for the good of his children. But in order to be legally valid such a gift (*libah*) must be made in presence of brothers, sisters, and witnesses. If this formality is omitted, it is quite certain that at the death the gift will be reclaimed to the last farthing."

Children do not inherit from their father, but he may make presents to them in his lifetime.

Marriage customs in the Poggi Islands.

P. 213. One such report reaches us from the Poggi or Pageh Islands.—Some account of the Poggi Islanders is given by a Mr. John Crisp, who visited them from Sumatra in 1792. Though he testifies to the loose sexual relations which prevail among the unmarried, his evidence by no means confirms the statement that marriage is unknown in the islands. He says: "In marriages, the matter is settled between the parents of the young persons, and when agreed upon, the young man goes to the house of the bride, and takes her home ; on this occasion a hog is generally killed, and a feast made. Polygamy is not allowed. In cases of adultery, where the wife is the offender, the injured husband has a right to seize the effects of the paramour, and sometimes punishes his wife by cutting off her hair. When the husband offends, the wife has

a right to quit him, and to return to her parents' house ; but in this state of separation she is not allowed to marry another ; however, in both these cases, the matter is generally made up, and the parties reconciled ; and we were informed that instances of their occurrence were very unfrequent. Simple fornication between unmarried persons is neither a crime nor a disgrace : and a young woman is rather liked the better, and more desired in marriage, for having borne a child ; sometimes they have two or three, when, upon a marriage taking place, the children are left with the parents of their mother." <sup>1</sup>

The accounts of other observers who have visited these islands tell still more strongly against the statement that marriage is unknown among the natives. Thus H. von Rosenberg, a Dutch official and traveller, who visited the islands in 1852, says indeed that "the intercourse between young men and girls is very free ; if a girl is got with child, it in no way detracts from her good fame." But he immediately adds that "marriage takes the form of monogamy ; the man obtains a wife for himself from her parents by purchase or better by bartering articles worth from fifty to a hundred gulden. Under no circumstances is divorce permitted. Adultery is punished with the death of both the culprits. If the husband dies, the widow may only marry a widower, and reciprocally a widower may marry none but a widow. The Mentawis are much addicted to jealousy and will not tolerate prostitution." <sup>2</sup> Another Dutch official, Mr. H. A. Mess, who visited the islands in 1869, has described the solemn marriage ceremony by which among these people, who are reported to be unacquainted with marriage, "bride and bridegroom proclaim that they are one till death and that till then they will be true to each other in life and in death." <sup>3</sup>

With these testimonies before us we may safely dismiss as a fable the statement that marriage is unknown in the Poggi Islands. It is strange that so learned and generally so well-informed a writer as the late Professor G. A. Wilken should have given currency to such a statement.

P. 216. In Borneo . . . the Olo Ot (those of Koetei) . . . contract no marriage.—The writer whom elsewhere Prof. G. A.

<sup>1</sup> John Crisp, "An Account of the Inhabitants of the Pogy Islands, lying off Sumatra," *Asiatick Researches*, vi. (London, 1801) pp. 87 sq. (8vo edition).

<sup>2</sup> H. von Rosenberg, *Der malayische Archipel* (Leipsic, 1878), p. 199. Mentawi or Mantawi is the name of the whole chain of islands of which the Poggi or Pageh Islands are the southern part.

<sup>3</sup> H. A. Mess, "De Mentawai-eilanden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxvi. (1881) p. 91. However, the writer does not bear out H. von Rosenberg's view that among these islanders marriage is indissoluble ; for he says that custom permits a man at any time to put away his wife for any cause.

Wilken cites as his authority for this statement<sup>1</sup> merely says: "The Orang Ot or Olo Ot carry on barter after the well known fashion of the Kooboo or Looboo in Sumatra and other similar primitive tribes in Celebes and elsewhere. They never shew themselves to Europeans; all that we know of them is hearsay. The Koeteinese relate that their Ot do not contract marriage, have no dwellings, and are hunted by them like the beasts of the wood."<sup>2</sup> It seems obvious that no weight whatever can be attached to such loose hearsay evidence.

Exogamous  
and totemic  
clans of  
the Bhils.

P. 219. **The Bhils . . . are divided into many exogamous and totemic clans.**—A fuller list of the totemic clans of the Bhils has lately been published in the *Ethnographical Survey* of India, from which I extract the following particulars. The tribe inhabits Western Malwa and the Vindhyan-Satpura region in the province known as Central India. The members of the tribe are dark-skinned, of low stature, and often thickset. In 1901 the total numbers of the tribe were about 207,000. They are a wandering people, subsisting largely on jungle fruits and roots and some common grains. Their usual abode is a mere shed of bamboos and matting thatched with leaves and grass. A few of them have been induced to settle down in somewhat better huts and to till the ground.<sup>3</sup> They are divided into no less than a hundred and twenty-two exogamous clans or septs. No man may marry a woman of his own clan or sept. "This prohibition is extended for three generations to any sept into which a man has already married. A man can also not marry into the sept from which his mother came for three generations, as the members of this sept are held to be brothers and sisters of such man. The same rule is extended to the septs of grandmothers, maternal and paternal."<sup>4</sup> A man may marry two sisters.<sup>5</sup> The septs are totemic and "the usual reverence appears to be paid to any object which is regarded as a sept totem, it being never destroyed or injured. Nor is its effigy ever tattooed on the body."<sup>6</sup> Among these totemic septs or clans may be noted the following:—<sup>7</sup>

Respect  
for the  
totem.

1. The Kanbi clan is said to be nicknamed after the *kanti* or *kalam* tree (*Stephegyne parvifolia*), because one of their ancestors climbed into it during the marriage ceremony. Members of the clan worship the *kalam* tree and will never cut it down.

<sup>1</sup> G. A. Wilken, *Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijks- en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras* (Amsterdam, 1893), p. 82 n.<sup>1</sup> (reprinted from *De Indische Gids* for May 1883).

<sup>2</sup> C. A. L. M. Schwaner, *Borneo, Beschrijving van het Stroomgebied van den Barito* (Amsterdam, 1853-1854), i. 231.

<sup>3</sup> *The Ethnographical Survey of the Central India Agency, Monograph No. 2, The Jungle Tribes of Malwa*, by Captain C. E. Luard (Lucknow, 1909), pp. 17, 33, 34, 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 18, 91-97.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 91-97.

2. The Katija clan takes its name from the dagger. At the beginning of the *bāna* ceremony a dagger is worshipped and is held by the bridegroom throughout the ceremony.

3. The Kishori clan takes its name from the *kishori* tree (*Butea frondosa*), which they worship at marriages. They never place its leaves on their heads.

4. The Kodia clan is called after the cowrie shell, and no woman of the clan wears cowries.

5. The Bhuria or Brown clan is said to have taken its name from an ancestor who went about covered with ashes. They worship a brown gourd and ashy coloured snakes, and they will neither eat such gourds nor kill such snakes.

6. The Bilwal clan is named after the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*). They worship the *bel* tree and draw omens from its leaves at marriages.

7. The Ganawa clan is named after the *ganiar* tree (*Cochlospermum gossypium*). They worship it at marriages and never cut it.

8. The Garwal clan takes its name from the lizard called *garwal*. An effigy of the lizard made of flour is worshipped at marriages, and the real animal is never injured.

9. The Pargi clan worships the land crab (*kekdi*) at marriages and draw omens from it. They say that one of their ancestors was miraculously saved by a land crab.

10. The Parmar clan worships the goad (*parana*), and they draw a figure of it in turmeric on a wall at marriage.

11. The Chudadia clan is called after lac bangles (*chuda*). Lac bangles are worshipped at marriages, and no woman of the clan ever wears them.

12. The Changod clan is named after a bull's horn. They worship a bull's horn at weddings and never cut the horns of cattle.

13. The Maoda clan worships the earthenware dish called a *taodi*; if one of these vessels is broken they carefully collect the pieces and bury them.

14. The Palasia clan takes its name from the *palasia* (*Butea frondosa*) tree, which they worship at marriages and never cut.

15. The Bhagara clan is called after "pieces of bread" (*bhagra*). Such broken pieces of bread are distributed to all at the end of a wedding.

16. The Makwana clan is named after the spider (*makwa*). At marriages an effigy is made of a spider out of flour and worshipped.

17. The Mori clan derives its name from the peacock (*mor*). Members of this Peacock clan never molest the bird, and at a wedding they worship the effigy of a peacock.

18. The Munia clan is called after the *munj* or *moini* tree (*Odina Wodier*), which they worship at marriage and refuse to injure.

19. The Mena clan is named after *mena kodra*, a form of *kodon*

(*Pasapalum stoloniferum*), which, eaten in excess, is said to cause a form of intoxication. Members of the clan nowadays never eat *kodon*, but they worship balls of it at marriage.

20. The Suwaar clan is called after the wild boar. Members of this Boar clan never kill or eat pigs; and at weddings they make an effigy of a pig out of flour and worship it.

21. The Wakhla clan takes its name from the species of bat called a flying fox (*Pteropus medius*). Members of this Bat clan never hurt these bats.

22. The Jhala clan never sows *walri* grain; and they say that no member of the clan can eat the grain without suffering for it. They tell of a man who broke the taboo and whose body swelled in consequence, till he appeased his goddess with offering of *walri* grain. It seems that *walri* is not a particular kind of cereal but any kind of grain produced in ground which has been cleared by burning down trees.

Possible trace of conceptional totemism.

From the preceding account we gather that the Bhils pay respect to their totems above all at marriage. Why that should be so is not clear. Can it be that we have here a trace of conceptional totemism, of a belief that the totem will enter into and impregnate the bride?

Totemism among the Porojas.

P. 230. **Totemism in the Madras Presidency.**—Some further evidence on this subject may be cited from Mr. Edgar Thurston's valuable work on the ethnology of Southern India. The Porojas or Parjas are thrifty industrious cultivators, akin to the Khonds, among the hills of Ganjam and Vizagapatam.<sup>1</sup> They fall into several sections, among which are the Barang Jhodias, the Pengu, Khondis, Bondas, and Durs. "Among the Barang Jhodias, the *gidda* (vulture), *bagh* (tiger), and *nag* (cobra) are regarded as totems. Among the Pengu, Khondi, and Dur divisions, the two last are apparently regarded as such, and, in addition to them, the Bonda Porojas have *mandi* (cow). In the Barang Jhodia, Pengu, and Kondhi divisions, it is customary for a man to marry his paternal aunt's daughter, but he cannot claim her as a matter of right, for the principle of free love is recognised among them. The *dhangada* and *dhangadi basa* system, according to which bachelors and unmarried girls sleep in separate quarters in a village, is in force among the Porojas."<sup>2</sup> A younger brother usually marries his elder brother's widow.<sup>3</sup>

The Ronas.

The Ronas are a class of Oriya-speaking hill cultivators in Jeypore. They are supposed to be descended from Ranjit, the great warrior of Orissa. As examples of their clans or septs, which are presumably exogamous, Mr. Thurston cites *Kora* (sun), *Bhag*

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras, 1909), vi. 207-210.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vi. 210.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vi. 215.

(tiger), *Nag* (cobra), *Khinbudi* (bear), and *Matsya* (fish). Among the Ronas it is customary for a man to marry the daughter of his father's brother; and a younger brother usually marries his elder brother's widow.<sup>1</sup>

The Saliyans are a Tamil-speaking class of weavers in Tanjore. Contrary to the custom of Tamil castes they are divided into exogamous clans or septs, which are apparently not totemic, though some of them are named after the black monkey (*mandhi*), the donkey (*kazhudhai*), the frog (*thavalai*), and *Euphorbia Tirucalli* (*kalli*).<sup>2</sup> The Saliyans.

The Togatas are Telugu weavers in the Cuddapah district. Like many other Telugu castes, they are divided into exogamous clans or septs, which take their names from, amongst other things, goat (*mekala*), horse (*gurram*), indigo (*nili*), cummin seed (*jilakara*), and *Chrysanthemum indicum* (*samanthi*).<sup>3</sup> The Togatas.

The Toreyas are a Canarese class who live chiefly in the Tamil districts of Coimbatore and Salem. Most of them are now cultivators, especially of the betel vine (*Piper betle*). There are many exogamous clans or septs among them, some of which observe totemic taboos. Thus members of the Silver (*belli*) clan may not wear toe-rings of silver; members of a clan, which takes its name (*onne*) from the tree *Pterocarpus marsupium*, may not mark their foreheads with the juice from the trunk of that tree; and members of a clan, which takes its name (*kuzhal*) from a flute played by shepherd boys and snake charmers, must throw away the remains of their food if they hear the sound of the flute while they are at a meal. Members of the Snake (*naga*) clan worship ant-hills at marriage, because ant-hills are the home of snakes.<sup>4</sup> The Toreyas.

The Tsakalas or Sakalas are the Washermen of the Telugu country, and they also act as torch-bearers and palanquin-bearers. Like other Telugu castes they are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intiperu*). Members of the *Gummadi* clan do not cultivate or eat the fruit of the *gummadi* plant (*Cucurbita maxima*); members of the *Magili pula* clan (*gotra*) avoid the fruit of *Pandanus fascicularis*; and members of the *Thamballa* clan (*gotra*) may not eat sword beans (*Canavalia ensiformis*). A common clan is the Ant (*chimala*) clan.<sup>5</sup> The Tsakalas.

P. 240. **Yenuga, elephant.**—Members of this Elephant (*yenuga*) clan will not touch ivory.<sup>6</sup>

P. 322. **A tribe of Assam . . . are the Garos.**—A recent monograph on the Garos by Major A. Playfair confirms the view, which

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras, 1909), vi. 256-258.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vi. 277 sq.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vii. 170, 172.

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vii. 176 sq.

<sup>5</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vii. 197-199.

<sup>6</sup> E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vii. 437.

Totemism  
among  
the Garos  
of Assam.

I have expressed in the text, that the Garo tribal subdivisions called "motherhoods" are totemic. According to Major Playfair, the Garos are divided into three exogamous septs or clans (*katchis*), which bear the names of Momin, Marak, and Sangma. The first of these clans is entirely confined to the branch of the Garos called the Akawes, who inhabit the whole of the northern hills and the plains at their foot; but the other two clans are distributed among all the geographical divisions of the tribe, no matter how much they may differ from one another in language and custom. The origin of the clans is obscure; at present they seem to be in process of subdividing into several new clans, which, however, have not yet attained independent rank. Further, the Garos are subdivided into a very large number of "motherhoods," of which the general name, according to Major Playfair, is *machong*. Descent of the "motherhoods" is naturally in the maternal line; a child belongs to its mother's *machong*, not to that of its father, whose family indeed is barely recognised. The origin of many of these "motherhoods" appears to be totemic; for the members of some of them trace their descent from the totemic animal, though they do not appear to treat the creature with respect or reverence. Thus the Rangsan "motherhood" of the Marak clan has for its totem the bear. The members of the clan say that they are descended from a he-bear who married a Marak woman and they are called "children of the bear." Again, the Naringre-dokru "motherhood" of the Momin clan has for its totem the dove. The members of the clan say that they are descended from a naughty girl, who stuck feathers all over her body with wax and thereupon was turned into a dove. Again, the Drogre "motherhood" of the Marak clan have the hen for their totem, because their ancestress had a wonderful ornament which could cluck for all the world like a hen. Again, the Koknal or Basket "motherhood" of the Sangma clan is so called because the ancestress or, as the Garos call her, the grandmother of the clan was carried off in a basket (*kok*) for the sake of her wealth; for she was a very rich old woman. Some "motherhoods" take their names from a stream or hill near which they settled. Whole families, we are told, probably broke away from their associates and formed new communities, assuming new names to distinguish them from the parent stock.<sup>1</sup>

Female  
descent of  
property  
among  
the Garos.

We have seen that among the Garos property descends through women. On this subject Major Playfair writes: "The system which divides the Garo tribe into certain clans and 'motherhoods,' the members of which trace back their descent to a common ancestress, and which has laid down that descent in the clan shall be through the mother and not through the father, also provides that

<sup>1</sup> Major A. Playfair, *The Garos* (London, 1909) pp. 64-66; as to the Akawes, see *id.* p. 59.

inheritance shall follow the same course, and shall be restricted to the female line. No man may possess property, unless he has acquired it by his own exertions. No man can inherit property under any circumstance whatever.

"The law of inheritance may be briefly stated to be, that property once in a motherhood cannot pass out of it. A woman's children are all of her *machong* ['motherhood'], and therefore it might at first appear that her son would satisfy the rule; but he must marry a woman of another clan, and his children would be of their mother's sept, so that, if he inherited his mother's property, it would pass out of her *machong* ['motherhood'] in the second generation. The daughter must therefore inherit, and her daughter after her, or, failing issue, another woman of the clan appointed by some of its members. . . .

"In spite of the above rule, during the lifetime of a woman's husband, he has full use of her property. He cannot will it away, but otherwise his authority with regard to it is unquestioned. For instance, a *nokma* [headman] is always looked upon as the owner of the lands of his village, and though he must have derived his rights through his wife, she is never considered, unless it is found convenient that her name should be mentioned in litigation. From this, it will be seen that matriarchy in the strict sense of the word does not exist among the Garos. A woman is merely the vehicle by which property descends from one generation to another."<sup>1</sup>

P. 327. **All the indications of totemism . . . in Assam.**—To the tribes of Assam which exhibit traces of totemism are to be added the Kacharis, a short, thickset race speaking a language of the Tibeto-Burman family, who inhabit the districts of Cachar Plains and North Cachar.<sup>2</sup> They are industrious and skilful cultivators of the soil and raise abundant crops of rice. From the investigations of the Rev. S. Endle, who lived amongst them for many years and knew them intimately, it appears that the Kacharis were formerly divided into very numerous totemic clans which, contrary to the usual rule of totemism, were endogamous instead of exogamous. Some of the clans still exist, but the restrictions once placed on their intermarriage are no longer in force. Amongst the Kachari clans recorded by Mr. Endle are the following:—<sup>3</sup>

1. *Swarga-aroi*, or the Heaven (*swarga*) folk. This clan is deemed the highest of all. None of its members ever worked as

Totemism  
among the  
Kacharis  
of Assam.

Endogamy  
of the  
clans.

The  
Heaven  
folk.

<sup>1</sup> Major A. Playfair, *The Garos* (London, 1909), pp. 71 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) pp. 159, 227.

<sup>3</sup> This account of the Kachari clans is derived from a monograph on the

tribe by the Rev. S. Endle, which will shortly be published by the Government of Eastern Bengal. I am indebted to the kindness of Col. P. R. T. Gurdon and Mr. J. D. Anderson for permission to read and make extracts from the manuscript.

cultivators. They devoted themselves to the service of religion and were supported by the offerings of the faithful.

The  
Earth folk.

2. *Basumati-roi* or the Earth (*basumati*) folk. The members of this clan enjoy a privilege peculiar to themselves in being allowed to bury their dead without buying the ground for a grave or for the erection of a funeral pyre.

The  
Tiger folk.  
Mourning  
for a tiger.

3. *Mosa-roi* or the Tiger (*mosa*) folk. The members of this clan claim kindred with the tiger, and when a village inhabited by them hears of the death of a tiger in the neighbourhood, all the people must mourn. The period of mourning is indeed short, seldom exceeding twenty-four hours, but it is strictly observed, for no solid food whatever may be partaken of during its continuance. At the end of the mourning the floor and walls of every house must be carefully smeared with a compound of mud and cow-dung; all articles of clothing and all household utensils made of brass must be thoroughly cleansed in running water; and all earthenware vessels, except such as are new and have never been used for cooking, must be broken and thrown away. Then one of the elders of the community, acting as *deori* (minister) solemnly distributes the "water of peace" (*santi jal*) to be drunk by all in turn; and the buildings themselves, as well as all articles of clothing and so forth, are freely sprinkled with the same holy water. The solemnity ends with the sacrifice of a fowl or pig, which is partaken of by all in common.

4. *Khangkhlo-roi* or the *Kangkhlo* folk. *Kangkhlo* is apparently the name of a jungle grass of which the Kacharis are very fond. It is used freely both at religious ceremonies and at merry-makings.

The  
Sesamum  
folk.

5. *Sibing-roi* or the Sesamum (*sibing*) folk. This clan is said to have been the only one which in the olden days was allowed to cultivate the sesamum plant. The members of the clan still hold the plant in special honour.

The  
Leech folk.

6. *Gandret-roi* or the Leech (*gandret*) folk. This clan holds the leech in high regard and may not under ordinary circumstances kill it. But at certain religious ceremonials, for example, at purification after a death in the family, its members are required to chew a leech with vegetables for a certain limited period, though apparently only once in a lifetime.

The  
Jute folk.

7. *Nârze-roi* or the Jute (*nârze*) folk. This clan held jute in special honour, and at great religious ceremonies members of the clan were bound to chew a certain quantity of jute.

8. *Ding-roi* or the Bamboo-water-vessel (*dinga*) folk. The members of this clan are said to have formerly earned their livelihood by making these bamboo water-vessels.

The  
Areca-palm  
folk.

9. *Goi-bâri-roi* or the Areca-palm (*goi*) folk. The clan was formerly devoted to the cultivation of the areca, of which perhaps they held the monopoly.

10. *Bánhbárá-roi* or the Bamboo-grove (*banhbari*) folk. Near many Kachari villages there is a sacred bamboo grove, where the gods are worshipped at certain seasons. The Bamboo-grove folk.

11. *Dhekiábári-roi* or the Fern (*dhekiá*) folk. The totem of the clan was probably the fern, which is still sometimes used in the preparation of the *fatiká* spirit. The Fern folk.

12. *Maómará-roi* or the *Mao*-fish folk.

13. *Kherkhatha-roi* or the Squirrel (*kerketua*) folk. They are said to be a low caste. One of their functions is to cut the horns of cattle. The Squirrel folk.

Similar clans with corresponding names are found among the Meches, a people closely akin to the Kacharis.<sup>1</sup> But unlike the clans of the Kacharis the clans of the Meches are exogamous. The most important of them are the Tiger clan, the Bamboo clan, the Water clan, the Betel-nut clan, and the Heaven clan.<sup>2</sup>

But it is among the Dimasa of the North Cachar Hills and the Hojais of the Nowgong district that the subdivision into clans seems to attain its highest development. In this portion of the Kachari or Bara race some eighty clans are recognised, of which forty are known as men's clans (*sengfang*) and forty as women's clans (*zūlu*).<sup>3</sup> All the members of these clans eat and drink freely together and are, or were, all strictly exogamous. The only clan exempt from this strict rule of exogamy was the so-called royal clan known as the Black Earth Folk (*Há-chum-sá*), all the members of which were obliged to marry within their own clan. We have seen that similarly in Africa royal clans are not infrequently endogamous.<sup>4</sup> The rule of marriage in the other clans seems to be that no man may marry into his mother's clan, and that no woman may marry into her father's clan. It is explained as follows by Mr. Soppitt, who calls the clans sects: "To give an example, one male sect is called Hasungsa, and one female sect Sagaodi. A Hasungsa marrying a Sagaodi, the male issue are Hasungsas and the female Sagaodis. The sons, Hasungsas, cannot marry any woman of the mother's caste or sect. In the same manner, the daughter can marry no man of her father's sect. Thus, though no blood tie exists, in many cases a marriage between certain persons is impossible, simply from the bar of sect. On the other hand, cousin-marriage is allowed. An example will best illustrate this: Two brothers, Hasungsas, marry women of the Pasaidi and Sagaodi sect, and have as issue a daughter and a boy. The boy will be a Hasungsa and the girl Sagaodi. These first cousins cannot marry,

<sup>1</sup> As to the Meches, see *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> From the Rev. S. Endle's manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> According to another account

there are forty men's clans and forty-two women's clans. See *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 226.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 523 sq., 538, 581 sq., 628.

both fathers having been Hasungsa. But allowing the first cousins marry Bangali wife and Rajiung husband, respectively, their children are Hasungsa (the boy) and Sagaodi, and may contract marriage ties, the male having no Sagaodi sect in his family. The term Semfong is used to denote the members of one of the sects."<sup>1</sup> From this account we gather that first cousins, the children of two brothers, are forbidden to marry each other; but that second cousins, the children of a male first cousin and of a female first cousin, may marry each other.

The sororate and levirate.

As a rule the Kacharis are a strictly monogamous race, chaste before marriage and faithful to their spouses after it. A widower may marry his deceased wife's younger sister, but not her elder sister. Similarly a widow may marry her deceased husband's younger brother, but not his elder brother.<sup>2</sup> "The matriarchate is unknown, and the father is an extremely good-natured and easy-going head of a contented and simple family. The tribes are mostly endogamous, if the expression can be used of people who marry very much as European peasants do. There is no child-marriage, and prenuptial chastity is the rule rather than the exception. There are signs to show that marriage by capture was once the rule; but nowadays marriages are the result of an elopement, followed by the payment of a fine to the girl's relatives, or of a definite arrangement between the parents of the young people, which results in a present offered to the bride's parents, or else a term of service on the bridegroom's part in his father-in-law's house."<sup>3</sup>

Communal house for young people of both sexes among the hill tribes of Assam.

P. 328. **Large common houses in which the unmarried men pass the night.**—Sometimes in the Naga and other hill tribes of Assam and its neighbourhood there are communal houses for unmarried girls as well as for bachelors. A Naga village or town will sometimes contain as many as eight or ten communal houses or *pahs*, as they are called by some tribes, for the bachelors, and four or five such houses for the girls. The houses of the girls are

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 226. From this account we infer that a men's clan or sect includes only men, and that a women's clan or sect includes only women. But Mr. Endle's account, given above (p. 299), seems to imply that each clan includes both sexes; at least this must be true of the royal clan, which is endogamous. The subject deserves further investigation.

<sup>2</sup> From the Rev. S. Endle's manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Anderson, *s.v.* "Bodos," in

Dr. J. Hastings's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1909) p. 754. The term "Bodo" is a generic name applied to all peoples speaking the Tibetan-Burman group of languages. So Mr. Anderson's remarks, which I have quoted in the text, apply to other tribes besides the Kacharis. To the list of clans Mr. Anderson adds the *Siju-ārūi* or Cactus (*siju*) clan. The cactus (the *Euphorbia*) is sacred. It grows in the courtyard of every Kachari family. See *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, i. 224.

looked after by an old woman ; they are strictly tabooed to married women. Where the institution of these communal houses exists for the unmarried youth, the most complete license is reported to prevail between the sexes up to the time of marriage, and this license is not merely connived at, it is recognised by public opinion. No value is placed on youthful chastity ; sexual morality in our sense of the word only begins with marriage, but after marriage infidelity is said to be very rare. Nevertheless children are very seldom born until after marriage ; should several girls be found with child, their nuptials are arranged for and all parties are generally content. The communal houses or barracks of the bachelors always stand at the entrance to the village and serve as guard-houses ; guards are set here by day and night and keep tally of all the men who leave the village or return to it. In the unsettled condition of the country such precautions are, or used to be, necessary to prevent sudden attacks by neighbouring enemies.<sup>1</sup>

P. 347. **Hints of totemism and exogamy . . . in Asia.**—To the exogamous peoples of Asia mentioned in the text should be added the Circassians, Ossetes, Ostyaks, and apparently the Kalmucks, as J. F. McLennan and Dr. Westermarck have already pointed out.<sup>2</sup>

Exogamous peoples of Asia.

Thus in regard to the Circassians we read: "The Circassian word for the societies or fraternities is *tleush*, which signifies also 'seeds.' The tradition with regard to them is, that the members of each all sprang from the same stock or ancestry ; and thus they may be considered as so many septs or clans, with this peculiarity—that, like seeds, all are considered equal. These cousins-german, or members of the same fraternity, are not only themselves interdicted from intermarrying, but their serfs too must wed with the serfs of another fraternity ; and where, as is generally the case, many fraternities enter into one general bond, this law, in regard to marriage, must be observed by all. All who are thus bound together have the privilege of visiting the family-houses of each other on the footing of brothers, which seems to me only to make matters worse, unless they can all bring their minds to look upon the females of their fraternity as their very sisters, otherwise this privilege of *entrée* must be the source of many a hopeless or criminal passion. We have here under our eyes a proof that such consequences must proceed from the prohibition. The confidential dependant or steward of our host here is a tokav who fled to his

Exogamy among the Circassians.

<sup>1</sup> S. E. Peal, "On the *Morong* as possibly a Relic of Pre-marriage Communism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxii. (1893) pp. 244, 248 sq., 253-255, 259 sq. Compare H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Manner-*

*bünde* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 278 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. 52 sqq. ; E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1891), pp. 305 sq.

Incest  
formerly  
punished  
with death.

protection from Notwhatsh; because, having fallen in love with and married a woman of his own fraternity, he had become liable to punishment for this infraction of Circassian law. Yet his fraternity contained perhaps several thousand members. Formerly such a marriage was looked upon as incest, and punished by drowning; now a fine of two hundred oxen, and restitution of the wife to her parents, are only exacted. The breaches of this law therefore are not now uncommon."<sup>1</sup>

Exogamy  
among the  
Ossetes.

The Ossetes of the Caucasus are divided into families or clans, each of which traces its descent from a male ancestor and bears a common name. These clans appear to be exogamous, for we are told that "the father may marry his daughter-in-law, the brother may marry his sister-in-law, the son may marry his mother's sister: in that there is nothing illegitimate or contrary to custom. But to marry a wife of the same clan and name, were she even in the remotest degree related, is reckoned by the Ossetes to be incest."<sup>2</sup>

Exogamy  
among the  
Ostyaks.

The writer who records these customs of the Ossetes adds: "It is highly remarkable that precisely the same customs and ideas as to relationship prevail among the Ostyak people. They also never marry a woman of their father's kin, never a woman of the same family name; but they may marry even a step-mother, a step-daughter, or a step-sister; indeed they have a specially partiality for the last of these marriages."<sup>3</sup>

Exogamy  
among the  
Kalmucks.

The practice of the Kalmucks is described by J. F. McLennan as follows: "It appears that they have two systems of marriage law; one for the common people, and one for the nobles, or princely class. The common people, we are told by Bergmann, enter into no unions in which the parties are not distant from one another by three or four degrees: but how the degrees are counted we are not informed. We are told that they have great abhorrence for the marriages of near relatives, and have a proverb—'The great folk and dogs know no relationship,'—which Bergmann says is due to members of the princely class sometimes marrying sisters-in-law. We find, however, that these sisters-in-law are uniformly women of an entirely different stock from their husbands—different, or what is taken for different. For no man of the princely class . . . in any of the tribes can marry a woman of his own tribe or nation. Not only must his wife be a noble, but she must be a noble of a different stock. For princely marriages, says Bergmann, 'the bride is chosen from another people's stock—among the Derbets from the Torgot stock; and among the Torgots from the Derbet stock; and so on.' Here, then, we have the principle of

<sup>1</sup> J. S. Bell, *Journal of a Residence in Circassia* (London, 1840), i. 347 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasien*

(Leipsic, 1856), ii. 26 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Von Haxthausen, *op. cit.* ii. 27 note\*, citing as his authority Müller, *Der ugrische Volksstamm*, i. 308.

exogamy in full force in regard to the marriages of the governing classes." <sup>1</sup>

Pp. 367 sq. **Mutual avoidance between persons related by marriage is observed by the Herero.**—As an example of the care with which a Herero avoids his future mother-in-law we are told that once when a missionary was preaching at a kraal, the future mother-in-law of one of his hearers hove in sight. At this apparition the young man flung himself to the ground, and his friends hastily covered him up with skins, under which he had to lie sweating till his formidable relative withdrew.<sup>2</sup> A few other examples of similar customs of avoidance observed by various African tribes may be added here. Amongst the Amapondas "it is considered highly indelicate for a woman to marry a man of the same kraal to which she belongs, or for a married woman to look on the face of any of her husband's male relations. If she observes any of these relations approaching, she turns aside, or hides herself until they have passed."<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Matabele a married woman may neither speak to nor even look at her husband's father, and her husband must be equally reserved towards his wife's mother.<sup>4</sup> A similar reserve is practised by the tribes of the Tanganyika plateau.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Angoni it would be a gross breach of etiquette if a man were to enter his son-in-law's house; he may come within ten paces of the door, but no nearer. A woman may not even approach her son-in-law's house, and she is never allowed to speak to him. Should they meet accidentally on a path, the son-in-law gives way and makes a circuit to avoid encountering his mother-in-law face to face.<sup>6</sup> Among the Donaglas a husband after marriage "lives in his wife's house for a year, without being allowed to see his mother-in-law, with whom he enters into relations only on the birth of his first son."<sup>7</sup>

Mutual avoidance of relations by marriage among the Herero.

P. 377. **The Bawenda are a Bantu people.**—The religion of the Bawenda has been described by other writers, but their accounts contain no clear indications of totemism. The Rev. E. Gottschling says that "the Bawenda have their nameless *Modzimo* (God), which is nothing else but the totality of the good souls of their ancestors, who have not been *valoi*, with the founder of their tribe as head,

Religion of the Bawenda.

<sup>1</sup> J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. 52 sq. McLennan's authority is B. Bergmann, *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmlücken in den Jahren 1802 und 1803* (Riga, 1804-1805), iii. 145 sq., a passage of which the substance is correctly conveyed in the text.

<sup>2</sup> G. Viehe, "Some Customs of the Ovaherero," (*South African Folk-lore Journal*, vol. i. (1879) pp. 46 sq.; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Steedman, *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa* (London, 1835), i. 241 sq.

<sup>4</sup> L. Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> L. Declé, *op. cit.* p. 294.

<sup>6</sup> "The Angoni - Zulus," *British Central Africa Gazette*, No. 86, April 30th, 1898, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> G. Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria* (London and New York, 1891), i. 69.

and the ruling chief as living representative. Besides this *Modzimo*, of which the plural is *Vadzimo*, meaning the single souls of their ancestors, they also have *Medzimo*, another plural of *Modzimo*, which denotes the many objects on earth which have been made the visible representative of the ancestors of each clan and family. These *Medzimo*, into which sometimes the *Vadzimo* return, are either cattle, goats, sheep, or weapons and tools of old dead ancestors, as for instance a *dzembe* (kaffir-hoe), a *pfumo* (assegai), a *tzanga* (war-axe), a *mbado* (axe) and other tools. Even shrubs, flowers, or rushes may be created *Medzimo*."<sup>1</sup> It might be rash to infer that these *Medzimo* are totems.

Question of  
Bechuana  
exogamy.

P. 378. **Whether the tribes are also exogamous is not stated by the authorities I have consulted.**—However, speaking of the Bechuana tribes, Captain C. R. Conder observes: "Levirate marriage exists as among the Zulus, and exogamy seems the common practice, resulting in a great mixture of tribal relations."<sup>2</sup> But not much weight can be attached to this vague and hesitating statement. The question whether the Bechuana tribes or clans are exogamous or not must still be regarded as open.

Zulu super-  
stitions  
as to food.

P. 381. **Superstitious prejudices against eating certain foods.**—According to another writer, among the foods which Zulu prejudice or superstition rejects are wild boar, rhinoceros, and especially fish. A special term of contempt (*omphogazane*) is applied to persons who have partaken of these forbidden viands. Further, the Zulus think that any man who made use of the inner fat of the elan (*Boselaphus oreas*) would infallibly lose his virility. Moreover, a woman would fear to let her husband come near her, if she knew that he had so much as touched with his finger a python, a crocodile, or a hyæna.<sup>3</sup> Again, the great African horn-bill (*Buceros africanus*) and the crowned crane (*Balearica pavonina*) are both deemed sacred by the Caffres; and if a man has killed one of these birds, he must sacrifice a calf or a young ox by way of expiation.<sup>4</sup> But these superstitions, being apparently common to whole tribes, are probably quite independent of totemism.

P. 441. **The hyæna . . . most tribes of East Africa hold that**

<sup>1</sup> Rev. E. Gottschling, "The Bawenda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) pp. 378 sq. As to these Bawenda talismans, supposed to contain ancestral spirits, see further an article, "Das Volk der Vawenda, Auszug aus dem Bericht des Missionar Beuster," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xiv. (1879) p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Captain C. R. Conder, "The

Present Condition of the Native Tribes in Bechuanaland," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887) p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> A. Delegorgue, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe* (Paris, 1847), ii. 225 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Steedman, *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa* (London, 1835), i. 236.

**animal in respect or fear.**—The Bageshu on Mount Elgon and the Wanyamwezi to the south of the Victoria Nyanza are in the habit of throwing out their dead to the hyænas. Hence they both regard these animals as sacred, and the cry of a hyæna in the evening is often said to be the voice of the last person who died. The Wanyamwezi say that they could not kill a hyæna, because they do not know whether the creature might not be a relation of theirs, an aunt, or a grandmother, or what not.<sup>1</sup> But this general reverence for a species of animal, because it is supposed to lodge the souls of the dead, is not by itself totemism.

P. 469. **The Queen Sister (*Lubuga*) has also her own establishment. . . she rules her own people and is called a king.**—The remarkable position occupied by the Queen Sister in Uganda has its parallel among the Barotse or Marotse, an important Bantu tribe on the Upper Zambesi. In the Barotse country, we read, “there are two capitals, Lealouyi and Nalolo. The first of these, a large village of about three thousand inhabitants, is the residence of the king Leouanika; Nalolo is the residence of the king’s eldest sister. Like him, she has the title of *morena*, which means ‘lord,’ ‘king,’ or ‘queen,’ without distinction of sex. She is sometimes also called *mokouae* or ‘princess,’ a general term applicable to all the women of the royal family, but the *mokouae* of Nalolo is the most important of all. She alone reigns in concert with the king and shares with him the title of *morena*. The same honours that are paid to him are paid to her, and she keeps the same state. Like him, she has her *khotta*, where she sits surrounded by her councillors and chiefs of the tribe. Lastly, she also receives taxes from the most distant parts of the kingdom. Both of them have handsome rectangular houses, very large and high, which form conspicuous features of the landscape.”<sup>2</sup>

The Queen Sister among the Barotse.

The existence of this double kingship, a male kingship and a female kingship, in two important Bantu peoples is very remarkable, all the more so, as the writer observes, because in Africa woman generally occupies an inferior position. Yet among the Barotse “this queen is quite independent of her brother. In fact there are two kingdoms quite distinct from each other. But they are closely united, and it often happens that persons are transferred from the service of the king to that of the queen, or reciprocally. Many sons of the chiefs bred at the court of Lealouyi have become vassals of the queen, or on the contrary young people of Nalolo are sent to the king. Messengers are constantly coming and going between the two capitals, in order that the king and queen may be kept informed of what is happening in the country. Finally, most of the

Double kingship.

<sup>1</sup> From information given me by the Rev. John Roscoe.

<sup>2</sup> E. Béguin, *Les Ma-rotse* (Lausanne and Fontaines, 1903), p. 12.

families at the two capitals are related to each other and often pay each other visits." <sup>1</sup>

The  
Prince  
Consort.

The Queen Sister has a husband chosen by herself, who ranks as Prince Consort. He is her representative and man of business; he must salute her humbly like a slave, and when she goes out he walks behind her. Formerly he might not even sit on the same mat with her or share her meals; but of late years the rigour of the custom has been somewhat relaxed, and the "son-in-law of the nation," as the Queen Sister's husband is called, has not to put up with so many affronts as in past days. <sup>2</sup>

The high rank thus assigned to the king's sister in the polity of the Barotse as in the polity of the Baganda seems to point to a system of mother-kin, whether present or past; and we have seen that among the Baganda vestiges of mother-kin may still be detected. <sup>3</sup>

Worship  
of the  
dead kings  
of the  
Barotse.

P. 469. **The royal tomb (*mulalo*) is the abode of the king's ghost.**—With the worship which the Baganda pay to their dead kings we may compare the similar worship which the Barotse or Marotse of the Upper Zambesi River pay to their departed monarchs. The Barotse recognise a supreme deity called Niambe, who is supposed to reside in the sun, but they reserve their devotions chiefly for the inferior deities, the so-called *ditino*, the spirits of their dead kings, whose tombs may be seen near the villages which they inhabited in their life. Each tomb stands in a grove of beautiful trees and is encircled by a tall palisade of pointed stakes, covered with fine mats. Such an enclosure is sacred; the people are forbidden to enter it lest they should disturb and annoy the ghost of the dead king who sleeps there in his grave. But the inhabitants of the nearest village are charged with the duty of keeping the tomb and the enclosure in good order, repairing the palisade, and replacing the mats when they are worn out. Once a month, at the new moon, the women sweep not only the grave and the enclosure but the whole village. The guardian of the tomb is at the same time a priest; he acts as intermediary between the god and the people who come to pray to him. He bears the title of Ngomboti; he alone has the right to enter the sacred enclosure; the profane multitude must stand at a respectful distance. Even the king himself, when he comes to consult one of his ancestors, is forbidden to set foot on the holy ground. In presence of the god or, as they call him, the Master of the Tomb, the monarch must bear himself like a slave in the presence of his master. He kneels down near the entrance, claps his hands, and gives the royal salute; and from within the enclosure the priest returns the salute just as the king himself, when he holds his court, returns the salute of his subjects.

The king's  
tomb.

The king's  
prophet.

<sup>1</sup> E. Béguin, *Les Ma-Rotsé* (Lau-sanne and Fontaines, 1903), pp. 100 sq.

<sup>2</sup> E. Béguin, *op. cit.* p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 512 sq.

Then the suppliant, whether king or commoner, makes his petition to the deity and deposits his offering; for no man may pray to the god with empty hands. Inside the enclosure, close to the entrance, is a hole which is supposed to serve as a channel of communication with the spirit of the deified king. In it the offerings are placed. Often they consist of milk which is poured into the hole; and the faster it drains away and is absorbed, the more favourable is the god supposed to be to the petitioner. When the offerings are more solid and durable, such as flesh, cloths, and glass beads, they become the property of the priest after having been allowed to lie for a decent time beside the sacred orifice of the tomb. The spirits of the dead kings are thus consulted on matters of public concern as well as by private individuals touching their own affairs. If a war is to be waged, if a plague is raging among the people or a murrain among the cattle, if the land is parched with drought, in short if any danger threatens or any calamity has afflicted the country, recourse is had to these local gods, dwelling each in his shady grove, not far from the abodes of the living. They are near, but the great god in heaven is far away. What wonder, therefore, that their help is often sought while he is neglected? Their history is remembered; men tell of the doughty deeds they did in their lifetime; why should they not be able to succour their votaries now that they have put on immortality? All over the country these temple-tombs may be seen. They serve as historical monuments to recall to the people the annals of their country. One of the most popular of the royal shrines is near Senanga at the southern end of the great plain of the Barotse. Voyagers who go down the Zambesi do not fail to pay their devotions at the shrine, that the god of the place may make their voyage to prosper and may guard the frail canoe from shipwreck in the rush and roar of the rapids; and when they return in safety they repair again to the sacred spot to deposit a thank-offering for the protection of the deity.<sup>1</sup>

Offerings to the dead kings.

The spirits of the kings consulted as oracles.

P. 513. **In the history of institutions the authority of the maternal uncle. . . as a rule precedes that of the father.**—This view is not novel. Dr. Westermarck has discussed it, and has attempted, not very successfully, to shew how the position of authority occupied by the maternal uncle in early society is consistent with his theory of a primitive patriarchal family.<sup>2</sup>

P. 523. **The king regularly marrying his own sister.**—The custom of marrying their sisters appears to be common with African kings. Thus with regard to Kasongo, the king of Urua, it is reported by Commander V. L. Cameron that "his principal wife and the four or five ranking next to her are all of royal blood, being

Marriage of African kings with their sisters.

<sup>1</sup> E. Béguin, *Les Ma-Rotsé* (Lausanne and Fontaines, 1903), pp. 118-123.

<sup>2</sup> E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1891), pp. 39 sqq.

either his sisters or first-cousins ; and amongst his harem are to be found his step-mothers, aunts, sisters, nieces, cousins, and, still more horrible, his own children.”<sup>1</sup> And the same traveller tells us of another chief whose principal wife was his sister.<sup>2</sup>

Totemism  
among the  
Bushongo  
or Bakuba.

P. 625. **The Bakuba or Bushongo Tribe.**—Fuller details as to the totemic system of this and kindred tribes have since been furnished to me through the kindness of Mr. T. A. Joyce of the British Museum. The Bushongo (incorrectly called the Bakuba) tribe inhabits the Kasai District of the Congo Free State. I will subjoin Mr. Joyce’s account of Bushongo totemism in his own words :—

“An important institution is that of *ikina bari*, which appears to be a decayed form of totemism. The word *ikina* means a prohibition, and the *ikina bari* must be distinguished from the *ikina nyimi* or Royal Prohibitions (analogous to our Ten Commandments), which are taught at the *tuki mbula* initiation ceremonies. The origin of the *ikina bari* is said to be as follows. When Bumba (the Creator) had finished the work of creation, he travelled through the villages of men and pointed out to each some animal which he forbade the inhabitants to eat ; some villages were omitted, and the inhabitants of these in consequence have no *ikina*. His object in imposing these prohibitions is said to be ‘in order to teach men self-denial.’ If a man has as *ikina* the leopard, he may neither eat leopards nor any animal killed by a leopard. At the same time the *ikina* is not held sacred, since no particular respect is paid to it, and it may be killed by the individual who acknowledges it as his *ikina*. A man will indicate his *ikina* in the following words: *Iji kweme kanya lotuma* (supposing that his *ikina* is the bird *lotumu*). These words belong to the obsolete Lumbila language, and their exact meaning is lost. Breach of the prohibition entails sickness and death.

“The *ikina bari* is inherited from the father, and a wife will adopt the *ikina* of her husband ; the *ikina* of the mother is observed to a certain extent, but not so strictly, and is certainly not transmitted further than one generation. The *ikina* of the *nyimi* (paramount chief) is respected by all his subjects, and, of course, varies from ruler to ruler. The skin or feathers of the *ikina* may be worn as ornaments.

“At the present day the inhabitants of a given village do not necessarily respect the same *ikina*, and the same *ikina* occur in different villages and subtribes. There is no connection between the tribal name and the *ikina*.

“It was said at first that a man might marry a woman who had

<sup>1</sup> V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa* (London, 1877), ii. 70.

<sup>2</sup> V. L. Cameron, *op. cit.* ii. 149.

the same *ikina* as himself, but further enquiries among the older folk elicited the fact that as recently as one generation ago such unions were absolutely forbidden. Exogamy.

“A man who has no *ikina bari* is said to be ‘like a wild beast which eats everything,’ and is not considered a pure-bred Bushongo. New *ekina* are constituted even at the present day, and in the following way. Suppose a hunter has killed a guinea-fowl, and a dispute arises relative to its distribution between him and his companions. Perhaps he may fly into a rage and say, ‘Take the bird for yourselves, I will not touch it!’ and go off in a rage. Shortly afterwards he dies, and his ghost haunts the village, causing many deaths. The cause of the epidemic remains a mystery, until some old man will say, ‘It is the ghost of so-and-so, who died in anger over a guinea-fowl. Let us make the guinea-fowl *ikina* and refrain from eating its flesh.’ This is done, and the ghost ceases to trouble the village as long as the *ikina* is observed. Institution of new totems.

“The inheritance of rank and property is in the female line, not in the male line, as is the case with the *ikina*. A man’s heir in the first instance is his eldest surviving brother ; in reversion, eldest surviving son of eldest sister by same father and mother ; in second reversion, eldest surviving sons of sisters in order of age of latter, and so on.” Inheritance of property.

P. 630. **When a wife has borne two children, her husband deserts her and takes a new wife.**—In antiquity a similar custom is said to have been observed by the Tapyri, a Parthian tribe. Strabo reports that it was customary with them to give away a wife to another husband as soon as she had borne two or three children.<sup>1</sup> Temporary marriages.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xi. 9. 1.

## NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

### VOLUME III

Anomalous terms for cousins in some North American Indian tribes, indicating extended marital rights.

P. 70. But in regard to cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, the Miami system presents a remarkable feature.—It will be seen from the text that under the Miami system and also under the Shawnee and Omaha systems<sup>1</sup> a man calls his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, "my mother," and she calls him "my son." This is just the converse of what happens under the Minnetaree and Choctaw systems, under which a man calls his cousins, the children of his mother's brother "my son" and "my daughter," and they call him "my father."<sup>2</sup> Now we have seen<sup>3</sup> that these Minnetaree and Choctaw terms for cousins are intelligible on the hypothesis that among these tribes in former times, as among the Barongo at present, a man had marital rights over the wife of his mother's brother, or, in other words, that a nephew might enjoy the wife of his maternal uncle, for in that case her children might actually be his. Or, to change the terms, a woman's children might really be the offspring of her husband's nephew (the son of his sister), since that nephew had the right of access to her. If that is so we may by analogy conjecture that the converse nomenclature for certain cousins among the Miamis, Shawnees, and Omahas is explicable by a converse custom, which permitted a man to exercise marital rights over his wife's niece, the daughter of her brother, or, in other words, which placed a woman at the disposal of her paternal aunt's (father's sister's) husband. Thus, whereas under the Minnetaree and Choctaw system a man was apparently allowed to enjoy the wife of his maternal uncle (mother's brother), under the Miami, Shawnee, and Omaha system he was allowed to enjoy his wife's niece, the daughter of her brother. Hence, if these extensions of marital rights can be described as an advantage, then in the former case the advantage was with the nephew at the expense of his maternal uncle ;

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 74, 116.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 149, 175 *sq.* With the Minnetaree and Choctaw systems the Creek system agrees so far as concerns the terms "son" and

"daughter" which a man applies to his cousins, the children of his mother's brother. See above, vol. iii. p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 510 *sq.*

in the latter case the advantage was with the niece at the expense of her paternal aunt. In the one case a man was allowed access to a woman presumably in the generation above him; in the other he was allowed access to a woman presumably in the generation below him. But it is possible that these curious names for cousins are to be explained otherwise: I have only indicated one possible solution of the problem.

P. 155. **Totemism among the Gulf Nations.**—To the totemic tribes described under this head in the text are to be added the Yuchi Indians, of whom a full account has lately been published by Mr. F. G. Speck.<sup>1</sup> The following account of the tribe and its totemic system is derived from his book. Totemism among the Yuchi Indians.

The Yuchis formerly inhabited the banks of the Savannah River, which now divides the States of Georgia and South Carolina. There they dwelt at an early time in contact with a southern band of Shawnees and near the seats of the Cherokees, the Catawbas, the Santees, and the Yamasis. These four tribes and the Yuchis all speak languages which differ fundamentally from each other. It is unusual to find five languages belonging to different stocks within so restricted an area on the eastern side of the Mississippi. After fruitless efforts to resist the pressure of the Creek confederacy the Yuchis finally made peace and joined the league.<sup>2</sup> The remnant of the tribe, numbering about five hundred, is now settled with the rest of the Creek Indians, in the state of Oklahoma, whither they were removed in 1836.<sup>3</sup> At all times, so far as tradition runs back, the Yuchis have been mainly tillers of the soil, living in settled villages and only hunting when the state of the crops allowed them to absent themselves from home for a while. Among the crops which they raised were corn, beans, sweet potatoes, melons, pumpkins, squashes, and tobacco. When the corn and other vegetables had been gathered in, they were stored for use in outhouses and cribs raised on posts. The principal animals hunted for their flesh were the deer, bison, bear, raccoon, opossum, rabbit, and squirrel; while the panther, wild cat, fox, wolf, otter, beaver, and skunk were killed chiefly for the sake of their skins. The game animals were deemed very wise and very wary; in order to catch them it was needful to chant certain magic spells, of which the burdens were known to the shamans.<sup>4</sup> The Yuchis.

The Yuchis are or were divided into a considerable number of exogamous and totemic clans with descent in the maternal line: in other words, no man might marry a woman of his own totemic clan Totemic clans of the Yuchis.

<sup>1</sup> Franck G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, Philadelphia, 1909 (*University of Pennsylvania, Anthropological Publications of the University Museum*, vol. i. No. 1).

<sup>2</sup> F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> F. G. Speck, *op. cit.* p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> F. G. Speck, *op. cit.* pp. 18-9.

and children belonged to the clan of their mother, not of their father. The prohibition of marriage within the clan is very strict: a violation of the rule is regarded as incest. But a man is free to marry a woman of any clan but his own.<sup>1</sup> The names of twenty clans have been recorded as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

1. Bear.	2. Wolf.	3. Deer.	4. Tortoise.
5. Panther.	6. Wildcat.	7. Fox.	8. Wind.
9. Fish.	10. Beaver.	11. Otter.	12. Raccoon.
13. Skunk.	14. Opossum.	15. Rabbit.	16. Squirrel.
17. Turkey.	18. Eagle.	19. Buzzard.	20. Snake.

The account which Mr. Speck gives of the relationship in which the Yuchis believe themselves to stand to their totems is instructive and all the more valuable because, as I have had occasion repeatedly to point out, American writers on totemism so often say little or nothing about this fundamental side of the institution. I will therefore quote Mr. Speck's explanations nearly entire. He says: "The members of each clan believe that they are the relatives and, in some vague way, the descendants of certain pre-existing animals whose names and identity they now bear. The animal ancestors are accordingly totemic. In regard to the living animals, they, too, are the earthly types and descendants of the pre-existing ones, hence, since they trace their descent from the same sources as the human clans, the two are consanguinely related.

Descent  
for the  
totem.

"This brings the various clan groups into close relationship with various species of animals, and we find accordingly that the members of each clan will not do violence to wild animals having the form and name of their totem. For instance, the Bear clan never molest bears, but nevertheless they use commodities made from parts of the bear. Such things, of course, as bear hides, bear meat or whatever else may be useful, are obtained from other clans who have no taboo against killing bears. In the same way the Deer people use parts of the deer when they have occasion to, but do not directly take part in killing deer. In this way a sort of amnesty is maintained between the different clans and different kinds of animals, while the blame for the injury of animals is shifted from one clan to the other. General use could consequently be made of the animal kingdom without obliging members of any clan to be the direct murderers of their animal relatives.

Respect  
for the  
totem.

"In common usage the clan is known collectively by its animal name: the men of the Panther clan calling themselves Panthers, those of the Fish clan, Fish, and so on through the list. The

<sup>1</sup> F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, pp. 70, 71, 95.

<sup>2</sup> F. G. Speck, *op. cit.* p. 71. Mr.

Speck's informants were not agreed as to the last three clans (the Eagle, the Buzzard, and the Snake).

totemic animals are held in reverence, appealed to privately in various exigencies, and publicly worshipped during the annual ceremony. . . .

"The young man or boy in the course of his adolescence reaches a period when he is initiated into the rank of manhood in his town. This event is connected with totemism. For from the time of his initiation he is believed to have acquired the protection of his clan totem. Thenceforth he stands in a totemic relation similar to the young man of the plains tribe who has obtained his 'medicine.' Here in the Southeast, however, the 'medicine' is not represented by a concrete object, but is the guiding influence of a supernatural being. The earthly animals nevertheless are believed in many cases to possess wisdom which may be useful to human beings, so the different clans look to their animal relatives for aid in various directions. Among the tribes of the plains, however, each man has an individual guardian spirit, which is not necessarily the same as his gens totem."<sup>1</sup>

Initiation of young men.

The foregoing account of Yuchi totemism suggests several observations. While the blood relationship supposed to exist between the clanspeople and their totemic animals is typical of totemism, the cynical understanding between the clans to kill each other's totems for their mutual benefit is unusual, and reminds us of the practice of the Central Australian aborigines, who multiply their totemic animals by magic in order that the creatures may be eaten by others.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the appeals made to the totemic animals in time of need and the dances performed in their honour seem to indicate an incipient worship or religion of the totems. Lastly, the belief that a young man acquires the protection of his clan totem by means of initiation at puberty strongly resembles, as Mr. Speck points out, the belief of many other American Indians that a youth obtains a personal guardian spirit of his own through dreams at puberty. The resemblance draws still closer the analogy which we have already traced between the totem of the clan and the guardian spirit of the individual.<sup>3</sup>

Comparison of Yuchi totemism with Central Australian totemism.

Resemblance of Yuchi totems to guardian spirits.

The dances in honour of the totems are danced by the Yuchis at the great annual festival which celebrates the ripening of the corn and the first solemn eating of the new fruits. In these dances the dancers mimic the actions and cries of their totemic animals and even seem to believe that for the time being they are identical with the creatures. However, no imitative costumes or masks are now used, nor could Mr. Speck ascertain that they ever had been in use. Other features of this yearly celebration are the observance of certain taboos, the kindling of a new and sacred fire, the scarification of men, the taking of an emetic, and the performance of the

Totemic dances.

The sacred new fire.

<sup>1</sup> F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, pp. 70 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. pp. 104 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. iii. pp. 450 sqq.

ball game. A feast on the new corn follows the taking of the emetic.<sup>1</sup>

Classi-  
ficatory  
system of  
relation-  
ship  
among the  
Yuchis.

From an incomplete list of kinship terms recorded by Mr. Speck we may gather that the Yuchis have the classificatory system of relationship. Thus a man calls his mother's sister "my little mother"; he calls his father's brother and also his mother's brother "my little father"; and he calls his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's sister, "my sister."<sup>2</sup>

Clans  
of the  
Timucua  
Indians.

P. 167. **The Seminole Indians of Florida.**—From the account of an old Franciscan monk, Francesco Pareja, who went to Florida in 1593 and founded the monastery of St. Helena to the north of St. Augustine, we learn that the Timucua Indians of that province were divided into stocks or clans which took their names variously from deer, fish, bears, pumas, fowls, the earth, the wind, and so forth.<sup>3</sup> These stocks or clans were probably totemic.

Avoidance  
of a wife's  
relations.

P. 361. **The custom which obliges a man and his mother-in-law to avoid each other.**—A few more instances of this custom as it is or was observed by various American tribes may be given here. Among the low savages of the Californian peninsula a man was not allowed for some time to look into the face of his mother-in-law or of his wife's other near relations; when these women were present, he had to step aside or hide himself.<sup>4</sup> Among the Indians of the Isla del Malhado in Florida a father-in-law and mother-in-law might not enter the house of their son-in-law, and he on his side might not appear before his father-in-law and his relations. If they met by accident they had to go apart to the distance of a bowshot, holding their heads down and their eyes turned to the earth. But a woman was free to converse with the father and mother of her husband.<sup>5</sup> Among the Indians of Yucatan, if a betrothed man saw his future father-in-law or mother-in-law at a distance, he turned away as quickly as possible, believing that a meeting with them would prevent him from begetting children.<sup>6</sup> The reason thus assigned for the custom of avoidance is remarkable and, so far as I remember, unique. Among the Arawaks of British Guiana a man

<sup>1</sup> F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, pp. 112-115.

<sup>2</sup> F. G. Speck, *op. cit.* p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> A. S. Gatschet, "Volk und Sprach der Timucua," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, ix. (1877) pp. 247 sq.

<sup>4</sup> J. Baegert, "An Account of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Californian Peninsula," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1863*, p. 368.

<sup>5</sup> Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, *Relation et Naufrages* (Paris, 1837),

pp. 109 sq. (in Ternaux-Compans' *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*). The original of this work was published in Spanish at Valladolid in 1555. Compare A. de Herrera, *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America*, translated by Capt. John Stevens (London, 1725, 1726), iv. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale*, ii. 52 sq.

may never see the face of his wife's mother. If she is in the house with him, they must be separated by a screen or partition-wall; if she travels with him in a canoe, she steps in first, in order that she may turn her back to him.<sup>1</sup> Among the Caribs "the women never quit their father's house, and in that they have an advantage over their husbands in as much as they may talk to all sorts of people, whereas the husband dare not converse with his wife's relations, unless he is dispensed from this observance either by their tender age or by their intoxication. They shun meeting them and make great circuits for that purpose. If they are surprised in a place where they cannot help meeting, the person addressed turns his face another way so as not to be obliged to see the person, whose voice he is compelled to hear."<sup>2</sup> Thus both among the Caribs and the Indians of the Isla del Malhado, while a man had to avoid the relations of his wife, a woman was free to converse with the relations of her husband. This confirms the observation that the taboo which separates a man from his mother-in-law is in general more stringent than the taboo which separates a woman from her father-in-law.<sup>3</sup>

P. 362. **Instances of men united to their mothers, their sisters, or their daughters, . . . are far from rare.**—Similarly of the Caribs it is said that "they have no prohibited degree of consanguinity among them: fathers have been known to marry their own daughters, by whom they had children, and mothers to marry their sons. Though that is very rare, it is common enough to see two sisters, and sometimes a mother and daughter, married to the same man."<sup>4</sup>

Marriage of near kin among the Caribs.

P. 519. **The greatest misfortune of all is for a dancer to fall in the dance. . . . The unfortunate cannibal who fell in the dance used to be killed.**—Similarly in West Africa "it is a bad omen for a dancer to slip and fall when performing before the king of

<sup>1</sup> G. Klemm, *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit* (Leipsic, 1843-1852), ii. 77.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. du Tertre, *Histoire generale des Isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans l'Amerique* (Paris, 1654), p. 419. A similar, but rather briefer, account of the custom is given by De la Borde, who may have borrowed from Du Tertre. See De la Borde, "Relation de l'origine, mœurs, coutumes, religion, guerres et voyages des Carailles, sauvages des Isles Antilles de l'Amerique," p. 56 (in *Recueil de divers voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amerique qui n'ont*

*point esté encore publiez*, Paris, 1684).

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> J. B. du Tertre, *Histoire generale des Isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans l'Amerique* (Paris, 1654), p. 419. The evidence of De la Borde is similar. He says: "They take their wives without distinction of relationship, for they mix with each other indifferently, like beasts. I have seen some who had their daughters for wives." See De la Borde, "Relation de l'origine, etc., des Caraïbes," p. 19 (in *Recueil de divers voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amerique*, Paris, 1684).

Dahomi, and, up to the reign of Gezo, any dancer who met with such an accident was put to death.”<sup>1</sup>

Marriage  
with a  
niece  
among the  
South  
American  
Indians.

P. 575. **The true and legitimate wives in this country are the daughters of their sisters.**—Another old writer, speaking of the Brazilian Indians, says: “They are in the habit of marrying their nieces, the daughters of their brothers or of their sisters. They regard them as their legitimate wives: the father cannot refuse them, and no one else has a right to marry them.”<sup>2</sup> Another of the earliest writers on Brazil observes of the Indians that “the only degrees of consanguinity observed in marriage are these: none of them takes his mother, sister, or daughter to wife: the rest are not reckoned: a paternal uncle marries his niece, and so on.”<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, speaking of the Macusis of British Guiana, Sir R. Schomburgk observes: “The paternal uncle may never marry his niece, because that is regarded as a degree of relationship next to that of brother and sister; hence the paternal uncle is called *papa* just like the father. On the other hand, everybody is allowed to marry his sister’s daughter, or his deceased brother’s wife, or his stepmother, when his father is dead.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London, 1890), p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Pero de Magalhães de Gandavo, *Histoire de la Province de Sancta-Cruz* (Paris, 1837), p. 115 (Ternaux-Compan, *Voyages, relations, et mémoires*

*originaux pour servir à l’histoire de la découverte de l’Amérique*).

<sup>3</sup> J. Lerijs, *Historia navigationis in Brasiliam* (1586), p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana* (Leipsic, 1847-1848), ii. 318.

## NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

### VOLUME IV

P. 151, note <sup>2</sup>. **The Albanians are said to be exogamous.**—The part of Albania in which Miss M. Edith Durham reports exogamy to be still practised lies to the north of Scutari and bears the name of *Maltsia e madhe* or “the Great Mountain Land.” It is a wilderness of grey and barren rock, where there is little land that can be brought under cultivation, and where large tracts are dependent for their supply of water on rain alone. This rugged and sterile region is the home of five great tribes, the Hoti, Gruda, Kastrati, Skreli, and Kilmeni.<sup>1</sup>

The Albanian tribes.

Miss Durham’s account of exogamy as it is practised by these tribes runs as follows:—

Miss M. E. Durham’s account of exogamy among the Albanians.

“The main fact is the tribe (*fis*). It has been both their strength and their weakness. Each tribe has a definite tale of origin. Descent is traced strictly through the male line, and the tradition handed from father to son through memories undebauched by print.

“The head of each *fis* is its hereditary standard-bearer, the *Bariaktar*. The office passes from father to son, or in default of son to the next heir male. The standard is now a Turkish one. Only the Mirdites have a distinctive flag with a rayed-sun upon it.

“Some large tribes are divided into groups, each with its own *Bariaktar*. A division thus marching under one standard (*bariak*) is called a *bariak*. Such a *bariak* may be descended from a different stock from the rest of the tribe, or the division may have been made for convenience when the tribe grew large.

“The men and women descending from a common male ancestor, though very remote, regard one another as brother and sister, and marriage between them is forbidden as incestuous. Though the relationship be such that the Catholic Church permits marriage, it is regarded with such genuine horror that I have

<sup>1</sup> Miss M. Edith Durham, *High Albania* (London, 1909), p. 19.

Exogamy  
among the  
Albanians.

heard of but one instance where it was attempted or desired, when against tribal law. Even a native priest told me that a marriage between cousins separated by twelve generations was to him a horrible idea, though the Church permitted it, 'for really they are brothers and sisters.'

"The mountain men have professed Christianity for some fifteen centuries, but tribe usage is still stronger than Church law. A man marries and gives his daughter in marriage outside his tribe, except when that tribe contains members of a different stock, or when it has been divided into *bariaks* considered distant enough for inter-marriage. But in spite of this exogamy, it would appear that, through the female line, the race may have been fairly closely inbred. For a man does not go far for a wife, but usually takes one from the next tribe, unless that tribe be consanguineous. If not so debarred, he takes a wife thence and marries his daughter there. Kastrati, for example, usually marries Hoti, and Hoti Kastrati. The bulk of the married women in one were born in the other. A perpetual interchange of women has gone on for some centuries."<sup>1</sup>

The  
occurrence  
of exogamy  
in two  
widely  
separated  
peoples of  
the Aryan  
stock,  
namely, the  
Albanians  
and the  
Hindoos,  
renders it  
probable  
that exo-  
gamy was  
at one time  
practised  
by all  
members  
of the  
Aryan  
family.

If this account of exogamy in Albania is correct, as we may assume it to be, some important consequences flow from it. So long as exogamy was known to be practised by the Hindoos alone of all the peoples of the Aryan stock, it was possible to suppose, as I have suggested,<sup>2</sup> that the institution may not have been native to them but may have been borrowed by their ancestors from the dark-skinned aborigines of India among whom they settled, and among whom both exogamy and totemism would seem to have been universally prevalent. But when we find exogamy practised to this day by a semi-barbarous people of Europe, the case is altered. The Albanians are not in contact with any savages from whom they could have borrowed the institution. It would appear, therefore, that they must have inherited it from their remote ancestors. And if they have done so, it becomes probable that the Hindoos have done so also. Now if two branches of the Aryan stock so different and so remote from each other as the Hindoos of India and the Albanians of Turkey in Europe could both be proved to have inherited the practice of exogamy from their rude and distant progenitors of a prehistoric age, it would become probable that exogamy had at one time been practised by all the other members of the great Aryan family; and since, as I have already pointed out,<sup>3</sup> the institution of exogamy appears to have been in its origin a system of group marriage, which in turn displaced a previous custom of sexual promiscuity, it would follow that all the peoples of the Aryan family have at some period of their social

<sup>1</sup> Miss M. Edith Durham, *High Albania* (London, 1909), pp. 20 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. ii. p. 330.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. iv. pp. 137 sqq.

evolution passed through the stages of sexual promiscuity and group marriage before they reached the higher stage of monogamy and the prohibited degrees. But this is a subject on which further research into the matrimonial institutions of the Aryans may yet throw light.

P. 298. **The Leech folk . . . are required to chew a leech.** The totem  
**. . . The Jute folk . . . were bound to chew a certain quantity** sacrament.  
**of jute.**—These customs should apparently be added to the very few known instances of a totem sacrament.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 120, vol. ii. p. 590, vol. iv. pp. 230-232.



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