

THE MOTHERS

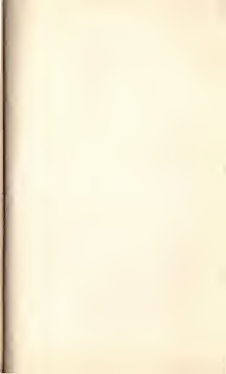
THE MATRIARCHAL THEORY
OF SOCIAL ORIGINS

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BY
ROBERT BRIFFAULT

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1931

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Set up and printed. Published April, 1901.

Setback Press
J. B. Conkey Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

THE MOTHERS



THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
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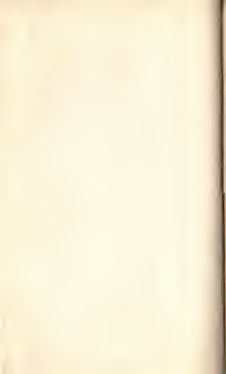
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
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TORONTO

PREFACE

IN response for the demand for an edition of my work, *The Mothers*, in one volume it was originally contemplated to issue an abridgement of the book. In order to bring the whole work within the compass of a volume salable at a popular price, so many portions of it would, however, have had to be sacrificed, that I have deemed it preferable to confine myself to the discussion of the main thesis which chiefly attracted attention in the original work. This is accordingly indicated by the title of the present volume. Although its material is for the most part extracted from *The Mothers*, I have felt free to treat it as an independent work. I have used the opportunity to endeavour to set forth as clearly as possible those portions of the argument which experience had shown to be liable to misunderstanding. For a critical survey of the evidence and for biographical references, the student must, of course, refer to the larger work.

To the numerous criticisms published I have given careful consideration, and I have endeavoured to derive from them every profit, but have found no occasion to modify my conclusions. Many valuable additions to anthropological literature which have appeared since the publication of my former work have brought fresh illustrations and confirmations of my thesis, which could not, of course, be made use of in the present issue, in which illustrative examples have been reduced to a minimum.

R. B.



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THE MOTHERS



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CHAPTER I

SOCIAL RELATIONS AMONG ANIMALS

THE animal origin of man implies the animal origin of human society. It is, however, more difficult to discover among animals any analogue of human society than to trace the analogues of the bodily and mental characters of man. Every society is characterized by some form of division of labour and of coöperation. The various needs of each individual, male and female, are provided for not by his or her exertions alone, but, directly or indirectly, by the joint action of various other individuals whose behaviour is more or less coöordinated. Except as regards the care of their brood by females, those conditions do not exist anywhere in the animal kingdom outside humanity. Every adult animal, male or female, tends for itself so far as regards its economic needs. Even among the primates no instance is known of one individual adult being dependent upon another for the means of subsistence. There is no known instance of coöperation and coördination in producing food. The only indications adduced of such concerted action occur among canine races. But they are more than doubtful. It has been supposed that packs of wild dogs manifest some rudiments of concerted action when running down a quarry, some members of the pack heading off the prey while others pursue it. But, assuming the observations to be correct, that behaviour is readily interpreted by individual interest in the food-quest, without postulating concerted activity. And in fact the behaviour of wild canine species is characterized by competent observers as being conspicuously individualistic and selfish. "In captivity," says Dr. Hurnday, "wolves are the meanest brutes on earth, and

in a wild state they are no better. As a rule the strong ones are ever ready to kill the weaker ones and eat them." All animals of the dog tribe fight furiously among themselves over a prey or carcass. Their association for hunting purposes, moreover, is much more rare and transient than is commonly thought. "The packs," says Mr. Seton, "are probably temporary associations." As soon as the food is secured, they scatter, each going in a different direction, and no two together. Packs of any size are extremely rare. The great majority of species are either quite solitary or have never been observed in greater numbers than three or four together. Rudyard Kipling gives in 'The Jungle Book' a charming poetical description of the social organisation of the Indian wolf and of the conscientious observance of 'pack-law.' Unfortunately the Indian wolf has never been seen in larger numbers than three.

The same anthropomorphic imagination which inspired the author of 'The Jungle Book' pervades current popular notions of natural history. The conception of 'animal societies' is at least as old as the ancient Egyptians. It has lingered down to the age of scientific text-books, many of which are devoted to the subject. The older natural histories dwelt with many details on the social organisation of beavers. Buffon was of opinion that the American beaver affords the most typical example of social organisation among animals. It is now known that those descriptions are nothing more than Indian tales. Beavers, as Agassiz recognised, "are not really gregarious." The largest number which has ever been observed working together, that is, gnawing at a tree, is three. Each burrow, or 'lodge' is built by one female, to whom may be attached two or three males. The work of the latter is confined to accumulating the branches and twigs which constitute the dam. Logs or trees are never used unless they accidentally happen to lie in a convenient position. Once a dam is begun by one family, others may take advantage of the work initiated, but there is not a trace of concerted action. The females alone build, and keep the dam in repair. The animals

are said to be of low intelligence. Even more fanciful descriptions have been given of the 'societies' of peairie dogs, the *Cynomys Ludovicianus* marmot of the Missouri valley. Captain Murray describes their burrows as laid out in regular streets and guarded by sentinels, and their societies as organized under the command of a 'chief.' Needless to say such descriptions are purely fabulous. Many other species of rodents occur, owing to their prolific reproduction, in large aggregates. "They come together when their numbers are such that they cannot help it, nor are they at all benefited by such close association." (Seton)

Similarly birds and fishes may form large aggregates. But there is not a trace of organization or concerted action in those gatherings. The accumulation of large numbers of birds in rookeries and breeding grounds are occasions for strife and competition, not for concerted action.

The only rudiments of social relations occurring in the animal kingdom outside humanity are founded upon the reproductive functions.

The elaborate communities of the so-called 'social' insects, such as ants, termites, wasps, bees, which have since the time of Plato been looked upon as models of social organization, are purely reproductive groups, and do not present the analogue of an economic society, but of a family. The remarkable differentiation and coördination of functions which they present are directed solely to the common end of reproduction. Thus, "the whole arrangement of a 'formicarium,' or ant colony, and all the varied activity of ant-life," observes Bates, "are directed to one main purpose: the perpetuation and dissemination of the species. Most of the labour we see performed by the workers has for its end the sustenance and welfare of the young brood, which are helpless grubs. The true females are incapable of attending the wants of their offspring, and it is on the poor sterile workers who are denied all the other pleasures of maternity that the entire care devolves." The deep bias which leads to the interpretation of biological and social phenomena in terms of the social and sentimental

traditional *was* *the* *interceptor*, might be illustrated from it *not* *have* *been* *put* *forward* *concerning* *the* *ancients* *regarded* *the* *egg-laying* *troupe* *as* *a* *patriarchal* *male*, *and* *called* *it* *'the* *king.'* The organisation of the community was thought to conform to the most approved current political principles, and bees were divided into patricians and plebeians. When the true sexes of the insects became generally known, the egg-laying female was called 'the queen,' and was thought to exercise a sort of rule or recognised authority over the other members of the community. The hive was still assimilated to a political organisation, though it tended to assume a democratic character, and in the nineteenth century was freely compared to a capitalistic industrial community, a 'hive of industry.' A book which attained considerable popularity during the late war showed clearly that the British nation is analogous to a hive of bees, while the German Empire resembled a pack of wolves. There is not the remotest similarity between the constitution of a community of bees and a human political society. The forces that shape and bind together the communities of insects are not any ideas of authority, loyalty, or obedience, or of social and concerted action, but the force of reproductive instincts variously differentiated and modified. In the so-called, 'functionless' females, or 'workers,' the impulses which would ordinarily lead to sexual reproduction are diverted to functions no less essential to the reproductive ends of the community and of the race; and the reproductive instincts of these modified females find their satisfaction in nursing activities, which provide for the development of the common brood of the hive. If the egg-laying female, or 'queen,' be removed from a community of bees, the normally sterile females, or workers, will take up the functions which in them were held in abeyance, and will lay eggs. In bees, which are highly specialised, that faculty is only exercised exceptionally by the 'workers,' and the resulting brood consists invariably of drones. But what is exceptional in bees is the general rule

among the various species of wasps, which represent successive stages in the evolution of that specialisation; a considerable proportion of the 'workers,' sometimes fifty per cent, regularly lay eggs, most male eggs being laid by them. In some species, 'worker' females can also lay female eggs. The two sets of functions, that of nursing and that of egg-laying, are reciprocal; if females are artificially compelled to 'nurse,' the maturation of their ova is thereby prevented; if they are prevented from 'nursing,' their eggs mature and they become egg-layers. The differentiation of function in insect communities affords a vivid illustration of the fact that the reproductive or racial impulses may assume quite other forms than the physiological process of propagation, and may be 'sublimated' so as to give rise to manifestations and activities apparently quite different from those directly concerned with the act of reproduction.

The class of insects is a divergent offshoot from the main stem of animal evolution, and lies outside the direct line of human, and even of vertebrate, ancestry. There exist no such elaborately differentiated reproductive groups among the higher animals. But what forms of association do exist among all animals, as among the 'social' insects, reproductive groups.

Such a reproductive group may, by analogy, be termed a family. But the term, which in human sociology is applied to a very wide diversity of relations, must be understood, when applied to animals, in a very different sense from that which it is apt to suggest. The relation to which it refers is, in the first place, a transient one. In all animal species the young separate completely from their parents as soon as they reach a state of maturity.

The association between males and females is even more slender, and as a rule far more transitory. Among mammals, according to the most recent standard authorities, the opinion of Brahm's *Tierleben*, "a union in pairs lasting beyond one season has been observed with certainty in one species of dwarf antelope only, and a few allied antelope species."

In that instance the pairing depends upon the circumstance that two young, a male and a female, are usually brought forth at a birth; these accordingly, when sexual instincts develop, have no occasion to go in search of a mate. In spite of false impressions which are frequently conveyed by equivocal statements, pairing lasting longer than one sexual season is not known to take place in any other mammalian species. In the great majority the relations between the sexes are confined to the act of sexual congress. After that function is fulfilled there appears to be, as a general rule, an actual repulsion between males and females. "As soon as pairing is over," says Brehm, speaking of mammals generally, "great indifference is shown towards one another by the sexes." Of antelopes Mr. Seton says: "The separation of the sexes seems to be due to an instinctive dislike of each other as the time approaches for the young to be born. It becomes yet stronger as the hour draws near. At that time each female strives to be utterly alone." This applies almost universally to herbivora. Among reindeer "the prospective mother goes entirely alone, avoiding her own kind even as she avoids man." During their migrations the cows and the bulls of the American reindeer keep in separate herds. With the elk, and in fact all the deer and antelope tribe, the same rule obtains. Among buffaloes "as September wanes the males lose interest in their partners, the clan becomes divided, the males in one herd and the females in another. Their lives go on as before, but they meet and pass without mixing." Among bats the sexes live entirely separate; the males are driven off after sexual congress, and no male is ever found in a band of females. Elephant cows, after they have been impregnated, likewise form bands from which males are driven off; the cow, which carries for nearly two years, does not receive the male until eight or twelve months after calving. "The male and female elephants," observes Livingstone, "are never seen in one herd. The young males remain with their dams only until they are full-grown, and so constantly is the separation maintained that anyone familiar with them, on seeing a picture with the

sexes mixed, would immediately conclude that the artist had made it from his imagination and not from sight." Seals and walrus separate into male and female herds after the breeding season. The moose bull associates with cows during two months of the year. The wild boar consorts with the female at the breeding season only. Among squirrels the sexes often live separate. The same thing has been reported of the monkey, *Presbytis entellus*; "the males live apart from the females." Blyth noticed that in one locality males only were to be found, in another chiefly females. With the orang-utan the sexes never live together. In bands of gorillas the sexes keep separate, the females and young forming one group, the males keeping to themselves.

Among most carnivora cohabitation of the male with the female takes place for a short time only during the rutting season, and in many species there is no cohabitation at all. Weasels "continue together during the mating season for a week or more, then separate completely." Bears do not cohabit after sexual congress; "no one yet has found two adult black bears in one den; mother and half-grown cubs have been taken together in the same winter quarters, but never two old ones." "I have never seen the two (male and female) together at any time of the year," says an experienced observer of the species; "they meet by chance and again separate." The same is reported of the Indian, and of the polar bear. The jaguar cohabits with the female during one month of the year only; and the cougar during a few weeks. The leopard male and female live entirely separate.

The form which the relations between the sexes assume among animals are governed by the economic conditions of the food-quest. Carnivorous species which, owing to the need of a large hunting-territory, are usually scattered, are commonly found in pairs, while herbivorous species occur in herds and flocks. But the scattered distribution of hunting-species by no means indicates a durable pairing. Thus the large carnivores, which are sometimes described as 'monoga-

mous,' appear to have very much the same habits as domestic cats and dogs, which can scarcely be described in terms of matrimonial institutions. The lion, for example, is as often found in groups of one female and several males as in groups of one male and several females; that is to say, it is like most animals promiscuous.

It is usual to hark back in the animal scale to birds in order to draw parallels between animal sexual relations and marriage. Brehm said that "true marriage is only to be found among birds." The masculine sexual instincts in birds are similar to those found in the closely allied class of reptiles: they are concerned with the hatching of the eggs almost as much as with the fecundation of the female. But even the transient seasonal pairing of nidicolous birds is a very different thing from what sentimental descriptions are prone to suggest. Thus the mallard "is ostensibly monogamous, and on the whole seems to be a fairly considerate mate. The normal period of pairing being passed, and the duties of incubation having begun, the female ceases to harbour any further desire for sexual intimacy. Not so the male. He is yet far from satiated; in him the sexual fever still burns fiercely. He does not scruple to savagely pursue every other female who ventures abroad in his neighborhood." The circumstances probably represent fairly the conditions of 'true marriage' in many pairing birds. When the necessities of territorial segregation do not require birds to be scattered over a wide-territory, all species, even the most typically nidicolous and 'pairing' become, as Darwin observes, promiscuous. The same is true of all animals when circumstances offer no obstacle.

The terms 'monogamy' and 'polygamy' can only be applied to animals by the use of a very free licence. Sexual union in pairs does not necessarily mean 'monogamous' union even during one season. Thus for example, the bull-moose, the only deer which is spoken of as 'monogamous,' is rarely found with more than one cow at a time, but he does not remain with her for more than a week, and, as the rutting season

lasts about two months, he roams during that period from one cow to another, and mates with a considerable number. So-called 'monogamous' relations are found among some of the lower orders of mammals, while the higher ones are more widely 'polygamous.' Darwin was of opinion that the reason why the lower species are less polygamous than the higher is that they are less intelligent.

Monkeys and anthropoids are without exception polygamous. A report, which, I think, originated with Richard Owen, has been passed on from book to book that "some species" of monkeys are monogamous. When these species are mentioned by name they are found to reduce themselves to two. One is the 'sacred monkey' of Madras and Ceylon, *Presbytis entellus*, which, according to the statement of one writer, lives "in pairs or family parties of four or five." According to the standard authority, however, it is found "in moderately sized troops composed of males, females, and young infants clasped by their mothers. An old male is occasionally found solitary." According to Brehm the social habits of this species "are those of all other monkeys." The only other species of monkey which has been reported as being monogamous is *Nyctipithecus vergatus*. This is a South American marmoset about a foot long which is entirely nocturnal in its habits and is incapable of seeing clearly in daylight. Rengger reported that he had never found it except in pairs. But Bates usually found it "in small troops," and his experience is confirmed by more recent observers. Another animal which has been instanced as a "monogamous monkey" by an anthropologist is the maki of Madagascar. There are no monkeys in Madagascar. The maki is a lemur and is found "in bands of six to twelve."

Dr. G. V. Hamilton has made detailed observations on the sexual habits of monkeys and baboons living in a natural state in a forest reserve. The males, he found, are altered at all times by any adolescent or adult female. The females never refuse themselves to a male, at any period. Copulation takes place daily at any time and in all seasons. The

sexual activity of both males and females is markedly diminished if they are confined in pairs, but is at once restored when a change of partners is supplied.

The social and sexual habits of the anthropoid apes do not appear to differ essentially from those of other quadrumana. Gibbons live in large troops. *Hylodates leuciscus* is said to occur usually in bands of ten or twelve; *H. concolor* in bands of twenty or thirty; *H. variegatus*, the common siamang, in troops of fifty, sixty, or more. As with other apes, the size of the groups would seem to depend upon local circumstances; the gibbon may sometimes be found in quite small groups, which may be called families. Solitary individual males are common. With the orang-utan there is no sexual association at all. All observers agree that the sexes, except when they come together for reproduction, live entirely separate. Wallace never saw two full-grown animals together; and other observers have had the same experience. "The adult male," says Mohrke, "associates with the female at the time of pairing only; at other times it lives in solitude and independence. One commonly comes upon females with three or four young of different ages." Heeren Schlegel and Müller say: "Except at the time of pairing adult male orang-utans live mostly alone. The immature males and the adult females are often found in groups of two or three, and the mothers keep their young with them. When pregnant and approaching the time of their delivery, the females separate entirely from all others, and they continue alone for some time after birth takes place. The young orang-utans, which are very slow in coming to maturity and very timid, live under the protection of their mother." No pairing season is known. There is no appearance of 'monogamy' in the casual pairing of the orang-utan. Brooks saw a troop of eight in which there were three adults; Volz saw a male in the company of two females.

Chimpanzees, on the other hand, are usually found in considerable bands, which may contain some fifty individuals. Smaller troops are found, formed by one adult male with

three or four females and a number of immature young. The young usually remain associated together for a time after they have separated from the parental group. Solitary individuals are also commonly found.

The gorilla does not differ from other African apes and monkeys in its social habits. The great difficulty which was for a long time experienced in observing the animal in its secluded haunts and the scantiness of our information spread a broad of mystery round the gorilla, and gave occasion for various sensational reports concerning it. Dr. Hartmann, relying exclusively on an article by Herr von Koppenfels in a German popular magazine, asserted that "the gorilla is monogamous." None of even the older information affords any ground for the supposition, and no other writer who has given attention to the subject makes such a statement. The oldest extant account of the gorilla, that of the sailor Andrew Bartell, who spent eighteen years in Angola, states that gorillas "goe many together." Darwin's conclusion was that "the gorilla is polygamous." Brehm concluded that the gorilla is polygamous. He regarded the evidence collected from native hunters by Winwood Reade as the most reliable which was available at the time he wrote. Reade says: "The gorilla is polygamous, and the male frequently solitary; in fact I never saw more than one track at a time, but there is no doubt that both gorillas and chimpanzees are found in bands." Dr. T. Savage and Mr. J. Wyman say: "They (gorillas) live in bands, but are not so numerous as the chimpanzees; the females generally exceed the other sex in number." Dr. R. L. Garner says "it is certain that the gorilla is polygamous." The air of mystery formerly surrounding the gorilla and the uncertainty of our information concerning the animal have now been dispelled, and we know that, as Winwood Reade observes, "there is nothing remarkable in the habits of the gorilla, nothing which broadly distinguishes it from other African apes." Mr. F. Guthrie, a gentleman who resided for many years in the Cameroons, and who was on intimate terms with native hunters, collected their evidence in a very careful

manner, and checked it by the testimonies of various tribes. "The gorilla of the Cameroons," he states, "live in small companies, scarcely to be called families, except in the younger days of the band when only two, three, or four individuals are found together. A company seldom comprises more than twelve members, and is said never to exceed fifteen or sixteen. The smaller companies consist of one male with his one, two, or three wives, and some small children. A company of six or seven would probably have two adult males. As the young members grow up they take, or rather keep, their place in the company. When the old male becomes cross, or possibly, it may be, too infirm to travel with the company, he goes off by himself and spends the rest of his life without companionship. As to whether this isolation is from individual choice, or whether the females refuse to have to do with the old male, or whether the young males band together and force his retirement, the natives do not agree." Herr G. Zenker saw one male accompanied by several females and young. Von Oertzen describes the traces of a troop which, he says, must have consisted of about ten individuals. Grenfell found gorillas in "parties." Captain Dominick found the gorilla in the Cameroons in much larger troops; according to him "the gorilla in the Cameroons is a thoroughly gregarious animal, and, as with the baboon, several adult males are found in each troop." Mr. T. A. Barns has also found the gorilla in the eastern Congo living in large troops consisting of "quite a number of gorillas," each troop including at least two females with several young of varying ages. Mr. Akley found gorillas in polygamous bands. Prince William of Sweden and his party have had several opportunities of watching the animals undisturbed at considerable leisure. "Generally," says Prince William, "they congregate in flocks of ten to thirty." In a troop of about twenty, four adult males were killed. The younger animals, as with all other species, appear to be in the exclusive charge of the females who keep together, the males remaining apart. A large troop, after some individuals had been shot, was ob-

served to move off in single file, the females leading with the half-grown individuals in their charge; then came the younger ones, of which eight were counted, and the adult males followed. Dr. Neville A. Dyer Sharp came to the conclusion from his field observations that "the gorilla is fiercely polygamous." Reichenow found, like all other observers, the gorilla in troops of ten or more. He put forward the hypothesis that the gorilla mates in pairs within the troop, basing the supposition upon a supposed arrangement in pairs of the animal's 'nests,' which he thought he detected in some instances, while in others where no such arrangement could be detected, he assigned the supplementary 'beds' to the younger members of the family. The strange hypothesis, which was given prominence in the worthless and unscientific work of Alverdes on *Animal Sociology*, scarcely appears to be worth serious discussion.

Summing up the literature on the subject Dr. G. S. Miller concludes: "Nothing that I have been able to find in print concerning the behaviour of any non-human primate, either monkey or great ape, would justify the assumption that the sexual tendencies of the males in a free band in the forest differed essentially from that which Dr. Hamilton observes."

Other stories of early travellers concerning the habits of the gorilla have been relegated to their proper sphere. Von Koppensels gave an oft-cited description of the male gorilla building a nest in a tree for the female, and "mounting guard" at the foot of the tree to "protect his family from the attacks of leopards." "The gorilla," says Dr. Zell on the authority of Captain Dominick, "although an excellent climber, lives chiefly on the ground, and may be classed as a rock-dweller." Mr. Baras says: "Non-arboreal in habit, this monster ape would seem to have no enemies, falling man; and even man, the most dreaded of all the animal world, holds little fear for the gorilla in his inaccessible home. As before described, they never sleep in trees, but prefer to make a nest, or shelter, on the ground, frequently in the centre of a clump of bamboo stems. Judging from my observations, it may be said

they scarcely ever climb trees and, moreover, are not partial to fruit or nuts, preferring to feed on grass herbage and bamboo-leaves." No instance has been reported of a male gorilla defending his "family." The animal is most fierce and dangerous not when in the company of females and young, but when solitary; old, solitary gorillas are the only ones that have been known to attack man unprovoked. The only trustworthy account with which I am acquainted of a gorilla coming to the rescue of a companion describes how an old female sacrificed her life in endeavouring to rescue an adult male.

Almost every account of anthropoid apes lays stress upon the prevalence of 'solitary males'; the male orang-utan is, save for brief periods, always solitary, the gorilla is so often solitary that Reade did not meet with direct evidence of any but solitary individuals. It is quite improbable that all such unattached males are, in von Koppeler's phrase, "hypocondriacal old males," that is, as is generally supposed, males past the reproductive age. This, as in the case of 'rogue' elephants, is merely an assumption. It appears likely that male anthropoids are not in general permanently attached to a given group, but join a female, or group of females, as does the orang, according as their instincts prompt them. It is also extremely probable that the females, whose young remain actually clasped to their bodies during a considerable period, have no relations with the males during most of the time of lactation. The females and young of the gorilla, according to Prince William of Sweden's observations, keep strictly to themselves, the males forming a group apart. The true permanent group among anthropoids would thus appear to consist of females with their young, the adult males constituting, so to speak, a shifting population.

In the same manner as the sexual relations of animals have been assimilated to marriage, so the contests which take place among animal males for access to females are usually described as arising from jealousy, and the use of the term suggests that the same form of exclusive possession is the object of those contests as in the marital jealousy of patriarchal

husbands. But the suggestion is as erroneous as it is illogical. Those contests no more imply individual attachment or a desire for lasting association than the relations of animals imply marriage institutions.

In the earliest appearances of so-called sexual 'jealousy' among the lower vertebrates, it is not the female who is the object of the feeling, but the eggs. In many species of fishes the male 'jealously' guards the eggs, and drives away all rivals; the female may not enter into the relation at all, and is driven away after she has spawned. Male salmon exhibit the phenomena of animal 'jealousy' in as marked a degree as any of the higher mammals. The exertions which they undertake under the influence of the reproductive impulse are among the marvels of natural history, and a large number of males succumb from exhaustion as a result. They develop at the breeding season one of the most curious weapons of sexual combat, a hook-like projection on the lower jaw, which is absorbed after the rut is over, and they engage in desperate combats with other males. Yet during the whole process the female is a subordinate object of the male instincts, which are not directed towards her, but towards the eggs which she lays and which are anxiously guarded by the male. The furious combats between male sticklebacks and their 'courtship' have often been described in terms of human sentiments. But there is no relation between those combats and the selection of any female or females. The fighting which takes place between males at all times is intensified during the breeding season, but irrespectively of the presence of females. As with birds, it appears to have reference chiefly to territory. "While the males disport themselves in these chivalrous tournaments, or rather, fight for their nests, the females swim about in long troops of greater or less strength outside the battle ground." A troop of females "as densely packed as possible" assembles over the nest; "the rapidity with which they disperse renders it impossible to observe whether it is always the same female that takes the lead or whether they change places."

The struggles and contests of the male animals are not for the possession of particular females, but for access to females in general; they commonly take place in the absence of any female. Male animals fight for the opportunity of reproduction as they fight for food. When in possession of a female they may fight for retention of that possession, as a dog fights to retain possession of a bone; they may fight also to gain access to as many females as possible. Brehm had two pairs of bears which, although the bear is not naturally a pairing animal, appeared to be very affectionate couples. He had occasion to place the two pairs in the same pit. "When I introduced the second pair of bears in the pit hitherto occupied by the first pair, a fierce combat at once took place between the two males, but it was not at all for the love of one of the females, but purely and solely for the possession of both of them at the same time. The stronger bear, who soon defeated the other, at once paired with the latter's she-bear under the eyes of her rightful spouse, who, from the perch where he had taken refuge, was obliged to look on." Combativeness at rutting time appears to be a manifestation of the same exuberance which produces secondary sexual characters, and often seems to operate in an aimless manner as a general undirected instinct of combativity. Some animals at this season not only attack one another, but also animals of another species, and even man. Hagenbeck remarks that, with the large carnivora, "their jealousy of any possible rival is even greater than their tenderness towards the object of their affection. It is very remarkable that a love-sick lion is not only jealous of his own kind but also of any human being, the keeper not excepted, who may happen to approach the cage." "One might be tempted to ask," observes Major Dugmore, "why the animals fight. Apparently it is the desire to acquire the does, utterly regardless of the number already possessed. Perhaps it is simply that the animal is in a passionate condition and so highly irritable that the sight of a possible rival in a same frame of mind and body inspires a desire to fight. Possibly it is only

exuberance of spirits or animal strength seeking outlet." "I have seen," says the same observer, "several cases of stags leaving all their does and taking possession of an entirely new herd. By way of example, let me tell of one occasion when I was watching a very fair stag that had possession of eight does, some of which had their fawns with them. The stag was in a very excited condition, perpetually grunting and never quiet for a moment, except when watching a doe that appeared to be thinking of taking her departure. Immediately she moved away he would rush after her and force her back to the herd. Across the barren was another stag of about his own size with nine does. For some time both stags continued to stare at one another. The further does did not stop, however, but continued to come slowly across the barren. Before long both stags started forward at a fast trot, the newcomer soon overtaking his herd. On they came, and I felt sure there was going to be a fight, as both stags appeared very irritable. They stopped for a moment regarding each other intently and then, strange as it may sound, they passed on in the direction they had been going, and each took possession of the other one's herd of does." Again: "It must not be imagined for a moment that a single stag has undisputed and sole right to a herd of does. In most cases that come before my notice a small herd of from five or six to about fifteen would be in the charge of at least two stags. . . . Several stags often keep possession of a herd together, so that the common belief in the inevitable antagonism of the stags is without foundation. Fights do take place, very often perhaps, but they are by no means so frequent as some people believe." The sharing of one herd among several males is, of course, common among all herding animals.

In the most typically combative species, the various members of the deer-tribe, rivalry makes its appearance during the actual time of rut only. Observing the American reindeer just before the onset of the rutting season, Major A. R. Dugan says that "the stags showed scarcely any spirit of restlessness—in fact, I was surprised to find that they were dis-

tributed among the does without attracting the slightest attention, and there were several full-grown ones to each herd. Occasionally a young stag whose passions were beginning to develop would become restless and walk slowly among the herd, but the larger stags paid not the slightest attention to the disturbance."

Among carnivora competition is far less keen, and combats between males for the possession of females more rare. Selous pointed out that among lions such duels between males can hardly be supposed ever to take place, for the skins of male lions are never found to be marked by scars, which, if such combats occurred, would show clearly as indelible marks. The excitable rivalry among males, which is prominent among herding animals, is by no means a universal trait of animal psychology. It has been observed that among bats "jealousy does not seem to be in their nature. I have seen," says Brehm, "males of the smaller species of bats quietly looking on while other males paired with a female, and not betray the least sign of jealousy. Pagenstecher has observed that several males quietly waited their turn to pair with the same female."

Males among mammalian animals are not known to take any share in providing either for the female or the young or in rearing the later. Among herbivorous animals the male sees the young for the first time when they have reached a state of independence. Among carnivora the female generally takes great pains to conceal herself and her brood from the male, and drives him off lest he should eat the cubs. "Some fathers are considered models when they refrain from doing bodily harm to their offspring, and are especially admired if they keep away altogether while the young are helpless." The lioness, like all other mammals, withdraws from the male when she is about to give birth. The beaver also is said to "drive away the male from the 'lodge,' who would otherwise destroy the young." Even where a fairly close association exists between the parents, the feeding of the young after they are weaned is attended to entirely by the female. The male

lion has been represented as bringing his 'kill' to the female while she remains with her cubs. But the lion drags his kill, often for long distances, to his lair, whether there are cubs or not. The leopard, which does not cohabit with the female, invariably does the same. The lioness forages for herself and for her young. The male does not exercise any protective function either towards the female or towards the young. Some members of the ox tribe are said to take an interest in the young and have been known to defend them; but this, if correct, is a collective, not an individual act. The almost universal rule among animals, birds and mammals, is that the female alone protects her offspring. In a number of instances she is the protector not only of her offspring, but also of the male. Among deer and antelopes the does watch over the safety of the bucks and interpose themselves between them and any source of danger. This has also been observed of elephants.

The actual leader which guides the herd in its movements and keeps watch against possible dangers, is usually an old female. "Among ruminants, especially the deer, the leading animal who guides the herd and watches over the safety of the others is always an old, experienced female." In a herd of American reindeer the leader "is an old doe, whose sense of duty is so highly developed that she feels it incumbent on her to watch over the welfare of her herd with unremitting care. She is the one to give the signal for moving at the slightest intimation of danger. To the constant watchfulness of these does I owe so many failures to secure photographs, and I confess to a far from friendly feeling, although I am lost in admiration for them. She seems more alert than the stags and therefore better able to guide the herd." The stags, on the contrary, "will often walk blindly into the most apparent danger." Buffalo herds are likewise led by an old cow: "Their leader is always an old cow; doubtless she is the grandmother of many of them." Again, "there is a widespread idea that the big bull is, as a matter of course, the leader of the wapiti herd. This is not the case. Numberless observations show



that the wise one is not the big bull, but almost invariably an elderly female. This female leadership is common to most, if not all, horned ruminants." Among African antelopes, "the master bull is not generally the leader of the herd; that function is usually performed by some old and wary cow." The same has been observed of gazelles, chamois, elands, zebras and seals. "Sometimes," says Dr. Hornaday, "a herd of elk is completely tyrannised by an old doe, who makes the young bucks fly from her in terror, when one point of their sharp antlers would quickly send her to the rear. When male and female elephants consort during the breeding season, "a herd is invariably led by a female, never by a male. Females with their calves form the advanced guard, whilst the tuskers follow leisurely behind; though, if terrified and put to flight, the order is speedily reversed, the mothers with calves falling behind, as the unencumbered tuskers have no one to see to hut themselves. I have not known a case of a tucker undertaking to cover the retreat of a herd." When a male and a female tiger are found in company "the tigress is generally in advance of the male"; and the same behaviour has been noted of the lioness.

X The physical advantage of the male, which is so considerable a factor in the constitution of the human family, is irrelevant in the conditions of the animal family. The male is as a rule physically more powerful, although the difference is by no means so marked and so constant as in the human species. It is doubtful, for instance, whether the male lion is much superior in strength to the lioness: a lioness with cubs is far the fiercer and more dangerous opponent. The females show as a rule much more spirit than the males. "Most hunters, when they come across a lion and a lioness together, shoot the lioness first, on the assumption that if you kill the lion the lioness will charge at once, whereas if you shoot the lioness the lion will probably stand by, and before making any stop to smell the lioness, and when he has satisfied himself that there is not much use in staying any longer, he may clear." Whatever the superiority of the male in physical

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strength, it is clear that it has nothing to do with his relation to the female in the animal family. Nowhere do we know of the male using compulsion towards the female. The family group of animals is the manifestation of a correlation of instincts, not of a process of physical domination.

Nor is the position of the male in the animal group affected by any mental superiority over the female; for the respective capacity among animals is the reverse. Whatever view we may take of the respective intellectual capacities of men and women under modern conditions, they are quite inapplicable to animals, and also to primitive humanity. Masculine intellectual superiority, assuming the extremest view of its nature, has reference to mental spheres which are products, for the most part advanced products, of social evolution. In primitive conditions that superiority has no application. In the practical sphere, which is alone of importance in the most primitive conditions, there is no such masculine superiority. Among animals the position with regard to mental efficiency is reversed. The evidence on that point is unambiguous. The female is the more cautious, wary, ingenious, and sagacious; while the male is reckless, incautious, and often stupid in comparison. The functions of protection, of leadership, of watching over the group and keeping a look-out for danger, are accordingly almost invariably exercised by the female. With most animals, males are much more often caught or shot than females, a circumstance which often proves misleading in estimating the numerical proportion of the sexes. Of some kinds of monkeys it is said that females are never captured. A troop of chimpanzees, when set free in a reserve in the island of Tenerife followed the lead of the oldest male, but the rear-guard was brought up by an old female, who, "commanding the most respect, was the one to whom the rest ran in time of danger, and . . . who easily carried the whole troop with her when she changed her occupation or place."

The female, not the male, determines the conditions of the animal family. Where the female can derive no benefit from association with the male, no such association takes

place. Where male coöperation is useful, the male seeks out or follows the female, and it is the latter who determines the segregation of the group and selects its abode. Among birds the female, with or without the assistance of the male, builds the nest. Among mammals the selection of the abode lies entirely with the female. With animals that make their own burrows, such as rodents, foxes, wolves in southern climes, the female undertakes the task alone, and often makes several burrows in different places and moves from one to the other. The vixen makes several visits during her pregnancy to the burrows in the neighbourhood, and only after prolonged house-hunting finally decides on a suitable one. Among beavers, the most distinguished among animal builders of homes, it is, "as with most animals, the female who is the chief builder; the male is merely a carrier and hauler." The mammalian female is extremely particular, and even capricious, as to the choice of an abode, and is careful to select a well-concealed, dark, and protected spot; she constantly changes it both before and after the birth of the young, and invariably at the least sign of danger. In menageries it is found advisable to provide a choice of at least two retreats for a young-bearing female, "for the mother, even if she be not disturbed, is restless after the cubs are born, and frequently will carry them from one place to another until she finds a nook to her liking." The male, who is prone to mistake the cubs for articles of food, is usually driven away, and is allowed to return only after a few days, when the nature of the brood has become more evident.

The facts above illustrated show that the relations arising out of the reproductive functions, which constitute the only analogue of social relations to be found in the animal world, differ conspicuously from those generally connoted by the term 'family.' That term stands, in the tradition of civilized societies, for a group centering round the interests, activities, and authority of a dominant male. The husband is the head of the family; the other members of the group, wife and children, are his dependents and subordinates. The con-

responding group arising out of the reproductive functions among animals presents no trace of that constitution. It consists of the mother and her offspring. The male, instead of being the head and supporter of the group, is not an essential member of it, and more often than not is altogether absent from it. He may join the maternal family, but commonly does not. When he attaches himself to the female's family his association with it is loose and precarious. He has no functional place in it. The parental relation is confined to that between mother and brood. Paternity does not exist. The family among animals is not, as the human family is supposed to be, the result of the association of male and female, but is the product of the maternal functions. The mother is the sole centre and bond of it. There is no division of labour between the sexes in procuring the means of subsistence. The protective functions are exercised by the female, not by the male. The abode, movements, and conduct of the group are determined by the female alone. The animal family is a group produced not by the sexual, but by the maternal impulse, not by the father, but by the mother.

CHAPTER II

MOTHERHOOD AND HUMAN ORIGINS

In the lower forms of life the maternal organism casts off its reproductive cells, frequently without requiring to be fecundated by the male, with no provision for their successful growth and no care for their fate. The wasteful method by which the primitive vertebrate animals scatter their unfertilised ova in thousands without even an adequate supply of nourishment for use during development, is modified among elasmobranch fishes by the retention of the ova for a time within the maternal organism, where they are fertilised by the male, by the provision of food-yolk, and by a great reduction in the number of eggs. The ova of reptiles and those of the more primitive birds—such as the apteryx, bustards, cranes, rails, grebes, geese, and ducks—are provided with a large supply of yolk sufficient to nourish the developing embryo until it has become self-supporting. When the eggs have been deposited in a suitable place and hatched by the heat of the sun or by brooding, the offspring is able to dispense with further care. In the more highly developed birds, such as the petrels, cormorants, hawks, pigeons, owls, swifts, woodpeckers, and all the passerine birds, the amount of food-yolk in the eggs is greatly reduced. The young are consequently born immature, naked or covered with fine down, and helpless. They are thus prevented from wandering, but, on the other hand, the brood has to be fed by the parents and more prolonged care and attention on their part is required.

In mammals a return is made to the parasitic mode of embryonic development by dispensing with viable eggs and feeding the developing organism directly from the circulation of the mother, a device already adopted by some fishes.

As we rise in the scale from the more primitive mammals to the more highly organized and intelligent, a remarkable increase is observed in the duration of gestation. The length of that period is also related to the weight of the animal and to the number of offspring produced at a birth. If these factors be taken into account and the length of gestation reduced to a common measure, the relative duration is seen to become progressively prolonged as we pass from the lower to the higher types. Thus a cow carries its young more than twice as long as a lion and for about the same length of time as a human being; but reducing the figures to a common weight the gestation of the cow is only one-fifth of that of man and about one-fourth less than that of the lion. The elephant carries its calf for nearly two years, and thus holds the record for long gestation among existing mammals. But if we allow for the fact that the adult animal weighs three or four tons—Jumbo weighed six and a half tons—or about as much as fifty men, gestation for an equal weight will be seen to be twice as long in the human species as with the elephant.

Not only is the maturation of the foetus thus prolonged within the maternal body, but the rate of development becomes increasingly slow as we rise in the scale, and the duration of the period of infancy during which the young are dependent upon maternal care is greatly protracted.

Rodents, although born blind and pulpy, grow so rapidly that the tutelage of infancy does not extend beyond a few weeks. Rats are turned out to shift for themselves when thirty-nine days old, and they have reached their maturity in six months; mice are capable of breeding in six weeks and are full grown in four months; rabbits breed when five months old. The most intelligent of the rodents, the beaver, is suckled for one month and is sexually mature in two years.

The greatest contrast is presented by the herbivorous gregarious ungulates as compared with the carnivora. The former are able to stand a few minutes after birth and in a few hours can follow their mother. A hartebeest antelope one week old can outrun the fastest man. A young elephant is

capable of following its mother when two days old. Carnivorous animals, on the other hand, are born helpless; they are unable to stand for several days, and they are entirely dependent upon their mother for a period of many months. With the exception of lion cubs, their eyes remain closed for several days after birth. Young lions are unable to stalk for themselves until they are about a year and a half old.

The young of monkeys cling closely with arms and tail to the body of their mother, hardly changing their position for about a month. There is, in respect of infantile helplessness, an even more pronounced contrast between young anthropoids and the lower orders of monkeys than between these and other mammals. A baby gibbon is said to remain clinging to the body of its mother for seven months, when it gradually begins to shift for itself. A young orang-utan learns laboriously to walk by holding on to objects for support when it is a month old. Up to that time it lies on its back tossing its hands and feet about and inspecting them. The higher anthropoids are said to be capable of independent existence when about three years old; they are full grown between eight and fifteen. Among most savages the babies are at the former age still being suckled by their mother, at the latter age most puberty ceremonies take place. A baby can scarcely use its eyes and coordinate their movements before it is a month old; it is unable to coordinate the movements of its limbs before five months; it is still tumbling about at eight months, and can seldom walk before the end of the first year. Thus the orang-utan at the end of one month is as advanced as the human baby when a year old; a lamb a day old has proceeded farther in its development than either.

That protraction of immature infancy is the most far-reaching factor in the evolution of the higher animals. Upon it has depended the possibility of the crowning phases of organic evolution.

The period of immaturity is not employed in promoting the general growth of the body; for the power of growth is in fact less where infancy is most prolonged. It is not employed

in carrying out any gross changes in organisation, for the new-born mammal, however immature, possesses all its organs according to the pattern of its parents. Those organs, apart from those of reproduction, are functionally active and do not undergo after birth any important structural transformation. In one organ alone, the brain, are the structural arrangements left in fundamental respects incomplete at birth; they are developed during the period of infancy.

The cells which compose the brain cease to multiply before those of any other organ or tissue in the body. While the cells of connective tissue, muscles, bone, skin, glands go on multiplying long after birth—the general growth of the body and its perpetual renewal being brought about mainly by that of multiplication—the number of the cells in the brain is not added to after about the sixth month of intra-uterine development, and remains stationary throughout life, except for the occasional disappearance of cells from degeneration and decay. Yet the brain, although it is relatively to the rest of the body much larger and heavier at birth than in the adult, goes on growing after birth more rapidly than any other portion of the body. In the first three months of life the body as a whole adds about 20 per cent. to its weight; the brain adds nearly 90 per cent. In less than nine months the weight of the brain is doubled, in three years it is trebled. While the rate of growth of the body diminishes rapidly after the first few months—it falls from 209 per cent. at birth to 29 per cent. in the second year—the growth of the brain, though it falls off rapidly after the first month, is steadily maintained until the seventh year, and continues until the twenty-fifth, or even the thirty-fifth, year. Since there is no increase in the number of cells, the whole of that growth is due to functional development.

And in fact the cells which constitute the grey substance of the cerebral hemispheres, and which are at first smooth pear-shaped bodies, put forth an outgrowth of branching filaments which spread in all directions. That meshwork of fibres constitutes the white substance of the brain; and it is to this tree-like growth that the increase in weight is

due. Some of the outgrowths of the brain-cells form nerve-fibres; others are association-fibres which establish countless connections between the various elements of the brain itself, and give off numerous collateral branches. Upon this complex network of intercommunicating connections the functional efficiency of the brain depends. Its structure does not present any striking difference as regards the number of cells in the higher and in the lower mammals; but in the latter, such as rodents and ruminants, only a few branching processes are given off, while, as we rise in the scale, the number and complexity of those branches is greatly increased. The same difference is presented by the structure of brain-cells in young and immature animals as compared with older ones. In the mouse just before birth, for instance, there are no downward outgrowths from the pyramidal ganglion-cells of the cortex and no collateral branches in the main, or axis-cylinder, process. They are present at birth, and at the end of the first week are fully developed. The development of nerve-cells in the nervous system of the foetus takes place in all mammals in the order of their evolutionary development in the organic scale, that is to say, the 'lower' centres in the medulla and hind-brain develop first, the cells of the mid-brain next, and those of the fore-brain last. There is, further, a striking difference in the development of these cellular elements between those species whose young are born immature and those in which the young are born precocious. "I have found," says Dr. Below, "that among animals that bring forth their young in a condition of helplessness, such as man, the dog, cat, rat, mouse, rabbit, the development of ganglion-cells is incomplete at the time of birth and even soon after; whereas the horse, calf, sheep, guinea-pig show completely developed ganglion-cells in every part of the brain almost always in the earlier periods of foetal life, invariably before birth." That incomplete development is much more pronounced in the human baby than in any other young; the processes of the pyramidal cells in the frontal cortex have only one quarter of their full development at the sixth month

of intrauterine life, and only one half at birth. Of the paths connected with the sense-organs, only the olfactory tracts, the most primitive path of sensation with the lower animals, begin to develop soon after birth in the human baby; the visual paths develop later, and the auditory paths last. In a premature infant born at eight months the optic-nerve becomes enclosed in its sheath of myelin much earlier than in one which remains in the womb until full term.

If the eyes of new-born puppies or kittens be destroyed and the visual area of the cortex of the brain be examined some months later, it is found that the cells of that part of the brain have remained undeveloped, retaining the appearance of embryonic cells, and form a striking contrast to those of the same area in animals who have had the opportunity of using their eyes. Analogous appearances are presented by the brains of blind deaf-mutes, such as Laura Bridgman, whose grey matter in the visual and auditory areas was "abnormally thin," the cells being much smaller than normal. Thus the development which takes place in the brain-structures is shown to be the result of experience and not of inherited predisposition.

The retarding of the rate of growth, the bringing into the world of the young mammal as a helpless being before its full development, makes, then, so far as regards its anatomical structure, but the trifling difference represented by those microscopic filaments in the substance of its brain. But upon those almost impalpable cobwebs a new world of being depends. Let the connections which they effect be completely established in the darkness and seclusion of embryonic development within the womb; the new-born creature is almost as well fitted for life as the parent; it can look after itself, feed, outdistance a man in the race. But that precocious proficiency owes everything to heredity. It has been developed by the animal's ancestry, it is transmitted as a ready-assembled apparatus. In proportion to its perfection, in proportion to the specialisation of its nervous interconnections, it is fixed, rigid, unalterable. That fixity is not ab-

solute, but it is so to a degree that makes the whole difference in the possibilities of the creature's behaviour. Experience can teach it little; it is unamenable to education, to new development; it is a creature of instinct. Where, on the other hand, the connecting paths along which the inherited impulses of the living organism meet those that reach it from without remain open and unformed after birth, they are not laid down by heredity alone, but by education and experience also.

Hence it is that in exact proportion as the immaturity of the offspring is prolonged the mammalian animal is superior in intelligence, in power of learning from experience, and of adapting itself by modifications in its behaviour. Our traditional estimate of the comparative intelligence of animals, derived as it mostly is from domesticated forms greatly modified by artificial selection, requires considerable correction. Broadly speaking, the fighting, solitary carnivora stand immeasurably above the herding herbivores in intelligence. The fact shows incidentally how little the so-called gregarious instincts are related to social instincts as a basis for the development of mind. Monkeys and anthropoids stand in intelligence and affective mental development as high above carnivora as the latter are above the ruminants. Among animals the power of imitation exists, according to Dr. Chalmers Mitchell, in the monkeys only. "Notwithstanding the innumerable anecdotes about the intelligence of other animals," he says, "and the great difficulty there is in describing or even thinking over one's personal experience in taming and training animals without slipping into language that implies conscious imitation, I do not think there is any real evidence of it outside the group of monkeys."

If that be so, there is no stronger evidence of the monkey's approximation in mental development to the human faculty than that capacity which even popular observation associates with 'monkey tricks' of imitativeness. For that capacity to imitate, which is in reality a manifestation of a very complex diversity of high mental faculties, constitutes the most im-

portant psychical foundation of human development. "In the development of individual human beings," writes Dr. Mc Dougall, "imitation is the great agency through which the child is led on from the life of a mere animal impulse to the life of self-control, deliberation, and true volition. And it has played a similar part in the development of the human race and of human society. Imitation is the prime condition of all collective mental life." That capacity is, in turn, the direct effect of prolonged immaturity under maternal care.

That progressive increase in natal immaturity, in aptitude to modify natural heredity by imitation and receptiveness to experience and education, marks the evolution that has led up to human conditions and human mentality; prolonged infancy, slow development, reduction of the determinism of natural heredity, are most pronounced in the human race.

A fact that might at first appear paradoxical becomes readily intelligible when the effects of those conditions are apprehended. The similarity to man of his nearest animal congeners, the anthropoid apes, is much more pronounced in the young than in the adult. "The resemblance of the young apes to human children," says Virchow, "is very much greater than that of old apes to full-grown men. Nowhere does this analogy manifest itself more strongly than in the construction of the skull. But with every month and year of life the skull of even the most man-like apes becomes more unlike that of man." "In every respect the young ape stands nearer to the human child than the adult ape does to the adult man," says Vogt. The resemblance between the orang or gorilla and the lower human races assumes a quite different character when a new-born young of one of those apes, or still better a foetus just before birth, is seen. The likeness is so convincing that one might for a moment be in doubt whether it is the young of an ape or of an Australian native. The shape of the head, the relative size of face and skull, the distribution of the hair, which is confined to the top of the head, the smooth and light-coloured skin, all contribute to the illusion. It might seem strange that the immature ape should be nearer

to man, and therefore of a higher type, than the fully developed animal. The subsequent divergence of ape and man corresponds to the differences in the process of maturation. The animal matures much more rapidly amid conditions of animal life, and reproduces more infallibly the ancestral type developed under those conditions; the human infant matures much more slowly amid human conditions and under the influence of a social and human heredity. In the latter the opportunities of modifying the determining power of natural heredity before its results become fixed are much greater than in the former.

The same relative differences in the rapidity of maturation which obtain between man and the apes are also manifested in the higher as compared with the lower races of man. Savage children develop much more quickly and are far more precocious than the children of European races; and, on the other hand, their development being completed earlier, they are less capable of further modification and progress. The phenomenon is well known. "The children of savage races," writes Dr. Schurtz, "mature much more rapidly and lose their childish character much earlier than do European children." And Dr. Havelock Ellis remarks: "It is an interesting fact, and perhaps of some significance, that among primitive races in all parts of the world, the children, at an early age, are very precocious in intelligence. . . . It seems that, the lower the race, the more marked is the precocity and its arrest at puberty." For example, children among the Baholoholo of the Congo know how to paddle a canoe and how to catch a fox "at an age when civilised children are still in the arms of their nurses." In Nigeria, among the Habbe, children of six or eight leave their parental home, build a hut, and provide for themselves by fishing and hunting. In East Africa children four years old "show an independence which is astounding." Among the Aleuts, children of ten have already become hunters and not infrequently keep a wife. At the same age a child among the Omahas has already learnt all that his father knows as a hunter and warrior; Chiriguano

children of seven or ten go to war and on hunting expeditions with their fathers. Among all aboriginal American races "the native instincts are exhibited in their young at a wonderfully tender age, and in this particular they differ vastly from our own children at a corresponding time of life, and, reared as they have been for ages, in a civilised environment," says Dr. Shufeldt. He describes the antics of a Navaho child "not over ten months old" who objected to have his photograph taken. The first hid behind bushes, crouched down, ran from cover to cover, "taking advantage of everything that lay in the short intervening distance," and "looked for all the world the young Indian cub at bay, with all the native instincts of his ancestors on the alert and making use of every stratagem." Among the Kirghis a child of three can already ride a horse, and at six he takes charge of a herd of camels. Among the Chevrens young children behave like grown men and join quite naturally in the conversation of their elders. The like precocity is reported of the Malays, the Polynesians, the Australians.

That savage precocity has frequently been noted in reference to the acquisition of school-education; young children of savage races are not only equal, but actually superior to European children of the same age in their capacity for learning. There is, however, another aspect to that aptitude; it lasts only until the age of puberty; after the age of about twelve it rapidly diminishes, or rather stops suddenly, and while the European child develops then his best powers and goes on improving, the savage becomes, by comparison, dull and shows no desire or no capacity to learn more. The Abbé Berghéro, who bears witness to the more rapid progress shown by young negroes than by European children, goes on to say:

The black children, however, soon come to a standstill in this ardent precociousness; and while the European children continue to learn and add each day something to their store of knowledge, our negroes remain stationary." So likewise Captain Binger, who speaks of the astonishing intelligence and aptitude of the young children of the Coast of Guinea, adds:

“Unfortunately all mental development ceases as soon as sexual maturity is reached. This complete standstill is most pronounced; not only does the intellect of the child cease to develop, but it might be said that it retrogresses; the memory becomes impaired. He becomes as stupid, mistrustful, vain, deceitful as he was formerly intelligent.” Of the Faasi, Lord Wolsley says: “The boy is far brighter, quicker, and cleverer than the man. You can apparently teach the boy anything until he reaches puberty; then he becomes duller and more stupid, more lazy and more useless every day.” Among the Gallas, according to Father Martial, children are remarkable for their bright intelligence, but after the age of about fifteen they become complacently self-conceited and learn nothing. “In the European the higher faculties go on developing throughout life, whereas in the case of the Kaffirs the development of the higher nature is arrested soon after puberty as a rule.” The same arrest of mental and intellectual development after puberty has been observed among American races, as, for instance, by Spencer among the Pueblo Indians. It has been noted that among the Cambodians children are extremely intelligent, but “after the age of about fifteen their mind becomes, if not stationary, at least much duller. A shadow seems to settle over their intellect, and at the same time their features from being pure become coarse and deformed.” In Java “it is remarkable,” says Herr Metzger, “what good and attentive pupils the natives make, especially in their younger years; but, on the other hand, it is no less evident that they deteriorate and become dull in later youth.” In Melanesia “a boy of fourteen or fifteen is already a fully-grown man in his manner and behaviour. At that age his whole training and education, as far as they go, are completed; what he has not already learnt he will never learn later, when his whole attention and activity have become engaged in providing for the daily needs of life. It is not an unusual experience that boys who in their younger years were remarkable for the brightness of their intelligence, appear dull by comparison in later years. It is often observed in the schools

established by missionaries that children from twelve to fourteen learn easily and rapidly; but with the appearance of puberty they suddenly fall off and no longer maintain their progress." So likewise among the Papuans of New Guinea, "the rapid progress of the children in knowledge and education decreases rapidly at puberty, and something like an ossification of the mind sets in."

It would appear that the congenital superiority of what are regarded as the higher races of man consists essentially in a slower rate of development, owing to which the fixative force of natural heredity is counteracted by a more prolonged modifying operation of the social environment and of traditional heredity, the powers of variation, of initiative and progress being in consequence greatly increased. The physical characters of those races would themselves seem to show the persistence of a more infantile type. The lack of pigmentation which is characteristic of them, and is exceptional in the animal kingdom, is an embryonic character; the light skin, the fair hair and blue eyes of the northern peoples whose restless energy and initiative have disturbed the world, are abnormalities in adult animals and men, but are the rule in the undeveloped foetus of darker races.

That slower development is rendered possible, and is perhaps directly caused, by prolonged relief from the necessity of providing for subsistence and self-protection. The immature lower mammal, the immature ape, the immature human infant, savage or civilised, are each in varying degrees, increasing in the order of evolutionary advance, enabled to develop under the influence of actual experience, and not of fixed and unmodified natural heredity, while at the same time they are not, like the larvae of primitive vertebrates, called upon to face the world and the struggle for existence while not as yet fully developed. They are shielded during that process of leisurely growth and education, first by the physiological provisions of the maternal organism, later by the protecting instincts of mother-care.

The physiological adaptations for the better rearing of the

offspring, which mark the progress of biological efficiency in the higher animal types are accompanied by psychical reactions which tend to fulfil the same purpose, causing protective care to be exercised by the mother during the ever more protracted period of infancy. It is usual to refer to these psychological dispositions as the maternal instinct. But the modes of behaviour presented by animal females in relation to their offspring are objective facts independent of any interpretation as regards the nature of instinct. The latter term is perhaps too exclusively associated with the conception of inherited neural dispositions, whereas many of the most marked manifestations of inherited instinct can be shown to have their organic foundation in the effects of biochemical conditions upon existing neural structure. Theories concerning the mechanism of inherited dispositions to given forms of reaction have no essential bearing on the objective facts of animal behaviour, and it matters little whether that inherited disposition be termed instinct or be described by some other term.

When we speak of maternal 'love' and devotion in the lower animals, we are translating the phenomena of behaviour in terms of conceptual sentiments which owe much to traditional culture. In its rudimentary forms, and indeed throughout the larger portion of the animal kingdom, the mode of operation of the maternal instinct is conspicuously physiological. Rabaud has shown that with female mice interest in the young of the species does not make its appearance until the end of gestation; unimpregnated females take no notice of young mice, and it is not until the later days of pregnancy that they will sniff at young which are presented to them, lick them, and endeavor to carry them away. The manifestations of the instinct, which are strongly marked, cease altogether about six weeks after the birth of the young. Loisel has reported interesting observations on a virgin bitch in which periodical menstruation was pronounced, and which developed a secretion of milk at the time. During those periods she was extremely restless, and searched everywhere

as if in quest of something. When presented with a litter of young rabbits, she was entirely satisfied, licked and fondled them, and lavished maternal solicitude on the brood. The phenomena passed off with the period of ovulation. Among the lower vertebrates the primitive maternal devices, such as brood-sacks or superficial recesses, for the protection of the brood, are frequently appropriated by parasites which avail themselves of the provisions intended for the offspring of the animal. But the behaviour of the mother-organism towards the intruder that has turned out the brood or cheated it of maternal care is the same as towards its offspring. A female crab, if the maturing larvae which are attached to its appendages are touched, will bristle with anger and prepare for attack. The behaviour, Dr. Glard remarks, would afford excellent scope for an eloquent tirade on maternal anxiety and devotion; but the mother-crab behaves in precisely the same manner if the brood-stalks are appropriated by noxious parasites. The reactions of the maternal instinct in most animals take place, it has been pointed out, in response to gross physical stimuli. Suckling is sought by the female as a relief to uncomfortable tension in the mammary glands, and maternal care ceases when the glands become depleted. Brooding by birds takes place in relation to the exhaustion and pyrexia resulting from laying and to irritative congestion of the abdominal wall. In birds that are not good sitters the defect may be remedied by rubbing their abdominal skin with nettles. There is, however, nothing singular in the fact that the maternal instinct has purely physiological foundations, and is ultimately dependent upon certain chemical conditions of given organs. The same is true of all feelings and sentiments. The most exalted and refined conceptual emotions have developed out of 'physical' feelings of pleasantness and unpleasantness. Their operation as moulders of behaviour is independent of any perception of their tendency, or 'purpose.' That the maternal feelings of animals cannot be accurately compared to the exalted conceptual associations comprised in the human emotion of love is, after all, irrelevant. We say

that the responses of the hen, of the ewe to certain physiological conditions are manifestations of maternal love because they are manifestations of the impulses which, in their continued operation and development, will become human feelings and conceptual sentiments of maternal love.

The maternal reactions develop in strict relation to conditions in which they can operate usefully. That they are a product of evolution, and not a primary impulse of life, is pointedly indicated by the fact, among many others, that they require an appreciable time to develop fully in the individual mother. The same female animals that will offer their lives in defence of their young will quite commonly eat them when they are new-born. Mammalian females usually dispose of the after-birth by eating it, which is said to promote the secretion of milk; and it is not unusual for them to eat their way up the umbilical cord, and to proceed to eat the young which is attached to it. It has been observed that carnivorous mothers are prone to eat their young whenever they are disturbed or frightened. Sows commonly devour their young "because their owners have handled them too freely, or removed them from place to place," and "the more gentle race of dogs and cats are guilty of this horrid and preposterous murder." The reindeer is said to kill invariably its second fawn. In the human mother herself maternal affection requires to be elicited by experience. Apart from the influences of the traditional and cultivated sentiment, the first instinctive and spontaneous reaction of the young mother at the sight of her newly born infant, which does not present a particularly attractive appearance, is one of revulsion. It is not an uncommon experience of obstetricians to see the mother in those circumstances turn from her offspring with a shudder and refuse to look at it. "It is not strange," writes an acute observer, "that if the mother has not followed Froebel's exhortations and come to love her child before birth, there is a brief interval occasionally dangerous to the child before the maternal instinct is fully aroused." At that moment infanticide is common among both savage and civilized mothers, whereas a little

later it would be difficult or impossible. The death of an infant at birth generally leaves the mother, except for the disappointment of the generalised desire for offspring, comparatively indifferent. It is a psychological necessity that love, which consists of affective associations, should require to form those associations before it can exist. Although desire and sexual attraction may prelude affection, there can in reality be no such thing as 'love at first sight.'

How slowly, precariously, adventitiously the maternal instincts have developed in the long course of organic evolution, how gradually the operation of reproductive impulses has been transformed and transferred from purely organic provisions to care and concern for the eggs and the brood, from physiological to psychological manifestations, may be gauged by the fact that out of some 2600 existing species of reptiles not half a dozen—one or two crocodiles and a couple of snakes—devote any attention to their young, either before or after hatching. Yet reptiles are the immediate ancestors of the birds who are traditional types of parental care.

The maternal care of birds varies, as already noted, according to the requirements arising from the precocious or immature condition of the offspring; it reaches its highest development in birds of prey, which have not only to make greater provision for the feeding of their young, but must needs also bestow upon them a more prolonged and elaborate education. Maternal care and affection is in birds very ephemeral. As soon as the young have attained a stage of independence the attitude of the parents towards their offspring, from one "of unceasing solicitude suddenly changes to one of open hostility. As on a lee they turn on the children they have so long and faithfully nurtured, and drive them forth from the neighbourhood for ever." In migratory birds the instinct which impels them to migrate is more powerful than the maternal instinct. Swallows and house-martins, urged in the autumn by the migratory instinct, frequently abandon their nestlings and leave them to perish.

Among mammals maternal care is likewise strictly limited

in duration, though more prolonged in some species than in birds. "No animal regards previous offspring after the birth of fresh young ones." The young, especially among the herbivores, is repulsed by the mother when lactation is no longer necessary, and is henceforth treated as a stranger. It does not appear to be even recognised. Broadly speaking the maternal instincts among herbivorous animals are limited to pre-natal care and, especially among browsing species, to the first few days, during which the young is hidden in a suitable place and the mother visits it at regular intervals for the purpose of suckling. Defence of the offspring has been observed in the ox tribe only. Among carnivores, on the contrary, passionate solicitude and fierce defence of the brood is the rule. Great variations are, however, observed. Among seals, for instance, "the apathy with which the young are treated by the old on the breeding-grounds is somewhat strange. I have never," says Mr. J. A. Allen, "seen a cow caress or fondle her offspring, and should it stray but a short distance from the harem, it can be picked up and killed before the mother's eyes without causing her to show the slightest concern." When returning from a fishing expedition to the breeding-ground, the cow-seal will call her pups by bleating after the manner of a ewe, and will recognise her calf at once by its answering voice among scores of others; but if no answer comes, the young being asleep or having strayed, she quietly curls herself up to sleep and shows no concern. The walrus mother, on the contrary, will fight to the death in defence of her young. Among whales maternal solicitude is invariably intense and heroic. "The female Right Whale exhibits extraordinary maternal affection when her young one is attacked, and in every work on whale-fishery there are numerous instances of the parent sacrificing her life while protecting her young." "The cub, being insensible to danger, is easily harpooned, when the attachment of the mother is so manifested as to bring it almost certainly within reach of the whaler. Hence, though the cub is of little value, it is often struck as a snare for the mother." Although rodents, which

rapidly reach maturity, are driven away by their parents very soon after they are born, the maternal instinct appears to be quite lively during the short period that it lasts. It is related that a nest of young mice together with their mother having been laid bare during the demolition of a house, and the whole family being picked up with a shovel, the mother did not stir, thus showing a heroism equal to any produced by the maternal instinct. Of elephants, on the other hand, among which the association between mother and young lasts a year and more, it is said that "the female elephant evinces no peculiar attachment to her offspring."

Among the monkeys and apes the intense and consistently uniform manifestations of maternal instinct are such as to constitute a contrast between them and all other mammals greater almost than any difference in form or structure. 'Monkey-love,' 'Äffenliebe,' is a common expression in German for doting maternal fondness, and pages could be filled with descriptions of its manifestations. The tense and watchful anxiety of the mother monkey, and the pathetic gravity with which she will sit for hours contemplating her offspring, have often been noted. Baboon mothers take their young to a stream to wash them, and Rengger watched a *Cebus* carefully driving away the flies which plague its infant. "So intense is the grief of female monkeys for the loss of their young that it invariably caused the death of certain kinds kept under confinement by Bechm in North Africa." "The affection of the mother monkey for her baby," says Mr. Fitzsimons, "is so great that it dominates her completely. When danger threatens she quite forgets herself in her anxiety for the safety of her helpless offspring. I was with a Dutch farmer in Natal one day when we happened to surprise some monkeys in the orchard. They sprang in haste to the ground, and made off to the adjacent thorny thicket. The dogs gave chase, and a female with a rather heavy youngster in her arms, could not keep pace with the rest, and, realizing that it was impossible to reach the safety of the thicket in time, sprang up an isolated tree, and in a moment the dogs were

howling at her from below. I tried to dissuade my friend from shooting her, but he was so exasperated by the damage wrought by these monkeys from time to time that he raised his gun and fired. Seeing him in the act of firing, the mother monkey swung round, placing her body between the gun and her child. She received the charge of shot in her back, and came tumbling down through the branches, clutching vainly at them as she fell. We drove off the dogs, and turning to observe her we noticed that she was covering over her young one, still seeking to protect it with her body. Hugging her baby tight to her breast, she regarded us with a world of sadness in her eyes. . . . We forgot for the moment that she was but a monkey, for her actions and expressions were so human that we felt we had committed a crime." There are a number of almost exactly similar accounts of the manner in which the female monkeys of various species invariably sacrifice their life for their offspring, and endeavour till the last moment to protect it. A Cebus monkey, after all the troop had taken flight, returned at the call of her young, and succumbed after three attempts to rescue it. The females of carnivores, such as lionesses and tigresses, fierce as they can be in the defence of their young, will occasionally abandon them, and once the cubs are abandoned they are seldom sought by the mother. When starving, tigresses have even been known to kill and eat their young. No instance of any similar behaviour is known among monkeys. The development of maternal love is with them, beyond all comparison, greater. Both the physiological provisions, then, by which gestation is prolonged, maturity delayed, the operation of individual experience and social education substituted in a large measure for that of inherited instinct, and the psychological transformation of the maternal functions into maternal love, attain in the primates a higher development than in any other animal forms.

3. Among the women of uncultured races maternal love is in many respects more conspicuous than is usually the case with civilised women, in whom sentiments and impulses are subject

to more complex controlling forces. The manifestations of maternal affection in savage women resemble more closely those of the higher animals. They are more fierce, more impulsive, and probably more shallow and less durable than in civilised mothers. "Their affection is not rational," observes Dr. Todd. Corporal punishment of children is unthought of in primitive society. "All the savage tribes of these parts, and those of Brazil, as we are assured," remarks Father Le Jeune, "cannot chastise a child or bear to see one chastised. What trouble this will cause us in carrying out our intention of instructing their young!" The Eskimo do not consider that white people deserve to have children, since they are so heartless as to strike them. Missionaries are constantly in trouble on that score. "It would be well," says one of them, "if the parents did not grow so angry when their children are now and then slightly chastised for gross misdemeanour by order of the missionary; but instead of bearing with patience such wholesome correction of their sons and daughters, they take great offence and become enraged, especially the mothers, who will scream like furies, tear out their hair, beat their naked breasts with a stone, and lacerate their heads with a piece of wood or bone till the blood flows, as I have frequently witnessed on such occasions."

It is notable and significant that, while almost every account which we possess makes special mention of the liveliness of the affection shown by savage mothers for their children, nearly all our reports concerning uncultured tribes dwell on the absence of indications of tender sentiments between husbands and wives. Thus for example, it is said of the Eskimo that "like all other men in the savage state, they treat their wives with great coolness and neglect." But, on the other hand, maternal love is said to be "lively and tender." † "We are inferior to the savages," remarks Father Petitot in speaking of them, "as regards the sentiment of maternity." Or again, numerous reports speak very unfavourably as regards affection between the sexes among the Déné. "If you wish to excite laughter," says a missionary, "speak to the

Déjà of conjugal affection. We have been obliged to create the sentiment, and we are now beginning to see it appear little by little." But "maternal love is developed among these peoples to the point of obliterating every suggestion of prudence and even every reasoned act of intelligence." Love between the sexes, in our sense of the word, is said to be "unknown to the North American Indians." But, says Father Théodat, "they love their children more than we do ours." Among the Ojibwa, says the Ojibwa Peter Jones, "I have scarcely ever seen anything like social intercourse between husband and wife"; but the same witness bears testimony to the fact that "no mother can be fonder of her children." Among the Indians of Guiana the extreme love of the mothers for their children has been noted, while the father is said to take little notice of them. Similar manifestations of maternal tenderness are reported of the wild tribes of Brazil, among whom conjugal affection is not apparent. Among the Patagonians a child "is the object of the whole love of its parents, who, if necessary, will submit themselves to the greatest privations to satisfy its least wants or exactions." Their love for their children "is quite extravagant; they show such extreme compliance with regard to them that whole tribes have been known to leave a district or to remain there longer than was advisable simply to gratify the whim of a child." Among the Fergians "conjugal affection," we are told, "does not exist"; but maternal love is conspicuously tender and lively.

The women of the Orinoco, when their children are ailing, perforate their own tongue with a skewer and cover the child's body with their blood, believing that this will promote its recovery. They will repeat the process daily until the child has recovered or is dead. Similarly among the aborigines of New South Wales the mothers give their blood to bring about the recovery of their children when they are sick. Among the Omahas it was the practice in war-time, when they were overtaken by foes, for the women to dig a hole in the ground, and to conceal themselves there with their children, covering up the opening. It is related that a mother was overtaken by

the enemy after she had placed her children in the 'cache,' but before she had had time to cover the opening; this she did with her body, pretending to be dead, and allowed herself to be scalped without stirring. During a tribal war in Samoa "a woman allowed herself to be hacked from head to foot, bending over her son to save his life. It is considered cowardly to kill a woman, or they would have despatched her at once. It was the head of her little boy they wanted, but they did not get it." Among the Wagogo of East Africa, mothers besought the slave-raiders to allow them to take the place of their sons. Bushmen women gave themselves up in like manner to redeem their children. The lack of affection between men and women among the Hottentots has frequently been referred to; but it is related that during a famine, when food was brought to them, the women would not touch it until their children had been fed. The same thing has been reported of the Aleuts, of the Indians of the Red River Colony, of the Tasmanians. With the natives of Madagascar "the idea of love between husband and wife is hardly thought of"; accounts agree in representing the relations between men and women as utterly destitute of sentiment or affection. But we are told at the same time that "the love of the parents for their children is intense"; that "nothing can exceed the affection with which the infant is treated; the indulgence is more frequently carried to excess than otherwise." So again among the Dayaks of Borneo the children are spoilt; their slightest whim is indulged in. The intensity of maternal affection in the savage is noted of the lowest races which we know, such as the Bushmen, Fuegians, the Seri Indians, the Andaman negritos, the Veddas of Ceylon, the Sakai of the Malaccan forests, the Aino, the New Hebrides Islanders. To an Australian woman her child is the object of the most devoted affection; "there are no bounds to the fondness and indulgence with which it is treated."

It would thus appear that maternal affection is an older, more primitive, and more fundamental form of sentiment than affection between the sexes. And in fact the association of

sexual attraction with tenderness and affection is not, as is generally assumed, an intrinsic constituent of that relation, but is a comparatively late psychological product which owes a great deal to particular social and cultural factors.

It has been almost universally assumed that feelings of tender affection are part and parcel of the attraction between the sexes. That attraction is habitually spoken of as 'love,' and the sentiment is identified with the sexual impulse. Sexual attraction throughout the animal kingdom is spoken of as a manifestation of love, and we are in the habit of interpreting the sexual life of birds and of beasts in terms of romantic and sentimental feelings. We say, quoting Schiller, that life is ruled by Hunger and Love. The term is even extended to include the reproductive processes of vegetables, the attractions of molecules, the law of gravitation and the harmony of the spheres. Scientific writers vie with the poets in describing Nature as pervaded with a hymn of love.

These widely current modes of speech and of thought are founded on a profound misconception of biological and psychological facts. The attraction between the sexes is not primarily or generally associated with the order of feelings which we denote as 'tender feelings,' affection, love. These have developed comparatively late in the course of organic evolution, and have arisen in relation to entirely different functions. The primitive, and by far the most prevalent, association of the sexual impulse is not with love, but with the opposite feelings of callous cruelty and delight in the infliction and the spectacle of pain.

Neither love nor hatred, kindness nor cruelty is connected with the fundamental impulses that move living things any more than with chemical reactions. The pain and suffering of another individual is primordially neither pleasant nor unpleasant, but indifferent. The trend of animal evolution has, however, been to make the spectacle of suffering an object of pleasant and gratifying feeling. Animals are peying beings; the perception of a mangled, bleeding, or of a suffering, weak, and helpless creature means to the universal disposition of

animal life a prey, food. That the suffering animal belongs to the same species, or is a close associate, makes no difference. All carnivorous animals and rodents are cannibalistic. Lions and tigers, which furnish favourite examples of mating among rarrivora, commonly kill and devour their mates. Anderson describes how a lion, having quarrelled with a lioness over the carcass of a springbok, "after killing his wife, had coolly eaten her also," and the same thing has been reported by other observers. A female leopard which had been wounded, but had got away, was found a few days later with her hind-quarters half eaten by her mate. Half-grown tiger cubs, orphaned by their mother being killed, are attacked and eaten by their father. A jaguar in the Zoological Gardens at New York, to whom it was desired to give a female companion, showed every sign of delight and of extreme fondness for her while she was safely kept in an adjacent cage in order to habituate the animals to one another's company; the male jaguar purred, licked the female's paws, and behaved like the most love-sick admirer. When at last the partition between the cages was removed and the male was united with the object of his affection, his first act was to seize her by the throat and kill her. The same thing happened when a female was introduced to a grizzly bear. The danger of allowing the sexes to associate is a commonplace in menageries. Wolves commonly kill and eat their mates. Male mice have been observed to kill their females and eat them for no apparent reason. It is a rule with herding animals that any sick or wounded individual is driven from the herd, or gored and worried to death.

Sexual attraction, sexual 'hunger,' as it has been aptly called, is a form of voracity. The object of the male cell in seeking conjunction with the female cell is primarily to improve its nutrition, in the same manner, and by virtue of the same fundamental impulse, as it seeks food. The female does not in the primitive forms of life seek or desire the male; but with the establishment of sexual reproduction she also requires the male as a substance necessary to her reproductive

growth and nutrition, as an object of assimilation. And in the same manner as the ovum cell assimilates the sperm-cell, so in some forms of life, such as the rotifers and spiders, the female devours and assimilates the male.

With both the male and the female, 'love,' or sexual attraction, is originally and preëminently 'sadistic'; it is positively gratified by the infliction of pain; it is as cruel as hunger. That is the direct, fundamental, and longest established sentiment connected with the sexual impulse. The male animal captures, mauls and bites the female, who in turn uses her teeth and claws freely, and the 'lovers' issue from the sexual combat bleeding and mangled. Crustaceans usually lose a limb or two in the encounter. All mammals without exception use their teeth on these occasions. Pallas describes the mating of camels: as soon as impregnation has taken place, the female, with a vicious snarl, turns round and attacks the male with her teeth, and the latter is driven away in terror. Rengger remarks that the sexual union of a pair of jaguars must be a formidable conflict, for he found the forest devastated and strewn with broken branches over an area of a hundred feet where the fierce 'love-making' had taken place. The congress of the sexes is assimilated by the impulse to hurt, to shed blood, to kill, to the encounter between a beast of prey and its victim, and all distinction between the two is not infrequently lost. It would be more accurate to speak of the sexual impulse as pervading nature with a yell of cruelty than with a hymn of love. The circumspection which is exhibited by many animal females in yielding to the male, the haste which is shown by most to separate as soon as impregnation has taken place, would appear to be due in a large measure to the danger attending such relations rather than to 'coyness.'

So fundamental and firmly established is the association between the sexual impulse and cruelty that, as is well known, manifestations of it frequently break out, and are perhaps never wholly absent, in humanity itself. According to M. d'Enjoy, the kiss has developed out of the love-bite. In

many parts of Europe women are not convinced of their lover's or husband's affection unless their own bodies bear the visible marks of it in the form of impressions from their teeth. Mr. Savage Landor relates a little love-affair he had with a young Aina woman. As is the custom with those primitive peoples, the young lady did most of the wooing. "I would not have mentioned the small episode," says Mr. Landor, "if her ways of flirting had not been so extraordinary and funny. Loving and biting went together with her. She could not do the one without doing the other. As we sat on a stone in the semi-darkness she began by gently biting my fingers, without hurting me, as affectionate dogs often do to their masters; she then bit my arm, then my shoulder, and when she had worked herself up into a passion she put her arms round my neck and bit my cheek." The young traveller had to cut the affair short; he was bitten all over. Among the Miguellans of Transcaucasia the betrothal of a girl is sealed by her lover firmly biting her breast. Among the ancient Egyptians the word which is translated by Egyptologists as "to kiss" meant "to eat." The desire expressed by lovers to 'eat' the object of their affection probably contains more sinister biological reminiscences than they are aware.

Manifestations of tender feelings, of affection, occur throughout the larger portion of the animal world in connection with one relation only, that of mother and offspring. Where, as with the brooding birds, the coöperation of the male while the female is sitting on the eggs is almost a necessity, the feelings primarily directed towards the offspring may be extended to the sexual partner. In birds the primitive-vertebrate interest of the male in the hatching of the eggs probably causes some of the same solicitude to be diverted towards the female. That extension leading to seasonal mating is strictly confined, even in the class of birds, to those species which hatch their eggs by prolonged brooding; where no brooding takes place there is no association and no lasting attraction between the male and the female. "There is no necessity for birds to pair, in the usual sense of the word,"

as Mr. Chance remarks, "when they do not tend their young."

Among mammals the conditions are different. The biological necessity for pairing does not arise. Although the pregnant and the suckling female is to some extent handicapped, she is able to fulfil her functions unaided. That co-operation which has led to the development of mating among ridiculous birds is not found among mammals. The extension to the male of the feelings of tenderness of which the offspring is the normal object does not generally appear among mammals to go farther than a tolerance that overcomes the distrust and hostility which is the rule in the attitude of the female towards the male. After the birth of the offspring that solicitude for a vicarious object reverts to its natural channel, and the male tends to become an object of repulsion. That periodic mutation of feeling is still common even in civilised woman, who can scarcely tolerate the husband after the birth of a child. A true transference of maternal sentiments to the sexual partner probably does not occur in mammals below the class of apes, who alone seem capable of real sympathy. In the lower human cultures the association of tender affection with sex appears to be for the most part manifested by women. While the indifference of the men is consistently reported, we are as constantly told of the devotion of the women for their male associates. Thus North American squaws, notwithstanding the coldness with which they are treated, are said to be "remarkable for their care and attachment to the men, continually watching over them with utmost solicitude and anxiety." The numerous wives of an African chief, whom he uses as pillows and footstools, vie for the honour of being so employed, and genuinely worship their lord.

In the male the association of tender feelings with sex appears to be a much more advanced social product than with the female, in whom it is founded on more direct biological conditions. Not only is tender sentiment, leading to prolonged association with the female unrelated to any function and in-

affect of the male, but that sentiment is in direct contrast and opposition to the character of his sexual impulse. The two psychical manifestations, love and lust, are entirely distinct in origin and function. The sadic hunger of the masculine impulse can never become entirely blended with mating affection. "Il n'y a rien de si loin de la volupté que l'attendrissement," observes Lamartine, and shrewd voluptuaries, such as Sheikh Nefzaoui, dwell upon the importance for the greater enjoyment of sexual gratification of not loving a woman too tenderly. Although cultural and social causes have led to the association in the male of the two forms of sexual attraction, that which views the woman as a sexual prey and that which regards her as a surrogate for the mother, they are distinct in origin and function, and remain essentially opposed. Love, tender emotion, is a common cause of 'psychical' impotence, and we read of great lovers the longed-for consummation of whose romantic passion turns out to be a failure. It has been suggested that the high development of sentimental love is really a manifestation of diminished reproductive power and would ultimately tend towards the extinction of the race. The two constituents of sexual attraction, the sexual impulse and 'love,' or the mating impulse, remain, as will be seen later, essentially distinct in primitive human societies. Sexual relations do not imply sexual association, and sexual association is not primarily regarded as a sexual relation.

Tender emotions and affection have then their origin not in sexual attraction, but in maternal reactions. Apart from the relation between mother and offspring there is in competitive animality no germ of that order of feelings. Just as the transferred affection of the female for the male is a direct derivative of maternal feelings, so all feelings of a sympathetic, compassionate, altruistic character, which are in direct contrast to biological impulses, are almost entirely absent in animals, and are specific characters of human psychology, are extensions of the maternal reaction. They owe the mere possibility of their existence to the development of maternal feelings.

Those higher derivatives of maternal tenderness are for the most part phenomena of advanced culture. But the development and prolonged operation of maternal instincts which has gone with the unprecedented protraction of helpless infancy in the human species have from the outset had even more momentous effects. For to the development of those characters the fact of the emergence of human society out of animality is strictly speaking due.

The extent of maternal care and protection determines the most profound differences in the mentality and behaviour of the young. The attachment of the young to the mother consists not so much in a sentiment of tenderness as in a sense of dependence which gives rise to panic fear when that protection is withdrawn and to a dread of solitude. The young of carnivorous animals, even when not hungry, invariably shriek and howl when left alone. Since it thus consists primarily of a sense of dependence the filial sentiment is particularly ready to accept a substitute. It is not primarily the mother as such that it requires—it is a protector, a guide, an individual upon whom it can lean. All young animals will attach themselves to the first creature, animal or human, that will look after them. New-born chickens will follow any moving object. When guided by the sense of sight alone "they seem to have no more disposition to follow a hen than to follow a duck or a human being." By attending to his chickens from birth, Mr. Spalding completely ousted their mother, and the chickens would, without any encouragement, follow him everywhere without taking the slightest notice of their own bereaved parent. "When Indians have killed a cow buffalo," says Hennepin, "the calf follows them and licks their hands." Mr. Selous mentions that, having shot a female rhinoceros which had just dropped a calf, the latter at once trotted behind its mother's slayer and quietly followed him to his camp. The manner in which the domestication of animals first took place will be apparent from such instances. The reliance upon the mother extends to all companions, to all individuals who are recognised as not being hostile or dangerous, and results in a

general disposition to friendliness and affection. "When wild animals become tame," says Dr. Chalmers Mitchell, "they are really extending or transferring to human beings the confidence and affection they naturally give to their mothers, and this view will be found to explain more facts about tameness than any other. Every creature that would naturally enjoy maternal care is ready to transfer its devotion to other animals or to human beings. The capacity to be tamed is greatest in those animals that remain longest with their parents and that are most intimately associated with them." Herbivorous animals show scarcely any attachment or affection toward human beings. The carnivores become extremely attached to their keepers; lions and tigers brought up by Herr Hagenbeck showed excitement and joy when seeing him again after an interval of two or three years. Monkeys are the most affectionate of the lower animals towards those who have brought them up, and the anthropoids most of all. Mr. R. F. Walker, who had a large experience in bringing up young gorillas, states that they "become so much attached to their keeper or attendant that a separation from him almost invariably causes these affectionate apes to pine away and die."

Members of the same group, brothers and sisters, are naturally the first substitutes adopted in satisfying the sentiment of dependence, and in appeasing the fear of solitude created by maternal care. Those feelings are even more prone to assume the character of sympathy and tender affection when directed towards companions of the same age than in relation to the mother. An instinct of 'clannishness' which draws a sharp distinction between members of the group, known and familiar individuals, and strangers, becomes a marked feature of such a group. Thus among American bison "each small group is of the same strain of blood. There is no animal more clannish than the bison. The male calf follows the mother until two years old, when he is driven out of the herd, and the parental tie is entirely broken. The female calf fares better, as she is permitted to stay with her mother's family for life. In a broad sense it will be seen that the small local

herd is a family, or rather a clan. Their leader is always an old cow, doubtless she is the grandmother of many of them. A pathetic sight was sometimes witnessed when the mother of one of these families was killed at the first shot. They were so devoted to her, they would linger and wait until the last one could be easily slain." In those animals which have in numbers been together under the influence of prolonged maternal care, a tendency is observable among the young to continue together after they have left, or been expelled from, the maternal group. This is observed among crows, jackdaws, starlings, and other birds, and in some members of the deer tribe. Among primates the tendency is conspicuous. Monkeys are the only mammals in which a true social instinct may be said to be developed. Until sexual causes come into operation all young monkeys tend to remain associated in troops with the members of the same brood, and in that association are developed for the first time in the animal kingdom sentiments of sympathy. Sympathy is, as Romanes remarked, "more strongly marked in monkeys than in any other animal, not even excepting the dog." He mentions striking instances of that mutual interest which is a conspicuous feature of all associations of monkeys. A sick monkey is waited on with solicitude and anxiety by his companions, who even forgo dainties in order to offer them to him. Köhler has observed similar manifestations in his chimpanzees. These social impulses are correlated with the prolonged association of infancy under maternal care.

The so-called instinct of sociability is in reality the effect of the offspring's dependence upon maternal protection, and of consequent dread or dislike of solitude on the part of the dependent young. It has been repeated since the time of Aristotle that 'man is a social animal,' and the origin of society has been set down to the operation of such a supposed innate disposition to association. Modern psychologists have continued to refer to such a supposed primary instinct, and in regard it as an ultimate fact of paramount importance in determining human social organization. But in doing so they

appear to have merely taken for granted a time-honoured assumption. When any attempt is made to justify such an estimate, and to describe the manifestations of the supposed instinct, it is invariably found that other powerful motives are at work. Dr. Drever observes that "it is perhaps a matter for the biologist rather than for the psychologist to decide."

Biological facts give no support to the conception. The broods which are accumulated by the reproductive process in the neighbourhood of one spot tend invariably to scatter and spread abroad. The ubiquity of life is the result of that tendency to dispersion. It is the natural consequence of the need for food which is liable to become exhausted where many claimants to it congregate, and must be sought farther afield. It is an advantage to organisms to wander away from the pressure of competition.

That impulse to wander is far more conspicuously manifested among animals, from the lowest to the highest, than any 'gregarious instinct.' In the lower animals the tendency is almost invariably to wander as far afield as possible. Insects, among which the most perfect examples, outside humanity, of social communities are found, are nevertheless eminently solitary. "The majority of insects," says Mr. C. A. Ealand, "are solitary in their habits; each individual, or at most a pair of individuals, lives its life irrespectively of the activities of others of its kind." If a 'social instinct' were an original, or even a common and deep-seated, impulse of life, we should expect to find the majority of animals, especially the higher and more intelligent, aggregated in communities. But that is very far from being the case. On the contrary, the lower and least intelligent birds and the ruminants are found herding in large numbers, while the more highly developed nesting-birds, the birds of prey, and the carnivores are eminently solitary. Even the most typically herding animals have a tendency to segregate themselves and to disperse. Cattle, sheep, horses, when promiscuously herded together, sort themselves out into separate groups according to colour and varieties, and such groups will hold no communication with one another, and

will often segregate themselves in different territories. All animal groups, in the natural state, break up through the operation of the reproductive instincts. The females of nearly all animals seek solitude after impregnation, and in every species, even the most gregarious, the males have a tendency to wander in solitude. Of elephants, Mr. Sanderson remarks: "Much misconception exists on the subject of 'rogues' or solitary elephants. The usually accepted belief that these elephants are turned out of the herds by their companions or rivals is not correct. They leave their companions at times to roam by themselves. Sometimes they make those expeditions merely for the sake of solitude." The same remark doubtless applies to many of the males, which in all species are seen roaming by themselves, or in small groups of two or three. In Old males, when both the infantile and the sexual instincts have ceased to operate, revert to the more primitive impulse towards dispersal and independence. Of bats it is noted that, "though most bats are gregarious in the summer, in the winter they prefer solitude and quiet. They go off singly, or at most in twos or threes." Those animals which mate in pairs separate after the functions of reproduction are discharged as commonly as do herding animals; and of the animals nearest to man the gorilla has been found alone almost as frequently as in herds, and the orang-utan has scarcely ever been seen except alone or with young. All monkeys strongly resent the intrusion of a stranger in their troops, which are close corporations. Their gregarious instincts are towards the group, not towards the species.

The truth is that there is neither any intrinsic social instinct nor any instinct of solitude; animal life does not, as an inherent impulse, love either society or solitude for its own sake. Such abstract predilections may operate in the realm of culture and conceptual thought, but they have no bearing on the behaviour of unsophisticated life. Other impulses, such as the sexual impulse, or the infantile dependence of offspring, may keep or bring animals together; or they may, as does the competition for food, drive them apart; but whether

they come together or seek segregation their behaviour is not the effect of any 'gregarious' or 'anti-gregarious' disposition, but of a need for the satisfaction of which either aggregation or solitude is favourable.

The social instinct, the love of company which has developed in the very highest forms of life, is a specific development. All familial feeling, all group-sympathy, the essential foundation, therefore, of a social organisation, is the direct product of prolonged maternal care, and does not exist apart from it. The deep, self-protective instincts of timidity and distrust forbid, especially in the male, the extension of those sentiments beyond the group of companions. In regard to individuals that are not members of the family group, the original instincts of the cautious, competitive animal retain their full force; the stranger is regarded with spontaneous hostility and hatred.

Those feelings are the expression of the familial sentiment arising out of the sense of dependence created by infantile development under maternal care, not of a generalised and indiscriminate 'social instinct.' Far from there existing any indication of such an instinct in primitive humanity, the attitude of uncultured human beings towards any individual who is not a member of their own restricted social group is one of profound distrust and generally of active hostility. "In primitive culture," observes Dr. Eriston, "there is a dual system of morals: the one of kindness, love, help, and peace, applicable to the members of our own clan, tribe, or community; the other of robbery, hatred, enmity, and murder, to be practised against all the rest of the world; and the latter is regarded as quite as much a sacred duty as the former." Among all primitive peoples small groups show the strongest indisposition to fuse into larger ones, and the intrusion of strangers is resented. In the Andaman Islands, before the arrival of Europeans, the inhabitants of the small area of those islands were divided into a number of tribelets which had never held any intercourse with one another. When first brought together they were unable to converse, their languages

having during centuries of segregation diverged completely, although they were members of the same race. The island of Karatonga was in like manner inhabited, before the advent of Europeans, by tribes which had no knowledge of one another. When the Veddahs of Ceylon are brought into contact with individuals belonging to another tribelet, which, maybe, dwells only a few miles away, they stand in silent embarrassment, refuse to speak, and scowl at the strangers with a manifest disinclination to associate with them. The attitude of the Fugians, who live in small, scattered communities, towards members of all other groups is said to be one of strong hostility. Between the North American tribes "there was no intermarriage, no social intercourse, no intermingling of any kind, except that of mortal strife." The most salient trait of the Seri Indians is their implacable hostility towards every human being, Indian or white, who is not a member of their tribe, and even each clan views all others with suspicion. South American natives are divided into innumerable small groups and tribelets who hate one another mortally. "The savages detest all who are not of their family or their tribe, and hunt the Indians of a neighbouring tribe who are at war with their own, as we hunt game." The rough huts of the wild Cashibo of southern Peru are surrounded with pitfalls and concealed pikes. Among the Karaya a stranger visiting another village goes fully armed, however friendly the visit, and is received by his acquaintances in full fighting kit. The Guaycura observed the same precautions when paying a friendly call. They stopped about a league outside the village, and on the following morning drew near. The first salutation consisted in a formal combat with fists. In Australia it is a rule that no blackfellow from one camp may visit another camp without being invited; a messenger or visitor from one clan to another must sit down at some distance from the strange camp and wait until he has been examined by some of the elders before he is asked to approach. "Every stranger who presents himself uninvited amongst them incurs the penalty of death." Among the Ancient Britons no man could

approach or pass a village without giving warning of his presence by blowing a horn. The same percussion was observed by the Maori of New Zealand.

On the other hand, one of the most notable characters of social communities in primitive cultures, as contrasted with our own societies and those of historical times, is the strong cohesion which exists between their members. The nature and extent of that solidarity are almost inconceivable and unintelligible to those who have, like ourselves, developed amid the conditions and ideas created by the strenuously competitive and suspicious individualism of modern societies. The feeling with which the savage regards his clan goes almost to the length of obliterating his sense of individuality. He experiences an injury suffered by any other member as if he were himself the victim of that injury, and any benefit accruing to the clan is felt as a piece of personal good luck, even though he himself derives no advantage from it. "It is that clan-life," says Mr. Taplin, "which is the cause of the peculiar national character of the Australian tribes. In the clan there can be no personal property—all implements, weapons, etc., belong to the members collectively; every individual regards them as possessions of his clan, and to be employed for its welfare and defence as occasion may require. If he has a weapon, or net, or canoe which is in some sense his own, he knows that his property in it is subject to the superior rights of the clan. Every man is interested in his neighbour's property and cares for it because it is part of the wealth of the family collectively. The writer has often remarked with what solemnity a fisherman will call his friends to a consultation over the repairs of a canoe or a fishing-net; with a similar gravity will he get them to deliberate over his family affairs, the marriage of his son, or the betrothal of his daughter. He is surprised that you should expect him to act on his own individual judgment; to him that would be dishonestly ignoring the rights of others. Every one of the clan feels interest in that which is used by his neighbour, because he has a share in it. Only let sufficient occasion arise, and he has a right to

use it himself. One effect of this state of things is a lack of the grace of gratitude. If a man be in danger or injured, any one of the same clan who succours him is supposed to do it more for the sake of the clan than from personal regard. Indeed, it is often the case that a man will give all the help he can to one whom he dislikes. His personal feelings are sunk for the common good; and if any kindness is shown to one of the clan, it is felt to be shown to the whole. Whatever injury there befalls a single individual is a general damage that befalls the whole." An individual has no personal rights to the game, fish, or vegetable food which he may obtain. "Division of game takes place according to old-established rule in which they practise considerable self-denial, the hunter often going short himself that others might have the recognised share. When a kangaroo is killed, the hind leg is given to the hunter's father, with the backbone; the other leg to his father's brother; the tail to his sister; the shoulder to his brother; the liver he eats himself. Sometimes his own gin will be left without any, but in that case it seems to be the rule that her brother gives her of his hunting, or someone else on her side. A blackfellow would rather go short himself and pretend he was not hungry than incur the odium of having been greedy in camp, or of neglecting the duties of hospitality." There are rules for dividing a single fish; and even a snake is cut in pieces and handed round. "Communism," says the Rev. W. Ridley, "is another law of the aborigines. Real and personal property is rendered impossible by their systematic communism. So when blackfellows whose traditional ideas of law are not dispelled come to the stations and receive presents or rewards, these are divided among their companions; and it was got from mere thoughtlessness or ignorance of the value of what they possessed, not yet from benevolence, that when a suit of clothes was given one, the company to which he belonged were seen accoutred, one with nothing but a coat, another with a hat, another with trousers." The same surprising ignorance of the rights of private property has been noted among the Fuegians, who actually deal

honestly by one another, and have no notion of cheating. "The perfect equality among individuals composing Fuegian tribes" is, Darwin thought, fatal to any hope of their becoming civilised. "Even a piece of cloth given to one is torn in shreds and distributed; no one individual becomes richer than another." The wild Veddahs of Ceylon have the same detestable principles. Among the Eskimo, the hunter has no personal right to his catch; it is divided among all the inhabitants of the village. "In small things and in great, whatever is to be found in an Eskimo village in the way of provisions and tools is the common property of all. As long as there is a piece of meat in the camp it belongs to all." In Tahiti, "it seems," says Bougainville, "that as regards the necessities of life there is no private property, and everything belongs to everybody." In Torres Straits Islands "the solidarity of the totem-clan was a marked feature in the social history of the people and it took precedence of all other considerations." Among the Ibo every man is actuated by the group-mind of the tribe; "the will of the tribe or family expressed or implied permeates his whole being, and is the deciding factor in every detail of his life. It is a sort of intangible freemasonry, the essence of the primary instinct of the people. He is under the influence of an atmosphere which emanates from the whole tribe. This subliminal consciousness by which all his movements are controlled becomes practically a sixth sense. It is inexplicable in words, but nevertheless extremely powerful in action." "A Kaffir," writes Mr. Kidd, "feels that 'the frame that binds him in' extends to the clan. The sense of solidarity of the family in Europe is thin and feeble compared with the full-blooded sense of corporate union of the Kaffir clan. The claims of the clan entirely swamp the rights of the individual. The system of tribal land-tenure, which has worked so well in its smoothness that it might satisfy the utmost dreams of the socialist, is a standing proof of the sense of corporate union of the clan. Fortunately for Europeans this sense of corporate union does not extend beyond the tribe, or no white man could have survived in South Africa. In

olden days a man did not have any feeling of personal injury when a chief made him work for white men and then told him to give all, or nearly all, of his wages to the chief; the money was kept within the clan, and what was the good of the clan was the good of the individual and vice versa. It should be pointed out that it is not only the missionary who teaches the native the value of the individual, but it is also the trader, the mineowner, and the farmer. The striking thing about the unity of the clan is that it was not a thought-out plan imposed from without by legislation on an unwilling people, but a felt-out plan which arose spontaneously along the line of least resistance. If one member of the clan suffered, all the members suffered, not in sentimental phraseology, but in real fact. The corporate union was not a petty religious fancy with which to please the mind, but was so truly felt that it formed an excellent basis from which the altruistic sentiments might start. Gross selfishness was curbed, the turbulent passions were restrained by an impulse which the man felt welling up within him, instinctive and unbidden." Of the North American Indians Captain Carver says: "The Indians in their common state are strangers to all distinction of property, except in the articles of domestic use, which everyone considers his own and increases as circumstances admit. They are extremely liberal to each other and supply the deficiencies of their friends with any superfluity of their own. In dangers they readily give assistance to those of their band who stand in need of it, under no expectation of return, except of the just rewards that are always conferred by the Indians on merit. In their public character, as forming part of a community, they possess an attachment for the band to which they belong unknown to the inhabitants of any other country. They combine, as it were actuated only by one soul, against the enemy of their nation, and banish from their minds every consideration opposed to this. The honour of their tribe and the welfare of the nation is the first and most predominant emotion of their hearts, and from hence proceed in great measure all their virtues and their vices. Actuated by this

they brave any danger, endure the most exquisite torments, and expire triumphing in their fortitude, not as a personal qualification, but as a national characteristic." "These savages," writes La Hontan, "know nothing of mine and thine, for it may be said that what belongs to one belongs to another. When a savage has been unsuccessful in beaver-hunting, his fellows succour him without being asked. If his gun bursts or breaks, each hastens to offer him another. If his children are captured or slain by foes, he is given as many slaves as he needs to provide for his subsistence. It is only those who are Christians and dwell at the gates of our towns who make use of money. The others will not touch it. They call it the 'Snake of the French.' They say that amongst us folks will rob, slander, betray, sell one another for money; that husbands sell their wives, and mothers their daughters, for this metal. They think it strange that someone should have more goods than others, and that those who have more should be more esteemed than those who have less. They never quarrel and fight amongst themselves, nor steal from one another, or speak ill one of another." "What is extremely surprising in men whose external appearance is wholly barbarous," says Father Charlevoix, "is to see them treat one another with a gentleness and consideration which one does not find among common people in the most civilised nations. This, doubtless, arises in part from the fact that the words 'mine' and 'thine,' which St. Chrysostom says extinguish in our hearts the fire of charity and kindle that of greed, are unknown to these savages." "I have seen them," says Heckewelder, "divide game, venison, bear's meat, fish, etc., among themselves, when they sometimes had many shares to make; and cannot recollect a single instance of their falling into a dispute or finding fault with the distribution as being unequal or otherwise objectionable. They would rather lie down themselves on an empty stomach than have it laid to their charge that they neglected to satisfy the needy; only dogs and beasts, they say, fight amongst themselves. They look upon themselves as but one great family who, therefore, ought at all times and on all oc-

casions to be serviceable and kind to each other." A student of the Araucanians of Chili says: "The communal sentiment was highly developed amongst them. The will and initiative of the individual were merged in the absolute power of the community; the convenience and wishes of one man were bound up with those of all others who obeyed traditional custom."

The reactions of primitive human nature thus differ considerably from what we are prone to assume to be the natural reactions of human nature in general. One of the most fundamental and startling of these differences is the degree, almost inconceivable to us, in which the sentiment of individuality is undeveloped in the primitive mind. A savage will find no difficulty not only in identifying himself with an animal or a tree, he will say without any sense of paradox that his son or his brother is 'himself,' he will declare with no perception of inconsistency that he is in two places at the same time. He quite seriously regards any detached portion of his body, such as his hair, nail-parings, spittle, as parts of his personality. His clothes and his name are likewise parts of himself, and have to be protected from injury. In fact the savage does not distinguish between what we call personal property and his own living person. In the same manner an injury to a member of his group is felt as an injury inflicted on himself. He resents it not by virtue of sentiments of magnanimity, but because of the hazy conceptions of individuality which permit of his complete identification with the group to which he belongs. He does not think in terms of his ego and its interests, but in terms of group-feelings and group-interests.

The sentiment of individuality which forms the centre of the judgments and estimates of modern man, has developed mainly in relation to the growth of personal property. William James noted the important part which personal possessions play in the feeling of individuality. That feeling can be strongly developed only where the interests of the individual are in sharp opposition with those of others. After

a few years of contact with Europeans primitive man becomes completely transformed. That transformation is, no doubt, due in great part to the influence of new ideas, but the chief cause is the acquisition of private property and the taking part in individual transactions. The peasant populations of Europe closely resemble the savage in many respects, in the observance of immemorial traditions, customs, and superstitions. But in one respect the European peasant differs profoundly from the savage. He is a proprietor; and instead of those sentiments of social solidarity conspicuous in primitive man, we find in the peasant opposite sentiments of narrow selfishness and meanness. For the primitive savage there are group-interests, things which both he and the group desire, and there are strong and fierce antagonisms between those interests and those of other groups. But he and his fellows are not competitors, and he has no clear consciousness of any conflict between his personal interests and opposed interests within his group. The development of those individual interests has taken place only when the individual has held property apart from the group and has thus become separated from it both economically and psychologically. It is not the operation of innate individualistic instincts that has given rise to the acquisition of personal property; it is, rather, the acquisition of personal property which has brought about the development of individualistic feelings.

To the strange sense of solidarity of primitive human social groups is due the mere possibility of the development of humanity. That sense has become lost with the rise of competitive interests; but originally the emergence of social humanity out of animality would have been impossible had the members of primitive social groups been actuated by the individualism which governs the behaviour of modern man. Humanity could never have come into being had its earliest representatives been hordes of jealous and suspicious individualists, in which every member sought his personal advantage only. It is because primitive human nature was differently

constituted that the growth of social man was made possible. And it is the operation of the maternal protective functions which, in turn, produced that primitive mentality.

In the higher forms of life what has been called the 'social instinct' is the outcome of development in a condition of infantile dependence; it is the correlative of maternal care. In no animal species, however, is the duration of that condition of dependence sufficiently prolonged to establish a permanent bond between the members of a given group. In the human species, even in the relatively precocious existing savage races, the duration of dependent infancy is nearly twice as long as with the nearest animal relatives of man. That difference converts the transient and unstable relation between mother and offspring, and between members of the same brood into one which can easily become permanent. Before the young human being has attained to maturity and independence other members, his habitual associates, have become added to the group. The sense of dependence upon external care and protection under which his growth to maturity has taken place has become extended from one or a few individuals to the social group. The relation has become a deep-seated necessity of his nature, the bond a permanent one. He is no longer an isolated animal individual, but a social being.

To that transition from animal individualism to society, far more than to any physiological or anatomical character, or even to the development of the brain, which is itself a result of that prolonged growth under the influence of social experience, is due the emergence of the human race out of animal conditions.

These determining factors in the origin of the human race and of society are dependent upon the operation of the maternal impulses. They are the outcome of their favourable activity in the maternally constituted animal family. Had the incipient human social group been a herd or horde ruled by the selfishness of a despotic patriarchal male, the operation of these factors would have been subject to a heavy, if not indeed a fatal, handicap.

CHAPTER III

THE RULE OF EXOGAMY

THE earliest social assemblages must, as has been pointed out by various scholars, be assumed to have been of some considerable size. Even the rudiments of social relations and of human culture cannot be imagined as having developed in groups consisting of a few individuals, such as an ordinary family. The concerted activities which are involved in hunting, for instance, postulate joint activities which cannot be supposed to have evolved from the coöperation of two or three males scarcely differentiated in mental development from animals. As Professor Carveth Read has conclusively shown, family life alone is insufficient to afford scope for the first development of articulate speech. Speaking generally, all culture is proportional to the range of human intercourse, and is therefore favoured by the size of a community and by the extent of its relations with others.

Some races on the lowest level of culture, such as the savages of Tierra del Fuego, some of the most wretched tribes of the Amazon and Parana, the Veddahs of Ceylon, and some arctic populations, have been cited as living at the present day in small scattered groups hardly larger than families. But none of those instances can be adduced as illustrating the condition of primitive humanity, for in every one it is known that the present state of those people is the result of their having been driven to their unfavourable habitat by the pressure of more powerful enemies. Thus the Fuegians, who belong to the same ethnic stock as other races of South America, have been "literally pushed off the edge of the world," and "forced to break up into small clan or family groups." Eskimo and

Siberian tribes have been similarly driven back into the barren deserts of snow of the Arctic. The Veddae are known to be "descended from ancestors who were more civilised than themselves," and to have been pushed back into the forest by conquering invaders. The tribes of the Amazon are likewise known to have been driven from the coast into the interior by the Tupi tribes who descended from the north. These are defeated races, whose social constitution and culture are degenerate. They cannot therefore be adduced as representing primitive human conditions. The emergence of human society and culture postulate, like the beginnings of life itself, exceptionally propitious conditions, victorious and progressive, not defeated and degenerate races.

The problem, which has caused more perplexity than any other, arises from the necessity of supposing that human society has from the beginning, or from an early stage in its development, consisted of assemblages larger than a single family. Incipient human society was, like every animal association, a reproductive group of males and females. Sexual relations within the group must either be assumed to have been wholly promiscuous, or cause must be shown why they were not. The formation of segregated sexual groups, or families, within the larger community cannot be assumed without adequately accounting for it. There exists no biological facts of any kind which justify the supposition that in any close association of males and females segregated association of sexual partners can take place naturally. Such segregation, where it is found in human societies, constituting separate families within the social aggregate, is the result of social regulations and moral traditions which do not operate among animals. Among the latter, even those species which habitually unite in pairs become promiscuous as soon as they are assembled in large numbers. Reichenow put forward, as has been mentioned, the hypothesis that gorillas mate in pairs within the troop. But that hypothesis suggesting a phenomenon unknown in natural history is entirely unsupported by adequate evidence, and is quite inconsistent with

our knowledge of the sexual behaviour of apes. It may here be noted that the modes of association found among the anthropoid apes can only serve as a very loose basis for inferences concerning early human groups, for those modes of association are found to vary, among the various species of anthropoids, and in the same species, in relation to economic circumstances. Where food is abundant they are found in large troops, where food is scarce, in smaller groups. The large gorillas which require great quantities of food are usually found in smaller bands than the less bulky chimpanzees, and orang-utans are entirely solitary. But, while no inference can be drawn from the size of anthropoid assemblages to that of early human groups, no assumption can, at the same time, be made postulating without suitable evidence sexual reactions or habits in incipient humanity differing entirely from those found among anthropoids or any other mammalian species.

Whether it be supposed that the earliest human social aggregates were formed by the multiplication and continued association of single pairs, or by the aggregation of several groups, comes to the same thing. According to every biological precedent the larger group must, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, be assumed to have been entirely promiscuous as regards sex relations. The problem of social origins is that of accounting for the introduction of sexual restrictions and regulations in such a promiscuous group.

It should be observed that a promiscuous assemblage in which the male members were the sexual associates of the females would, under human conditions, very soon tend to lose its maternal character and to become such a horde dominated by despotic masculine instincts as is pictured in the patriarchal theory of social origins. The physical advantages of the men as hunters and fighters would, in those conditions, be apt to establish a masculine despotism which is not liable to arise in the same manner in animal aggregates where masculine physical advantages are of little account and every individual, whether male or female, is self-providing and self-

feeding. As has been already observed, those conditions would, to say the least, be extremely unfavourable to the development of specific human characters and cultural growth.

When we turn to the evidence of ethnological data we find in general that there is in uncultured human communities a close approximation as regards sexual relations to the promiscuity of animals. The family, such as it is conceived as the foundation of society is not a prominent feature of those societies, and there is therefore no ground for supposing either that social mankind originated in isolated groups resembling that traditional conception, or from the coming together of already constituted and permanently consolidated family-groups. The animal family is an entirely different type of group. It is formed, not by the association of male and female, but by the relation of mother and offspring, and, since the male does not constitute an essential feature of the group, there is no reason why the aggregate of any number of maternal families should be inconsistent with complete promiscuity of sexual relations.

But, although the lower forms of uncultured societies are not marked by regulations establishing the sexual segregation of paternal families, there is one important regulation of sexual relations which is found, and generally observed, in almost all of them. And even though sexual relations may be supposed to have been in other respects promiscuous, that restriction on them must be supposed either to have been operative from the first in incipient human groups, or to have become established at a very early stage.

It is known to everyone who has even a passing acquaintance with anthropological literature that the most general rule governing the organisation of primitive social groups is that termed 'exogamy'—the rule, namely, that sexual relations shall not take place within the group, but always with a member or members of another group. The rule of exogamy is in fact identical with the prohibition of incest in higher societies, with the sole difference that while the prohibition in the family constituted as it is in our advanced patriarchal so-

cieties only affects a small number of close relatives, in groups consisting not of families, but of larger aggregates, or clans, it affects the whole of the members of the group and sexual relations between the male and the female members are prohibited. According to the rule of exogamy every member, male or female, of the group, whatever its size, must seek a sexual partner in an altogether different group. The manner in which that rule is found to be carried out in a large number of primitive societies is by the males either leaving the maternal group and being adopted into the group to which their sexual partners belong, and living with them, or simply by their visiting them while they themselves continue to live in their own group. In either case the females do not leave the family group in which they were born.

Of the origin of exogamy varied and numerous theories have been given, but the very circumstance that almost every writer on the subject feels compelled to devise a new one confirms the admitted fact that none has hitherto proved to be satisfactory. All indeed may be said to be open to fatal objections. That failure to account for what is the most fundamental and general principle of organisation in the evolution of human societies seems to point to some radical fault in the method or assumptions on which such attempts at explanation have been founded.

The chief current theories are based mostly on three classes of explanations. One type of theory, which was indirectly suggested by Darwin, is that more elaborately set forth by Mr. Atkinson which is founded upon the out-and-out patriarchal version of social origins, and pictures the primitive patriarchal horde, or 'Cyclopean family,' dominated by a tyrannous adult male. The despot in his greed to retain possession of all the females is represented as driving away all younger males, who are therefore compelled to seek women, like Cain, in some other group which is imperfectly accounted for. Apart from the already-mentioned insuperable difficulty, as it seems to me, of evolving such a patriarchal group out of any known form of animal association, the theory is

self-contradictory and explains nothing. The jealous tyranny of the old males would operate to the same degree, and rather more surely, against strange young males from another group as against those of the same group. Those young males could only obtain women at all by fighting the old males, whether their own fathers or others, and would in that struggle have exactly the same chance of obtaining possession of their sisters as of any other females. The hopelessness of the case does not appear to be elucidated by the Freudian supposition that the young males, after eating their father and marrying their mothers and sisters, instituted the prohibition of incest in a mood of contrition for their misdeeds.

The oldest and the most familiar view of the origin of the incest prohibition, and therefore of the rule of exogamy, is that which applies equally to most moral traditions, namely, that the rule is implanted in human nature as an innate instinct, or that breaches of it are attended with such dire and injurious effects that the rule has been adopted by common consent as a remedy. It was seriously supposed by all the older theorists, before the rise of scientific anthropology, that our savage ancestors, having noticed the deleterious effects of inbreeding on the population, had passed a resolution to put a stop to the practice. Many uncultured savages when questioned on the subject give indeed a similar account of the origin of the custom, as they do, for that matter, of any custom or *tabu* of which they may have forgotten the meaning. Thus the Australian Dieri state that sexual unions were at one time promiscuous, but that the awful effects became so manifest that a council of the elders was called to deliberate on the matter, and that, on consulting one of their oracles, they were directed to establish their present system of marriage classes. The Fanti of the Gold Coast and the Achewa of Nyasaland offer similar accounts.

It may here be incidentally noted that the prevalent popular notion that established customs even though they may appear foolish and superstitious, are founded upon some nucleus of unconscious wisdom and are the outcome of ac-

accumulated experience, is entirely illusory. Savages are hopelessly improvident, and there is nothing farther removed from their psychology than the adoption of any measure on the ground of sanitary reasons or public health. It is certain, for example, that the chief cause of the low rate of multiplication of savage peoples lies in the custom of prolonged suckling, which goes on with all savage mothers for several years. Yet, although the increase of the tribe is one of the keenest desires of all uncultured peoples, no rule, superstitious or other, has ever arisen in any part of the world to limit the practice. Or again, there exists clear and definite evidence that extreme youth in the parents, especially the mother, results almost invariably in offspring which is undersized and of poor vitality. But among almost all uncivilised peoples young girls become mothers as soon as they are able to procreate; and the very real and manifest evils of the practice, to which the physical decay of many primitive peoples is due, have nowhere led to a rule, protest, or prejudice against it.

Theories based on the notion that inbreeding is attended with conspicuous injurious effects in the offspring are not at the present day of much scientific account. The old idea, however, still lingers so prevalently among the general public that it will be advisable to glance at the facts bearing upon it. The subject offers moreover interesting study in the history of popular prejudice.

All animal species propagate without regard to the closest inbreeding. Not only does there not exist any provision, either in the form of instincts or devices, whereby a check may be placed upon such inbreeding, but it appears to be encouraged by the dispositions of all animals. Many propagate exclusively by what we should term the closest incestuous unions. Thus the red-deer and many species of antelopes usually reproduce by the union of brothers and sisters. It appears probable that this is the general rule throughout the animal kingdom; it is most commonly among male and female members of the same brood that mating takes place.

It is also a general law that animal races, however slight the difference between them, show a marked aversion to mingle. "We have now abundant evidence," says Darwin, "that if it were not for this feeling, many more hybrids would be naturally produced than is the case." Whole countries, as is well known, have been overrun by the offspring of single pairs, or of a very small number of individuals, and in all such cases the inbreeding must have been very close.

Experiments have been carried out on rats, mice, guinea-pigs, rabbits, by causing them to inbreed closely for many generations. They have in most instances shown no perceptible evil effects as regards the quality and size of the animals, but a diminution in fertility has been sometimes observed. It is, however, well known that all animals suffer a diminution of fertility when kept in close confinement. Rodents are particularly affected. In the Zoological Gardens in London "some rodents have coupled, but never produced young, some have neither coupled nor bred, but a few have bred." The common hare, when confined, "has never bred in Europe." Squirrels never breed in confinement. The extremely prolific species experimented on would be unique if their fertility were not affected by close confinement. Those experiments have more recently been repeated on a larger scale by Dr. H. D. King on white rats. Care was taken to breed only from healthy specimens. Two series were inbred from two pairs of rats, brothers being mated regularly with sisters, and control breeds were kept which were allowed to reproduce at haphazard. "These laboratory rats, which have been inbred as closely as possible for twenty-two generations, are in every respect superior to the stock rats from which they took their start six years ago, and which have since been bred in the usual indiscriminate manner." The male inbred rats were 15 per cent. heavier than the stock male rats, the females 3 per cent. heavier. The largest albino rat ever recorded was produced. The inbred rats "live fully as long as do the stock rats, and they appear equally resistant to disease"; the proportion of unhealthy individuals

was the same among inbred and stock rats. The fertility of the inbred rats was nearly 8 per cent. greater than that of the stock rats.

It was formerly supposed that the experience of breeders of domesticated animals afforded evidence that inbreeding carried on for many generations resulted in degenerative changes. But it has been abundantly shown that the impression rested on fallacies. Selection of pathological characters, such as adiposity in pigs or cattle, may lead, of course, to the production of stocks which are, from the biological point of view, morbid and degenerate. But the most healthy and fertile domestic races are likewise maintained by the closest inbreeding.

In the human race the evidence of facts is, if anything, even more definite than among animals. Close inbreeding occurs habitually among many peoples; for even where the principle of exogamy is strictly observed, if marriage outside the group takes place, as is commonly the case, for generation after generation in one particular other group, the intermarrying members stand to one another in the relation of cousins, and the two groups come to constitute in fact a single group in which close inbreeding may take place for centuries. It is, as we shall have occasion to note later, a very widespread custom for a man to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his maternal, or in some cases of his paternal uncle. These marriages are regarded in many parts of the world as obligatory, and the rule has been strictly observed from immemorial time. Yet nowhere have indications of any resulting evil effects been observed, and the races which habitually practise these marriages include some of the finest physical types of mankind. Thus, among the Bedawi a man almost invariably marries his first cousin; yet, as Doughty remarks, "notwithstanding the affinity in all their wedlock there was none deformed or lunatic of these robust hill Beduins." "Here," says Burton, "no evil results are anticipated from the union of first cousins, and the experience of ages and of a mighty nation may be trusted. Our physiologists adduce

the 'sange azul' of Spain and the case of the lower animals to prove that degeneracy inevitably follows breeding in. Either they have theorized from insufficient facts, or civilization and artificial living exercise some peculiar influence, or Arabia is a solitary exception to a general rule. The fact which I have mentioned is patent to every Eastern traveller." But far from being "a solitary exception," the same experience is repeated wherever intermarriage is the custom. Among the Bataks of Sumatra the practice of taking to wife the daughter of one's maternal uncle has been rigorously observed from time untold. The race is described as being physically the best developed in the Indian Archipelago, and the men, Junghuhn remarks, might have stood as models for the sculptors of Greece. Among the Fijians likewise marriage between first cousins was an ancient institution and regarded as a sacred duty. An elaborate census of a portion of the population carried out by Sir Basil H. Thomson and Mr. Stewart, showed that marriages between first cousins according to the old usage were associated with a higher birth-rate and a markedly greater vitality in the offspring than unions between non-relatives. So much so that Fijians who still adhere to the ancestral custom of first-cousin marriage are the only ones who succeed in maintaining their numbers, while those who do not intermarry are rapidly dying out. From the large number of people who in every part of the world give the preference to cousin marriages there has not been brought forward any instance which might be set against the testimony of the above.

There exist, besides, in almost every part of the world small and isolated communities where for centuries, marriages have of necessity taken place between closely related individuals. They are almost invariably distinguished by conspicuously fine bodily development and robust health. For example, in the Tengger Hills of Java the Sarabaya community numbers some 1,200 people who for ages have intermarried. "They differ from the people of the plain, being taller and more robust." Again, in Western Java there exists a small segre-

gated community, the Badawis, who number no more than about forty families all told. They have refused to adopt any other religion than their ancient animism, and so strictly do they keep themselves segregated from all neighbours that no woman is allowed to leave the district except for a few hours. They are remarkable for their powerful build and the vigorous health of both men and women, and they have the reputation of being the best behaved, the most honest and law-abiding among the native population. In Europe such intermarrying communities are common in hill districts and among fisherfolk. That of Bata, near Croisic, which numbers about 3,300 people, was made the subject of a very thorough investigation by Dr. Voisin. He did not find an instance of malformation, mental disease, or any of the evils ascribed to inbreeding; marriages between first cousins in that community were found to produce an average of 4.6 of offspring, whereas the general average for France at that time was only 3. At Staithes, a village between Whitby and Saltburn, there existed until quite lately a community which had for ages "so intermarried as to be all more or less closely related to one another." They were a hardy race of fishers; the men were "well grown, athletic and powerful, the maidens straight and comely, and the children as sturdy as could anywhere be found in the three kingdoms." At Smith's Island, off the coast of Maryland, all the inhabitants, who do not exceed seven hundred in number, are said to be interrelated; "a physician who lived in the community for three years failed to find among the seven hundred persons a single case of idiocy, insanity, epilepsy, or congenital deafness."

While the manifestations of racial degeneration in royal families, such as the Hapsburgs and the Spanish Bourbons, are often referred to popularly—it is hard to see on what grounds—as illustrating the evils of inbreeding, those royal families who have systematically practised dynastic incest furnish no evidence of those supposed evils. None is afforded by the Ptolemies; the practice which they adopted when they took over the throne of Egypt had been regularly

observed in that country for at least 3000 years; it was to our knowledge practised to what one might call excess in the golden age of the Egyptian monarchy, during the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, every king of the former marrying his sister as the lawful mother of the heir to the throne. Yet the race that produced Seti and Rameses affords no evidence of degeneration, nor does there exist in the age-long records of by far the longest line of kings in the world's history, among whom not mere inbreeding, but actual incest was a fundamental and immemorial principle, any fact that can lead support to the doctrine of the evil results of inbreeding.

If there existed a constant relation between consanguineous unions and any form of racial degeneration or disease, there should be no difficulty in demonstrating the fact beyond dispute, by statistical investigations. Yet no attempt to do this has met with any success. The most thorough general investigation of the kind is still that which was undertaken by Sir George H. Darwin. It is a classic of conscientious statistical enquiry. Its value is enhanced by the fact that the author—himself the offspring of a cousin-marriage—was, like his father, strongly disposed to believe that inbreeding is attended with injurious effects, and hoped by the investigation to place the belief on a scientific basis. His results as regards the incidence of insanity and mental derangements were that the percentage of offspring from cousin marriages to be found in asylums is no greater than the percentage of offspring from non-related persons. With reference to deaf-mutism, the percentage of offspring from cousin-marriages was exactly the same as from other marriages. As regards fertility he found that the balance was slightly in favour of cousin-marriages. He further collected statistics with reference to a special class, namely, the pears, in which a different result might have been expected; the figures showed, however, that there was no less fertility and no less vitality in the offspring of pears who had married their cousins than in the offspring of those who had married non-relatives. While he holds the view that inbreeding may in some manner

not known have injurious effects, the final conclusion of his investigation was that "there is no evidence whatever of any ill results accruing to the offspring in consequence of consanguinity of parents." The distinguished Italian anthropologist, Dr. Mantegazza, was an even more ardent advocate of the injuriousness of consanguineous unions than Sir George Darwin, and devoted at one time much labour to collecting statistics with a view to demonstrating the grounds of his belief. He had, however, the disappointment of having to admit that no such injurious effects could be demonstrated from his materials.

The specific evil effects which have most commonly been alleged to result from consanguineous marriages are mental deficiency, deaf-mutism and sterility. It is to be noted that the last two conditions appear to be incompatible with one another. "All authors who have directed their attention to this subject," writes Dr. Holger Mygind, "agree that the marriages producing deaf-mutes are remarkable for their fertility." So pronounced and constant is that procreative power, that Dr. Graham Bell was apprehensive lest it should lead to the formation of "a deaf variety of the human race." The defenders of the doctrine of the injuriousness of consanguineous marriages are therefore under the necessity of choosing between the two evils which they are desirous of inflicting upon the progeny of these unions; if they insist that they shall be deaf, they must allow them a more than normal fertility; if they wish them to be afflicted with sterility and their race to be extinguished, they should say nothing about deaf-mutism. Since the same high rate of fertility has also been noted in regard to other congenital pathological conditions which are set down to consanguineous unions, the dilemma would appear to have extensive bearings.

In attempts to demonstrate the supposed evil effects of inbreeding, by far the largest amount of attention has been devoted to the condition of deaf-mutism and to the statistics referring to it. Many eminent medical authorities have expressed, with greater or less emphasis, the opinion that con-

sanguineous marriages are a factor, an important factor, or even the paramount factor, in the production of congenital deaf-mutism. All modern authorities who hold that view are careful to insist that they confine the claim to truly congenital cases only, and that they do not refer to cases in which deafness has been acquired after birth.

The former class of cases is, however, extremely rare. Some of the older writers supposed that they were common. Hartmann thought that about half the cases of deaf-mutism were congenital; Schmaltz went so far as to state that there were twice as many congenital as acquired cases. The progress of our knowledge has constantly reduced the proportion. When patients in deaf-mute institutions come to be carefully examined by experts, it is found that scarcely any that have been classified as 'congenital' can be regarded as undoubtedly such, and that the vast majority show unmistakable signs of acquired inflammatory conditions of the ear. The incidence of those conditions increases enormously in proportion to the youth of the patient; the majority occur in the first year, many more in the second than in the third year, and by far the greatest number originate in the first months of life. The new-born child is deaf, and not until four or five months after birth does the fact that it hears or not the human voice become patent to casual observers. It is apparent that in those circumstances "the assertion of uneducated people that the children are deaf from birth is not worthy of trust." Under insanitary conditions and with the poorer classes, among whom the vast majority of cases occur, discharges from the ear produced by inflammatory conditions are extremely common and very little notice of them is taken. "Even by a thorough scientific examination," says Dr. Politzer, "in a number of cases it cannot be ascertained whether the case is one of congenital or acquired deaf-mutism." The question cannot even in many instances be settled by a post-mortem examination. Modern authorities are agreed that deafness is due in the great majority of instances to acquired disease, and that truly congenital cases

are very rare. Dr. Langdon Down was of opinion that the majority of such cases, if not all, are tubercular. Of late it has been realised that a large proportion of such 'congenital' cases is due to syphilis. Neither tubercle nor syphilis can be taken into account in discussing natural heredity. The residue of truly 'congenital' cases is, indeed, so small and so constantly dwindling with the advance of knowledge that it becomes doubtful whether it exists. Dr. Hammerschlag thinks it would be better to drop the term 'congenital' in reference to the condition. There can, in any case, be no doubt that by far the larger number of cases which appear as 'congenital' in statistics, especially in the older, are not such.

It is apparent from the above considerations alone that the value to be attached to the most careful statistical statements purporting to show a greater incidence of congenital deafness in the progeny of consanguineous parents than in that from other marriages is very questionable. Those circumstances would be sufficient to invalidate conclusions drawn from large numbers and showing pronounced tendencies; but since the numbers of supposed congenital cases and of consanguineous marriages are both small, it is, even in extensive statistics, on very small numbers and minimal differences that claims are based. The earlier statements purporting to be founded upon statistics which led to the belief that the ancient opinion regarding the evil effects of consanguineous unions was corroborated by facts, did, indeed, represent quite a large proportion of deaf-mutes as having been born of parents related by blood.

The statistics of deaf-mutism have been repeatedly subjected to critical analysis both by the opponents and the supporters of the doctrine of the injuriousness of inbreeding. The conclusion of Mr. Huth's exhaustive discussion is that "statistics on which so much reliance has been placed as a proof of the harmfulness of consanguineous marriages are, when not absolutely false, miserably misleading and defective." Dr. A. Graham Bell, one of the most ardent upholders of the doctrine, says: "We have no statistics that un-

decisively prove that consanguineous marriage is a cause of deafness."

It is so the statistics of deaf-mutism that reliance has chiefly been placed in attempts to substantiate by the evidence of facts the doctrine concerning the evil effects of consanguineous unions. Since the evidence put forward in regard to other supposed evil effects, such as idiocy, is even more slender and insignificant, it may suffice to cite the conclusions of some of the foremost authorities on the subject. "One of the most common beliefs in reference to idiocy," writes Sir George Savage, "is that consanguineous marriages are among the most common causes of the production of the condition. To the popular mind, the marriage of cousins is sure to produce idiocy. But I am quite of the opinion of Mr. Huth, who most carefully studied the whole question, that consanguinity alone has little to do with the production of idiots. If the stock be healthy in mind and body, there is no extra risk in the marriage of cousins." Dr. S. Langdon Down, who had an unrivalled experience, both clinical and theoretical, not only of all forms of idiocy, but also of deaf-mutism, used to state his opinion that the human race might be greatly improved by encouraging the marriages of selected cousins. Dr. A. F. Tredgold, who has established his reputation as the highest and most learned special authority on mental debility and idiocy, states his conclusions as follows: "I consider that the statement that consanguinity in itself is an important cause of imbecility to be one not supported by facts."

The belief that the offspring of parents consanguineously related will inevitably be stricken with afflictions of a character specially affecting the mind, or the senses, or by some gross deformity of the bodily form, clearly pointing to the 'hand of God,' is much older than any appeal to experience or any attempt to support that belief by scientific evidence. It long preceded any statistics, enquiries, or researches, and was not induced from such. Several advocates of the belief, who have been disappointed in the results of such enquiries,

have fallen back upon the true basis of the belief, which is of a religious and not of a scientific character. M. Devay, the most vehement protagonist of the doctrine, who produced a whole literature of wild statements and statistics, relies, after all, for the main force of his argument against consanguineous marriages, not upon those statistics, but upon the fact that those marriages are condemned by the Roman Catholic Church. Dr. Menière, the foremost authority of his day on diseases of the ear, in declaring his faith in the importance of consanguinity of the parents in the causation of deaf-mutism, adduces no fact in confirmation of his assertion except the sinfulness of such marriages in the eyes of the Catholic Church.

The doctrine that union between blood-relatives is attended with awful effects in the offspring is firmly held not only by the uncultured classes in Europe, but by almost all savages the world over. The mountaineers of Albania endorse the opinion of our rural surgeons that incest would inevitably result in deaf-mutism. The Aleuts are strong believers in the production of malformations by inbreeding; they assert that the offspring of incestuous unions would have tusks like a walrus, and other monstrous deformities. The Kaffirs of South Africa are in agreement with some of the older authorities on alienism who held that consanguine marriages are the cause of idiocy. The Basoga of Uganda go much further than our breeders in condemning in-and-in breeding; they are so scandalised at the notion of incest being committed by their cattle, or rather they are so afraid of the possible consequences, that a bull and cow who are found guilty of the crime are ignominiously tied up all night to a tree, until the chief, overlooking the risk, appropriates the animals as his perquisite. Not only are all manner of diseases in the offspring ascribed by savages to disregard of the prohibition against incest, but the guilty parents themselves are thought to be equally liable to be visited with afflictions. The like misfortunes may also befall all their relatives or even the whole tribe. In Celebes such unions are believed to pro-

duce failure of the crops; the Galatians regard them as the cause of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions; and in Mindanao they are supposed to cause floods. These are the usual effects which are liable to follow the infringement of any tabu. The modes of inbreeding which give rise to them vary according to the particular customs of the peoples. Thus the Marung of Borneo have peculiar notions of the prohibited degrees: marriages between brothers and sisters are permissible, and accordingly the people are very positive that the offspring of these unions are remarkably strong and healthy. On the other hand, they regard with horror marriage between cousins or with a mother's sister, or a wife's mother, and they have no doubt that the offspring of such unions would be wretchedly feeble and unhealthy. With the Ehotias, the prohibition against cousin-marriage refers to the father's side only; they are convinced that the offspring of such marriages would be afflicted with all manner of congenital diseases, while, on the other hand, the offspring of cousins on the mother's side would be perfectly healthy. Similarly, the Hereros consider that if the children of two brothers or of two sisters were to marry, their offspring would be so deficient in vitality that it could hardly live; but no evil effects could result from the union of the children of a brother and a sister. Among some people, again, all marriages between close relatives are regarded as particularly lucky. Thus, for instance, the Kalangs of Java believe that incestuous unions between mother and son are blessed with success and prosperity. The peasants of Archangel are convinced that marriages between blood-relatives are "blessed with a rapid increase of children." Among the tribes of British Central Africa there is a curious notion that a man who commits incest with his sister or his mother is thereby rendered bullet-proof.

The popular belief in the evil effects of inbreeding and of consanguaneous marriages is identical with the notions held by most savages. The doctrine which, with the rise of scientific methods, has assumed the form of a scientific hypothesis, and has been discussed and investigated by biologists and

medical authorities, is far older than any conception of those methods, and appears to be, in fact, the survival of a superstition transmitted by traditional heredity from the most primitive stages of culture.

A third type of theory to account for the rule of exogamy, instanced by the views of Dr. Havelock Ellis, Professor Westermarck, and Mr. Walter Heape, is that which seeks the origin of the rule in the relatively low sexual attraction of a household associate as compared with a stranger. Jeremy Bentham long ago remarked that "It is very rare that the passion of love is developed within the circle of individuals to whom marriage ought to be forbidden. There needs to give birth to that sentiment a certain degree of surprise, and sudden effect of novelty. Individuals accustomed to see each other from an age which is capable neither of conceiving desire nor of inspiring it, will see each other with the same eyes to the end of life." The relatively lower stimulating value of the habitual associate as compared with the stranger on the sexual impulses of the male, is an instance of the physiological law, known as Weber's law, that stimuli vary inversely with the frequency of their incidence. But the lower stimulation is purely relative, and has little bearing upon the crude and unscrutinizing impulse of the savage. That there is not even in the existing conditions of civilised society and culture, from which the psychological data with which we are dealing have been too exclusively drawn, any aversion to sexual relations between persons who have lived closely together from early youth is amply evidenced. Such companionship from childhood upwards, or any sort of non-sexual companionship, far from being a bar to sexual relations, commonly leads to those relations. A man's female companionships which remain for a long time 'platonic' almost invariably end in marriage. Cousin-marrriages in our society are commonly the result of such association. Love between associates of childhood has been the theme of countless romances from 'Daphnis and Chloë,' 'Aucassin et Nicolette,' to 'Paul et Virginie,' and 'Locksley Hall.' The psychological facts which have given

rise to the notion that common upbringing is unfavourable to sexual attraction are that in relations with companions of the other sex, especially if established before the awakening of the sexual instincts, the sentiment of affection, such as is created by use and wont, preponderates over the male sexual instincts, and that the two impulses are, as has been seen, antagonistic. The companion who is regarded with pure affection or with attachment as part of one's habitual surroundings is thus less liable to become an object of simple sexual desire than the stranger. She is loved and married from affection and established companionship, and the masculine impulse is a superadded ingredient only of the sentiment with which she is regarded. These unions are hence viewed, not only without any suggestion of horror, but as the most desirable and suitable. And such, in fact, they are, for it is on companionship and affection, and not on sexual desire, that the success of durable sexual association depends; and that association to be permanently possible must arise, in the first instance, from such companionship and not, as the theories of Dr. Ellis and Dr. Westermarck would demand, from 'erethism.' The psychological situation is the same as in 'platonic' friendships, which are proverbially liable and prone to lead to the sexual relation. The sexual impulse of the male necessarily fastens upon the female who is most readily available and with whom he is already thrown into closest relations, and it can only be diverted from that immediately available object by equal opportunities of experiencing the attractions of the 'strange woman'; it will not discard the available object to hold itself in reserve until other attractions operate on it. Where these are forthcoming in abundance, non-sexual companionship and affection are the less likely to become sexual; where, on the other hand, these are unopposed, they inevitably become transformed into the sexual relation.

The same relation of the mating instinct to habitual association holds good in uncultured societies. Among the majority of uncultured races it is a common practice to betroth young children to one another, often before they are born.

Those children commonly grow up together from infancy like brothers and sisters in the same household; yet the enormous prevalence of the custom bears witness to the fact that such companionship from childhood upwards forms no bar to their sexual union; and it appears indeed that such marriages are, among primitive races, attended with the greatest success in respect of happiness, constancy, and affection. Thus among the tribes of the upper Congo "it is rare," we are told, "for children that grow up together to fail to marry, and to dislike one another." The happy native couples are those who are married very young; the husband will say proudly of his wife: "Did we not grow up together? Did I not see her through her puberty ceremonies? Are we not just twin children?" Among the native races of Borneo "intercourse between a youth and his sister-by-adoption (or vice versa) is not regarded as any bar to marriage." "We know," say Drs. Hose and McDougall, "at least one instance of marriage between two young Kenyahs brought up together as adopted brother and sister. This is, of course, difficult to reconcile with Professor Westermarck's well-known theory of the ground of the almost universal feeling against incest. . . . But medical experience of slum practice in European towns can supply similar evidence in large quantity. . . . It seems to us that the feeling with which incest is regarded is an example of a feeling or sentiment engendered in each generation by law and tradition, rather than a spontaneous reaction of individuals based on some special instinct or innate tendency. The occurrence of incest between brothers and sisters, and the strong feeling of the Sea Dayaks against incest between nephew and aunt (who often are members of distinct communities) are facts which seem to us fatal to Professor Westermarck's theory, as well as to point strongly to the view that the sentiment has a purely conventional or customary source." Lane remarked that among the Egyptians marriages between cousins who had been brought up together like brothers and sisters were generally happy and durable, in contrast with the general rule that matrimonial unions between strangers

were so unsatisfactory and so transient that there was scarcely a man who had not divorced at least one wife, while some had changed partners as often as twenty or thirty times in two years. Among the Chukchi of Siberia, as in every other part of the world, children are often united in marriage from infancy. "The children grow up playing together. When a little older, they tend the herd together. Of course the ties between them grow to be very strong, often stronger than death; when one dies the other also dies from grief or commits suicide." The expression, "the companion of her youth," is used in the Bible as a synonym for 'husband.'

The illusion that the horror of incest is a natural instinct arises chiefly in the conditions of our own society from the circumstance that the prohibition coincides with the lessened sexual stimulus of habitual associates. Sexuality is, in the associate, checked by tenderness and affection, as it is in all intersexual relations which arise out of companionship and not solely out of the sexual impulses; but in the one case the transition from the one order of feelings to the other is accomplished without check, whereas where the prohibition applies the mind is not allowed even to approach that stage of transition. Consequently the prohibition which bars the transition long before it is even contemplated seems to be but an expression of the natural attitude in which the instincts have remained, and to be superfluous. That prohibition thus assumes the appearance of a natural instinct and the non-sexual attitude towards the habitual associate is readily identified with it.

But those sentiments which differentiate companionship between the sexes from sexual relations are for the most part the products of high culture where companionship is susceptible of varied values and sexual attraction is subject to discrimination; to ascribe them to savage man is a psychological anachronism. Companionship between the sexes meant primitively sexual companionship, and the sexual appetites of primitive man are almost entirely devoid of discrimination, and are fully satisfied by objects which would

excite in us as much repugnance and horror as the offal and filth which he relishes as food. Sexual selection and the discrimination of the qualities that govern it play scarcely any part in either the sexual relations of uncultured peoples or in their marriage associations. The latter are, as an almost universal rule, predetermined by quite other circumstances and considerations, and the sexual instincts of primitive males are unaffected by relative value of attractiveness far grosser and more concrete than those between associate and stranger. The purely relative effects of habitual association upon the sexual instincts have, in point of fact, no more bearing upon the operation of those instincts in savage humanity than among animals. The Australian native ravishes every woman whom opportunity places in his power; the only check on his conduct in this respect is his dread of infringing a *tabu*, and he previously enquires whether she belongs to a forbidden class. Far from being enforced by the operation of spontaneous instincts, the observance of the prohibition against incest is in most uncultured societies secured by the most elaborate separation of brothers and sisters, who often are not so much as permitted to converse with one another.

It is not too much to say that not one of the various hypotheses that have been suggested to account for the rule of exogamy, the most fundamental principle in the organisation of primitive societies, affords an explanation of that rule and is not open to objections which are fatal. Those theories have one feature in common; they have reference exclusively to the operation of the sexual instincts of the male, and they assume a social state in which those instincts are dominant and which is patriarchal in its constitution.

As soon as we regard the problem from the point of view of the postulate that the constitution of primitive human groups was not patriarchal, but matriarchal, in the same sense that animal families are matriarchal, it at once presents a different aspect. For the observance of the rule of exogamy is an essential condition of the preservation of that maternal character of the group. If the women left their family to join

their husbands, that family would cease to be a maternal family; if the men were the sexual mates as well as the brothers of the women, patriarchal succession would be established, and their authority and rivalry would bring about patriarchal dominance also.

The mothers are the basis and the bond of the primitive social group. The only relation which is originally taken into account in the conceptions and sentiments of the members of such a group is the maternal relation. Kinship and descent are reckoned exclusively through the women; the relationship through the father is not taken into consideration, but only the relationship to the mother. In a group thus constituted, to permit the women to follow strange men, to sever their connection with the group and to become scattered amongst diverse other groups, would be to break up the social unit, and would be opposed to all the sentiments and conceptions which constitute its existence as a social entity. There are, accordingly, as we shall see, few things to which primitive peoples who have retained the matriarchal constitution are so profoundly averse as to allowing any of their girls or women to leave the group. The males, on the other hand, are not, as regards the direct relation of primitive natural kinship, integral and vital parts of the group; they cannot increase it and procreate it, since kinship is not reckoned through them. They are necessary to the protection and economic subsistence of the group, and the accession of more males is highly valued. But they are not essential to the continuity and constitution of the social group itself, which consists of the succession of mothers and daughters, and in which all males are but offshoots of the main female stem of which the group, as a stable social unit, consists. Such a maternal group can continue as a self-existent unit only so long as the women who constitute it remain together and undivided. Whether the men in that group are actual brothers and sons of the women of the group does not affect its constitution.

Those features of social organisation are the most fundamental and familiar notions concerning the structure of be-

man society amongst all the peoples who have preserved a matriarchal form of social organisation, and respect for the observance of those principles is the foundation of their social life. They do not of themselves impose upon the men the necessity of mating outside the group; but the distinction between the permanence of the women within that group and the freedom of the men being established, there are many causes tending to the use of that freedom on the part of the men. The rules which govern the constitution of the maternal group are far more than a social convention and a sentiment of conformity to established rules. They are in harmony with, and scarcely distinct from, the spontaneous instincts and dispositions which are the source of that social constitution. Young girls at the age at which sexual unions usually take place amongst primitive peoples are profoundly averse to leaving the familiar group of their mothers and sisters and to going amongst strangers; such a transfer, when it takes place, invariably gives rise to desperate resistance, to tears and lamentations on their part, which are not by any means always conventional. There is no such conservative attachment and dread of changed social surroundings in the male. His disposition and instincts impel him, on the contrary, to wander in search of change, of food, of adventure. While girls are in all primitive societies tied, so to speak, to their mothers' apron-strings, the boys start off on expeditions almost as soon as they are able to walk. There is no occasion to have recourse to the superior attraction of strange females, a refinement of discrimination which is quite inapplicable to his instincts. As a hunter, as a natural wanderer, the unattached male is by disposition a confirmed and restless rover. So long as his needs are adequately provided for he cares little where his home is; he is ready to change it whenever he sees a prospect of a better, or for no other reason than love of change. He is not a home-maker; in many primitive communities the home, hut, tent, or shelter is the dwelling-place of the women and children only; the men sleep wherever they happen to be, under some tree or ledge. It is the woman

who is the maker of the home and the home-dweller. The biological instinct which impels all creatures to wander afield in search of food and opportunities is, in the mammalian female, checked by the demands of her maternal functions. The male's restless disposition is a consequence of the absence or more rudimentary development of those feminine instincts. These instincts constitute the natural foundation of the maternal group which has been the primitive germ of human society, and is the basis of all the social conceptions of those uncultured peoples amongst whom that primitive constitution has been preserved. For the woman to separate herself from her home, from the group which her instincts have founded, is as abhorrent and unnatural as it is natural for the man to wander and explore.

These conditions make naturally for the association of males from neighbouring groups with females who remain in their own group. They do not imply the prohibition of sexual intercourse or association between the males and the females of the same group, a prohibition which constitutes the rule against incest. But a habit, hardened into a traditionally established rule that males shall seek their sexual partners in another group will, in accordance with every law that governs the development of social rules and customs, give rise to a corresponding rule that they shall not seek their sexual partners in the group to which they themselves belong.

That natural tendency which follows from the maternal constitution of groups similar in nature to those of animals is reinforced by other factors. The various attempts at explaining the rule of exogamy, besides viewing the matter from the exclusive point of view of masculine dispositions, all contain another important assumption, and one which is definitely in contradiction with the known facts of social anthropology. The circumstances leading to the practice of exogamy are pictured in these theories as operating on adult individuals. But in all the lower stages of human culture the sexual life begins as soon as sexual maturity is reached, which is much earlier among savages than in civilised races. And even long

before actual maturity all savage children are known to indulge, almost, so to speak, from the cradle, in sexual play, imitating the sexual act years before they are able to perform it. The rule of exogamy and the prohibition of incest are not therefore, in their origin, regulations bearing primarily on the conduct of adult young men, able to fight their fathers, or susceptible to the wiles of strange women, or procreating unhealthy offspring, but are in their first application literally rules of nursery discipline. In the lower cultures, as among the Melanesians or the Australian natives, no reprobation attaches on the part of the elders to the sexual play of children, who are even encouraged to practice what is regarded as the most important function of their mature life. For example, Mr. D. Collins, commenting on the prevalence of rape among the Australian aborigines, refers to the common occurrence of such violence even among young children. "Even children," he says, "make it a game or exercise, and I have often, on hearing the cries of the girls with whom they were playing, run out of my house thinking some murder was committed, but have found the whole party laughing at my mistake." But in those same communities the strictest regulations forbid all familiarity and even ordinary intercourse and speech between brothers and sisters. And that is in fact the earliest and most conspicuous form of the prohibition of incest among savage people. Savage children, both male and female, are at the time when sexual tendencies first develop in them entirely under the control of their mothers. It is, from the circumstances of the case, by the mother that the rule forbidding familiarity between the male and female members of the same brood must be enforced. And it is not difficult to perceive how such a rule of nursery discipline would naturally come to be imposed by the mother. Any assault by young males on their sisters would be regarded by the young female as murderous violence and would inevitably bring the mother to their assistance. At the time that the sexual instincts are awakened in the young savage in a segregated group, it is chiefly in regard to the younger sis-

ters that any veto against incestuous relations must arise, for elder sisters in all savage societies share, as regards their younger brothers, the maternal authority. Everywhere in primitive society a sharp distinction is drawn between elder and younger sisters; the two belong to different classes of kinship, and the relation bears a different name. The Nayers of the Malabar coast "have an extraordinary respect for their mother. . . . In like manner they honour their elder sisters, who stand with them on the same level as their mother. But with the younger sisters they never stay together in the same room, and they observe the utmost reserve. For they say dangerous situations might else arise, the younger sisters being thoughtless. As for the elder sisters, their respect for them excludes any thought of the kind." In Tonga the elder sisters are likewise treated with extraordinary deference, and a chief will show his respect by not even daring to enter the house of his elder sister. Such views may be said to represent the attitude of all primitive societies in that respect. Thus among the natives of Central Australia, a man may not speak to his younger sisters, but there is no restriction as to his speaking freely to his elder sisters. The occurrence of incest with an elder sister is, thus, not regarded as likely to happen, and no measures are taken to guard against it. It is chiefly in regard to younger sisters that any call to establish the prohibition of incest by a formal veto would in the first instance arise. Such a veto would almost automatically be imposed. For at the time that the young males reach the age of puberty their younger sisters are still immature and under the close care of their mother; they would regard any sexual attempt as an assault, and it would thus be practically impossible for such relations to take place between sons at puberty and their younger sisters without the sanction of the mother.

Very much the same sort of nursery discipline is indeed observable in monkeys. Monkey mothers exercise a strict supervision over their offspring. "Now and then," says Mr. Stevenson-Hamilton of the baboon, "a mother finds it neces-

ary to chastise her offspring, or to wreak vengeance upon one or other of the unattached hobbledoys who, she guesses, meditate imposing upon or injuring it." Darwin describes the "great indignation" of a female baboon when the young whom she had adopted were teased by other young monkeys. I have more than once observed that strict supervision exercised by the mother over her offspring in families of monkeys. Not only does she jealously guard them against outside interference, but she carefully regulates their behaviour towards one another; any horse-play, when it becomes too rough, is at once sharply checked, the young that is being teased or roughly handled by its brothers being at once taken by its mother under her protection, and the offender sharply rebuked with much display of teeth and some smart slaps. It would be impossible in these conditions for incestuous play to take place between the males and females of the same brood. The situation is exactly similar in regard to any sexual assault on a younger sister in a savage mother's brood, but with these important differences, that both infancy and the operation of the maternal instincts are much more prolonged in the human family, and that the prohibition, instead of being an incidental interference, would be a formulated veto, expressed, doubtless, as a curse on him that should dare to infringe it. It would thus be, not merely a temporary check, but a prohibition established in individual memory, and subsequently in traditional heredity. The curse of a mother was regarded by our barbaric ancestors as the only curse of which the effects could never be avoided.

The disposition of a savage mother to prevent sexual activities among the young members of her brood may possibly be reinforced by the subconscious operation of the well-known jealousy with which mothers are apt to regard the sexual adventures of their sons. That trait, although it is for the most part disguised and repressed by rational considerations in civilised mothers, is sometimes so pronounced even in them as to present a serious obstacle to their sons marrying at all. An intelligent Dutch peasant woman with whom

I happened to discuss that attitude said that it was one of the strongest feelings of mothers in regard to their sons. "Mothers," she said, "are more jealous in regard to their favourite son than wives as regards their husbands, just as the mother's love is greater than that of the wife. Of course it is no use, and we say nothing. But if mothers had their own way their sons would never marry—at least not for a long time." The same thing has sometimes been noted among savages. Thus Mr. Danks, speaking of the natives of New Britain, who are as brutal in their customs as any savages, remarks: "Fond old mothers are desirous of keeping their sons with them as long as possible. In order to do so they will purchase a little child five or six years old for their son, and he must wait until she is old enough to be married to him. Ya Vika purchased a child about six years of age for her son Petero; he will doubtless wait until the girl has reached eleven or twelve years of age." Among the Sakai of the forests of the Malay Peninsula, the strongest bond of affection known, says Signor Cerutti, is that between mother and son, and the latter is regarded by his mother with the utmost jealousy.

The incest prohibition applies primarily to relations between brothers and sisters. In the simplest forms of deliberate exogamic devices, such as they are found among the Dieri and other tribes of south-eastern Australia, which are divided into two intermarrying classes, while that organisation prevents marriage between brothers and sisters, it does not oppose any artificial obstacle to incest between parents and children. According to the Rev. James Chalmers, in the island of Kiwai, off the coast of New Guinea, a father may take his own daughter to wife, although unions between brothers and sisters are regarded with as much abhorrence as anywhere. Similarly, in some of the Solomon Islands unions between father and daughter are regarded as quite legitimate, while the strictest prohibition exists in regard to even ordinary social intercourse between brother and sister. Among the Kalangs, the aboriginal inhabitants of Java, union between mother and son is looked upon as commendable and lucky,

Nevertheless, sexual union between sons and mothers is generally viewed with as much abhorrence, not only by civilized man, but by nearly all savage races, as relations between brothers and sisters. But when the character of the mother in the primitive human group is apprehended, it is easy to understand that the awe and dread attaching to the maternal head of the family who imposed her veto against relations between brothers and sisters should render it even less likely that she should herself be a possible object of incestuous advances.

When considering the social results of human behaviour and impulses it should be borne in mind that it is with average effects that we are dealing. The result is the expression, consolidated by the force of tradition, not of the uniform and invariable operation of every human mind in the same manner, but of a dominating tendency giving rise to a statistical average. It may, on a superficial consideration, be thought that the tendencies above adduced in explanation of the rule of exogamy are, like the preference for strange females or other tendencies which have been suggested, incommensurate with the uniformity of the social result. But all that need be considered is whether they are true causes, and whether they operate in the required direction, conditions which are not fulfilled by any of the other theories adduced. It is most unlikely that in every primitive human group the males sought their sexual partners elsewhere and that relations with females of the group were opposed by maternal protection of young females and by maternal jealousy. A considerable number of instances are known of tribes where incestuous relations habitually take place and are allowed, and such instances have doubtless abounded in the earliest societies. The ultimate social result is the accumulated effect of dominating tendencies consolidated by established tradition. Upon the operation of those tendencies has depended the preservation of the conditions essential to human development, which would have been destroyed by the breaking up of the maternal group. Those groups in which that organization was broken

up by the non-observance of the rule of exogamy would consequently fall in their social development, and would be eliminated in favour of more advanced neighbours. The original factors which have established the rule of exogamy have been reinforced and consolidated by social tradition and their operation has been transformed into that of an established principle. What was a tendency of behaviour consolidated into a social habit hardened further into an established principle of social organisation.

CHAPTER IV

MATRILOCAL MARRIAGE

If, as may be reasonably presumed, human social groups developed out of some form of animal family, they had their origin in a type of association differing profoundly from that which is called to mind when the dictum is cited that the family is the foundation of society. The term 'family,' as used in that dictum, is usually understood to connote a group consisting of father, mother, and children. It is round the father that the group is formed. He is the provider and protector of 'his' family. The mother rears his children. The behaviour of the group, its movements, its place of abode, are determined by the father. His is the authority which presides over the social group; he is the centre of it. The constitution of the family is, in short, patriarchal. There exists nowhere in the animal kingdom, not excepting the higher anthropoids, anything analogous to such a patriarchal family. In no instance is the father the provider and protector of the group. In the great majority of instances among mammals, if not indeed in all, the father is not an essential member of the group. As often as not he may be absent from it. The animal family-group consists of the mother and her offspring, and centres round the former.

If, from the social relations of animals we turn to those of the more primitive forms of human society, it is found that the family among savages differs in the same manner, though not always to the same degree, from the typical patriarchal family. The position of the mother, and that of women generally, in most societies of lowly culture does not correspond to that occupied by the wife in the typical patriarchal family of historical cultures, and approximates to that

which is occupied by females in the animal family-group. These features of the family in the lower phases of culture which distinguish it from the typical patriarchal family have long suggested to students that the latter is a comparatively late product of social evolution and that it was preceded by forms of social organisation which, in contrast with the patriarchal constitution of the family, have been termed matriarchal. The term is not very fortunate, for it implies a principle of domination which, while it is conspicuous in the constitution of the patriarchal family, is not an essential feature of that of the family in lower cultures. But the term, consecrated by usage, has not reference so much to that constitution as to the mode of development of human social relations. The matriarchal theory, it should be clearly understood, is a theory of social origins. It is not, as is often imagined in popular references to that theory, an hypothesis concerning a form of society existing at some undetermined period of the past in which women, instead of men, ruled. The matriarchal theory of social origins sets forth a definite alternative, and the only possible alternative, to the equally definite patriarchal theory of social origins. The latter postulates that the human social group has from the first been patriarchal in organisation and constitution, that is to say, has always centred round the male as provider and protector of subordinate women and children. The issue at stake, as between the upholders of the patriarchal theory and the upholders of the matriarchal theory, is whether that postulate is or is not justified by facts. If human society did not develop out of a group in which the male was the dominant member, as he is in the historical patriarchal family, there is no alternative except the non-patriarchal, or as it is called, the matriarchal theory of social origins. And if the fundamental postulate upon which patriarchal theories of social origins rest is erroneous, the consequences and interpretations which are deduced from that initial postulate are likewise erroneous, and the entire process of social development calls for reconsideration and reinterpretation.

The patriarchal theory was the starting-point of sociological sciences in pre-scientific days when the conditions of society pictured in the Bible were assumed to represent the most primitive social conditions of early humanity. It has survived among sociologists and anthropologists in various forms. All of them, however, proceed from the assumption that the earliest social groups arose round the authority and despotic influence of a dominating male. As Professor Malinowski very clearly expresses the postulate, "according to this view the earliest form of family or social life consisted of small groups led and dominated by a mature male who kept in subjection a number of females and children." The hypothesis concerning conditions in a remote past of which we can have no direct knowledge may be in itself but a matter for interesting speculation. But the whole interpretation of the process of subsequent development and of the features of social organisation in various phases of that process must necessarily depend upon the conclusions arrived at concerning that hypothetical starting-point. The interpretations put forward in accordance with the patriarchal theory of social origins are directly at variance with those which must follow from the matriarchal theory.


The hypothesis upon which the patriarchal theory is founded is in contradiction with biological facts. There exists not a trace of patriarchally constituted families "led and dominated by a mature male" among any animal species. The patriarchal hypothesis must, therefore, either furnish an account of the origin of such a group or assume views on the natural history of animals which are erroneous. Few anthropologists, unfortunately, have been biologists, and they have therefore found little difficulty in adopting the latter alternative. Professor Malinowski, for example, experiences no difficulty in constructing a natural history quite unknown to any observer of animal life. "The family life of mammals," he writes, "always lasts beyond the birth of the offspring, and the higher the species the longer both parents have to look after their progeny. . . . We

know that the male is indispensable there, because, owing to long pregnancy, lactation, and the education of the young, the female and her offspring need a strong and interested protector. Correlated with this need we find . . . the matrimonial response. This response, which induces the male to look after the pregnant female, is not weakened by the act of birth, but, on the contrary, it becomes stronger and develops into a tendency on the part of the male to protect the whole family. The matrimonial attachment between the two partners has to be regarded biologically as an intermediate stage leading to paternal attachment." The 'a priori' evolution of such biology, which can have no existence outside the myth of Noah's Ark, is the only alternative available to offering an account of the origin of the patriarchal family.

The evolution of the patriarchal family, unknown in the natural history of animals, has been, as we shall have occasion to note, entirely conditioned by social and economic factors which do not operate in animal life. And that evolution which, in the patriarchal theory, is left unaccounted for, can be traced only if, instead of constructing an imaginary picture of animal relations, we accept the facts of biology as we find them. The progress towards human conditions is not in fact marked in the animal world, as the patriarchal theorist supposes, by a growing strength and stability of the relation between males and females, by the assumption of protective functions on the part of the former, or by any trace of 'matrimonial response,' but, on the contrary, by a pronounced strengthening and protraction in duration of the relation between mother and offspring. It is not marked by any indication of the development of paternity, but by a very conspicuous and pronounced development of maternity.

It has been supposed in the above account of the origin of exogamy that the rule that women should continue in the maternal group in which they were born was as much a part of the original organisation of social groups as the rule that the men should seek their sexual partners out of it. This is not included in the common acceptance of the terms, and a large

number of peoples who strictly observe the rule of exogamy bring their wives to live with them in their own homes, while their sisters, when they marry, leave the parental home and follow their husbands. But there is also a very considerable number of peoples with whom it is still, or was until recently, the custom for the women never to leave their own group to join the men as wives. And clear evidence can, I think, be shown that this was the original custom, and was at one time observed by those peoples who have since adopted the opposite usage.

The arrangement that a woman should, even after her marriage, continue to reside with her mother's family, and that her husband should take up his abode in his mother-in-law's house, is strange to our notions. Montesquieu was considerably amused when he happened to read in a Jesuit missionary's account of the island of Formosa that not only does the wedding breakfast take place, as with ourselves, at the house of the bride's parents, but that "the young man remains there without ever returning to his father's house. Thereafter he regards his father-in-law's house as his own home, and becomes the chief support of the household. And his own father's house is thereafter no more to him than is the case with girls in Europe, who leave their parental home to go and dwell with their husbands." As frequently happens, what is first noted as a strange singularity of a given people turns out on further inquiry to be a custom of almost universal distribution in uncultured societies. The people who observe that usage include, in fact, with very few exceptions, the whole of the native races of the American continent, north and south, all the races of Africa, both Bantu and pre-Bantu, the Malay race throughout Indonesia and the allied native races of Micronesia. It is widespread among all other races of low culture in Asia and Polynesia, and is only found not to be the general rule among the races of Australia and Melanesia, among which, as we shall note, special conditions have led to the establishment of masculine domination at an exceptionally low stage of culture. 

Among the Eskimo of Labrador "the young man goes to the home of the maiden and lives with her parents, where as man and wife they dwell together, the son-in-law helping to support the family. He does not become his own master until the death of his father-in-law." Of the Eskimo of Bering Strait we are told that the husband "transfers filial duty of every kind" from his own people to those of his wife. Among the Aleuts of Kadiak Island "the husband always lives with the parents of the wife, though occasionally he may visit his own relations." It is customary for the husband to discard his own name on entering the married state, and to assume that of his wife.

That the women should remain after marriage in their own home was the general rule among all North American Indians. Among the Iroquois and Huron tribes "marriages are contracted in such a way that the husband and wife never quit their own families and their own home to make one family and one home by themselves. Each remains in his or her home, and the children born of these marriages belong to the women who bore them." "Their marriages," says a Jesuit missionary, "do not establish anything in common between husband and wife except the bed, for each dwells during the day with his or her parents." Of the Algonkin tribes of Canada, Father Charlevoix says: "The woman never leaves her home, of which she is regarded as the mistress and heiress. . . . The children belong to the mother, and acknowledge her only; the father is always as a stranger in regard to them." Among the Canadian tribes of the Great Lakes a man "will remain with, and maintain his father-in-law as long as he lives, while another does the same to his own father." When in the sixteenth century the Cayuga tribes were becoming almost extinct owing to constant warfare, they sent to the Mohawks requesting them to supply them with a number of husbands for their women, so that the race, which counted its descent through the women only, might not be extinguished.

The Senecas, the most important and by far the most numerous of the confederated tribes known as Iroquois, usually

dwelt, before the advent of Europeans, in 'long-houses,' or, as they called them, 'hodensote,' which might be sixty or a hundred feet long, being divided at both sides into compartments, while the fireplace stood in the central passage. The interior economy of these clan-dwellings was under the authority of a matron, who allotted to each one his place and controlled the distribution of the food. Twelve or twenty families lived together in a 'long-house,' "the women taking husbands from other clans." "Usually," says a missionary who saw some surviving specimens of those communities, which disappeared soon after the European occupation, "the female portion ruled the house. The stores were in common; but woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too shiftless to do his share of the providing. No matter how many children; or whatever goods he might have in the house, he might at any time be ordered to pick up his blanket and budge; and after such orders it would not be healthful for him to attempt to disobey; the house would be too hot for him; and, unless saved by the intercession of some aunt or grandmother, he must retreat to his own clan, or, as was often done, go and start a new matrimonial alliance in some other."

Similar usages obtained among the tribes of the plains. Thus among the Sioux "a young man, as soon as he becomes a husband, forsakes his father's tent, to which he seldom returns as an inmate, for women in general have a great ascendancy over their husbands, and they always prefer living amongst those with whom they have been accustomed from childhood." Among the Creeks "when a young man marries he resides with his wife's parents, who, however, treat him as a stranger till the birth of his first child; he then attaches himself to them more than to his own parents." Among the Pawnees also a husband took up his residence with his wife's people; if his contributions of produce were not satisfactory, or for any other reason his wife's people got tired of him, he was dismissed. Among the Kansas, Osages and other allied tribes, as soon as the eldest daughter married she became mistress of the house, her parents becoming subordinate to

her; her sisters, as they grew up, became the wives of the same husband, who took up his residence in the home of his wives. Among the Natchez a powerful chief was usually attended by one or two wives who looked after his establishment, but the majority of his spouses remained with their own relations, and the husband visited them when he pleased. In Florida among the Seminole Indians, "it is the man and not the woman who leaves father and mother and cleaves to his mate." After a time a couple might set up a household of their own where they wished, "except among the husband's relatives."

Among the Haidas of Queen Charlotte Islands, a man is compelled to dwell in his wife's home until his uncle dies. Among the Déné of Alaska, the expression to denote that a man is married to a woman is 'yeraesta,' 'he stays with her.' When a girl marries she erects a hut by the side of her mother's. Among the Ahts, or Nulkas, of Vancouver the great inducement for a man to marry is that he thereby acquires hunting and fishing rights over his wife's property. If the partnership is dissolved, "the property reverts to the woman's sole use, and is a dowry for her next matrimonial experiment." The children remain with the mother. Among the Chinooks a prosperous man often has a large number of wives, "but the wives do not at all times remain together—indeed, this would be utterly impossible—but at different camps where their relations are; so that the husband goes from camp to camp occasionally to visit them." "Their marriages," says a Russian observer of the tribes of northern California, "take place without any ceremony. If a young couple take a liking to one another, the youth walks into the girl's hut and takes up his abode there, without so much as asking the permission of her father or mother, and begins at once to cohabit with the young person."

Of the south-western tribes of New Mexico and Arizona, who are known as Pueblo Indians, we have many full and delightful accounts. I cite from that of Tylor: "My own personal knowledge of the maternal community belongs to

one of the most picturesque experiences of my life, on a visit made in 1884, under the auspices of the American Bureau of Ethnology, to the Pueblo Indian district on the Californian border. A Pueblo such as that of the Zuni rises stage above stage, presenting a dreary aspect of mud terraces, and ladders leading up and down to give access to the half-lighted rooms inhabited by the families. In the living- and cooking-room, round the wood-fire, the inmates might be seen sitting assembled in the evening—fathers, mothers and children—so that one might suppose oneself visiting a huge lodging-house of the European sort, till one understood the relationships. Enquiry would show that while in a family dwelling the mothers are related together in the female line, and therefore, of course, belong to the same clan, and their children after them, the fathers are not bound together by such ties, and need not be of the same clan, only they must not be of the same clan as their wives. Though the husband takes up his abode in the wife's family dwelling during her life and his good behaviour, he belongs still to his own family, perhaps three terraces off, up two rude pole ladders and down a trapdoor. How much milder and kinder the conditions of these people are than what we associate with the name of savages may well be judged from the idyllic record of life among them by Mr. Cushing. He describes how a Zuni girl, when she takes a fancy for a young man, conveys a present of the hewe-bread to him as a token, and becomes affianced; how he sews clothes and moccasins for her, and combs her hair out on the terrace in the sun. With the woman rests the security of the marriage ties; and it must be said, in her high honour, that she rarely abuses the privilege; that is, never sends her husband 'to the home of his fathers' unless he richly deserves it. "The house," says Dr. Kroeber, "belongs to the women born of the family. There they come into the world, pass their lives, and within the walls they die. As they grow up, their brothers leave them, each to abide in the house of his wife. Each woman, too, has her husband, or succession of husbands, sharing her blankets. So generation succeeds generation, the

slow stream of mothers and daughters forming a current that carried with it husbands, sons, and grandsons."

The Pueblo tribes, which have preserved much of their original organisation, while that of the eastern tribes has long ago been broken up by European conquest, are the most advanced in culture of all North American Indians, and the circumstance has been put forward by some writers in support of the hypothesis that the matriarchal form of society, which is so vividly illustrated by those communities, is not primitive, but is a product of comparatively advanced development. But that matriarchal organisation is also found so complete, and even more absolute, in the rudest, the most primitive and the most uncultured tribe in the whole North American native race, namely, the Seri of the Californian Gulf. These remarkable people are one of the most instructive of primitive races, and, if I am not mistaken, offer us one of the most accurate representations, not only of primitive matriarchal organisation, but in their whole social constitution, of some of the earliest phases of primitive humanity. They are, in respect of culture, among the rudest savages that we know of. To say that they are in the Stone Age is scarcely accurate; for they do not even fashion stones in any way, but merely pick up a cobble when they require one for crushing bone or severing sinews, and even when provided with knives do not know how to use them, or do not care to do so. No other human tribe is so devoid of material devices. They have no form of agriculture. They do not cook their food, but eat raw and generally putrid meat and oil by tearing it with their teeth and nails. "Among the supplies laid on the top of the hut," relates Dr. McGee, "was a hind leg of a horse some three days dead; most of the larger muscles were already gnawed away, leaving loose ends of fiber and strings of tendon, the condition being such that the remaining flesh might easily have been cut and scraped away by means of a knife; yet whenever a warrior or woman or youth hungered, he or she took down the heavy joint, held the mass at the height of the mouth, and gnawed, sucked, and swallowed, tearing the tissue by jerks

of the head." Their strongest tribal characteristic is implacable animosity towards aliens, whether Indian or European; and even their various clans regard one another with hostility and only unite for the purpose of attacking a common foe. Indeed, so fierce is their hostility that it has not been possible to observe them so fully as would be desirable. Part of the tribe live on the mainland of Mexico in the Province of Sonora, but their stronghold is the rugged island of Tiburón in the Gulf of California, and all attempts to visit them in that fastness have been defeated either by their murdering the would-be observer, or by their scattering and hiding themselves. We are thus, unfortunately, confined to observations concerning the clans on the mainland, and to such information as regards the island clans as it has been possible to obtain from their fellow tribesmen and from interpreters.

The most noticeable fact about their organization is the prominence of the females. The social unit is the maternal clan, defined practically by the ocular consanguinity of birth from a common line of mothers. Each clan is headed by a clan-mother, and comprises a hierarchy of daughters and grand-daughters, collectively incarnating that purity of the blood which is the pride of the tribe. The indigenous name of the tribe is 'Kuskak,' which means 'womanhood,' or 'motherhood.' Their dwellings are the rudest shelters that can be called huts, and are built of brushwood, supplemented by sponges and the shells of tortoises. Such as they are, they are erected by the women without help from the men or boys, and they belong exclusively to the matrons, though the brothers are entitled to a place within them if they wish, while the husband has neither title nor fixed place, "because he belongs to another house." It was often found difficult to identify the husband in a group, partly because he is as a rule incongruously younger than the mistress, and partly because he generally acts as an outer guard. Moreover, his connection with the house is veiled by the absence of authority over both children and domestic affairs. There is, indeed, some question as to the clear recognition of paternity; certainly the

females have no term for "father." It is noteworthy that the terminology for kinship is strikingly meager. The women are the only real workers. The masculine drones limit their activity to fighting and fishing. The matron exercises all authority in the house; but if there is a tumult she may invoke the authority of the clan-mother, and in emergencies the women appeal for executive aid, but not for judicative cooperation, to their brothers. The men take little part in the regulation of personal conduct, but tacitly accept the decision of the mother or clan-mother. Male chiefs are elected, mainly for leadership in war, but they are also supposed to control the weather. Since, however, all magical powers are considered to reside in the women, and the matrons are the 'shamans,' one of the main considerations in the election of a chief is the magical powers of his principal wife. He is a homeless potentate sojourning like the rest of his fellows in such huts as his wives may erect, and wandering with the season at the whim of the women; for all the movements of the tribe and of the clans are determined by the women, who also exercise the formal legislative and judicative functions, and hold their own councils besides taking part prominently in the tribal councils of war. A man generally marries all the sisters of one family, and there are indications that formerly, when the numbers of the men had not been so reduced by warfare as they are now, all the brothers of a family were also conjugally bound to all the sisters of another. The prospective bridegroom is subjected to the most elaborate tests before he is accepted by the mothers.

The rule that the wife remains after her marriage in her parental home, and that the husband, if he cohabits with her, takes up his residence there, or, as we may call the arrangement, "matrilocal marriage," was as general in Central and South America as in the northern portion of the continent. Among the Caribbean races of the West Indian Islands, reports an old observer, "the women never quit their father's house after marriage." The men might have six or seven wives living with their families in various places, and they

visited them in turn. In ancient Mexico, among the tribes of Yucatan, the husband joined his wife in her parental home; and at the present day, among the Kekchi Indians of Guatemala, marriage is usually matriloal. So also among the Bribri of Costa Rica, "the husband went to live with his father-in-law." An old account of the natives of the province of Caracas gives the following description of their marriages: "If an Indian takes a fancy to a girl, he tells her so and then goes to her house. And if she gives him a basin of water to wash himself and something to eat, he understands her meaning, and they go to bed together, without her parents objecting; and they are thus married. This marriage continues for a longer or shorter time, solely according to the wishes of the young woman. If she thinks that her husband is not a good worker, or for any other reason, she dismisses him and takes another, and he another wife." Of the Moscos of New Granada, an old missionary notes that "a strange custom established amongst them is that the husband follows his wife wherever she desires to dwell." Matriloal marriage was customary in Peru under the Inca monarchy.

Of the various tribes of the Orinoco, Father Gilli says: "These savages have an extremely strange custom. The women do not follow their husbands, but it is the husbands who follow their wives. From the moment that a savage takes a wife, he no longer recognises his own home. He remains with his father-in-law, into whose hut he removes his hammock, his bow and arrows, and all his belongings. He hunts for his father-in-law and fishes for him, and is in all things dependent upon him. It is thus the fashion with all the savages that the sons go to other people's homes, and the daughters, on the other hand, remain in theirs." The usage is prevalent at the present day among all the tribes of the upper Orinoco. "The husband frequently lives in his wife's village; if she no longer cares for him, she turns him out of doors." Among the Arawaks of British Guiana the husband, on taking a wife, "immediately transports his possessions to the house of his father-in-law, and there lives and works.

The head of the family for whom he is bound to work and whom he obeys is not his own father, but his wife's. When the family of the young couple becomes too large to be conveniently housed underneath the roof of the father-in-law the young husband builds a house for himself by the side of that of his wife's father."

The Tupi tribes of Brazil, who constituted the bulk of the native population of that country, had the same customs as the Caribs, who were probably identical with them in race. "A son-in-law passed over from his own family to that of his father-in-law, and became a member of it, and he was under the obligation to accompany him in war." The traditional sentiment in that respect among the Tupis of northern Brazil is thus illustrated by an early missionary. A young Tupi maiden having married a Christian convert, the latter desired to remove to a mission farther south in order to assist in the spread of the Gospel. But the young woman would not hear of it. "You know very well," she remonstrated, "that my father's garden requires cultivation, and that he is short of victuals. Do you not know that he has given me to you on condition that you should assist him and provide for his old age? If you wish to abandon him, I for my part will remain with him." The same customs are observed at the present day among the Carajas, a tribe of the same stock. The women own the houses and all their contents, and also the canoes; their husbands merely "stay with them." It appears that in early days it was quite inconceivable to the Bororo that a woman should leave her tribe; rather than part with her, the members of her clan would all follow her if she was taken away. "This nation," says an old Spanish writer, "has a very strange custom, which I do not think will be found in any other nation of the world, and it is this: when the Portuguese take some woman, even if it be quite a young girl, of the Bororo nation, all her relatives come of their own free will to serve the Portuguese who has the girl in his house and they continue to serve him all their lives as slaves."

The Guayturus, the most important among the tribes of

the interior, in the region of the Gran Chaco, had similar customs. "The man goes to dwell in the house of the woman, leaving behind him in his village his home, family and possessions. If he be a chief or a man of wealth and consequence, he gives his wife his horses, soldiers, and prisoners. As this marriage is only of short duration, there is no community of goods, and after separating, the husband returns to his own family and tribe. In consequence of this mode of marriage, the men of these tribes seldom have any permanent abode, for many marriages are contracted with distant tribes, the men of Albuquerque, for instance, intermarrying with the people of Miranda or with the Cadindos, or in other villages near the country of the Spaniards; and the men from those places also marry with the women of the first-named villages, which marriages are very transient. As the husband always goes to live in the home of his wife, there results from this foolish practice a constant cycle of changes of abode, so that no man has a fixed and permanent place of residence. When the men, passing through some remote village, take a wife, the wife whom they have left behind also gets married again; if the husband returns and both are agreeable, they join again, or he finds some other companion." Matrilineal marriage was the general rule among the tribes of the Gran Chaco. Thus among the Mhayas, the husband "abandoned his parents and his belongings and went to reside with the family of his wife." Among the Terenos, "the husband always resides with his wife's family." Among the Fuegians, the men "usually live for a long time with the parents of their wives"; and sometimes they continue with them permanently.

In Africa the rule that the women remain after marriage in their own family is found to be strictly observed among both the most primitive and backward peoples and among the most advanced races of that continent. The now almost extinct Bushmen of South Africa led a nomadic life in small groups, or clans:—With the consent of one of the older women, a man attached himself to a wandering troop and became the partner of one or more of the women, providing the group into which

he was adopted with the products of his chase. When he ceased to do so to their satisfaction, the association was dissolved, and he joined some other band, where he found new wives. The same rule was observed among the Basutos, and among the Barolong and all other Bechuana tribes. The latter have a proverb: "Happy is she who has borne a daughter; a boy is the son of his mother-in-law." Among the Zulus also, the bridegroom goes to live in the house of his wife, and may remain there five years before he builds a house of his own, and sets up housekeeping for himself. Among the Ovaherero, a man, we are told, "has no home"; he sleeps by turns in the houses of his several wives. Livingstone thus describes the marriage arrangements of the Banyai of the Zambesi region: "When a young man marries he is obliged to come and live at their village. He has to perform certain services for the mother-in-law, such as keeping her well supplied with fire-wood; and when he comes into her presence he is obliged to sit with his knees in a bent position, as putting his feet towards the old lady would give her great offence. If he becomes tired of living in this state of vassalage and wishes to return to his own family, he is obliged to leave all his children behind—they belong to the wife."

The usage of matrilocal marriage is very general in eastern Africa. In Kenya "if marriage the man leaves his father and mother, leaves his own home and country, and goes to stay with his wife." With all the tribes of southern Nyasaland "the husband invariably goes away to live with the people of his wife." The marriage of the girls, amongst those people, "brings an additional provider and unpaid worker into the household. For this is the land of exogamy, where the young wife does not go to her husband's home, or enter his family, but, on the contrary, the man leaves his father and mother, and either moves directly into the house of his wife's parents, or builds his own close beside it." Among the Usuguba, "unless a man has all his wives in one village, they live with their parents, and in any case after a few years of married life a wife always insists in going to live with her parents,

whether the husband has to follow her. Among the Bakumbi he must live from two to five years with his parents-in-law, and the Mikonde always builds his first hut at the village of his wife's parents." Among the Wamegi, "when a man marries he does not remove his wife from her old home, but builds a house for her attached to that of her father, or a conical-roofed hut near the flat-roofed house, and resides with her; when he marries another wife, he leaves the first wife for a time and lives with the second wife in her village. It thus often happens, when a man has six or seven wives living in different parts of the country, that he is absent for months from his first wife, as he makes his tour of visits to his other wives and helps them to dig their fields and to sow and reap their crop."

Among the primitive Pygmies of the Congo forests "the daughters continue even after they are married to live with their parents, and the sons-in-law, passing over to the group of which their wives are members, place themselves under the orders of their father-in-law." The rule that the women never leave their natal home is common among many tribes of the Congo. Thus among the Babwende of Stanley Pool a woman never leaves her native home; the husband visits her there, and stays with her as long as he wishes. After a while, when he desires a change, he goes to another village, where the same arrangement is repeated. Similar customs are common in West Africa. Miss Kingsley mentions a Fnn trader of her acquaintance "whose wives stretch over three hundred miles of country."

Throughout the vast region which extends south of the Sahara desert, from the Atlantic to the Nile, and includes the countries now known as Nigeria and the French Sudan, the social constitution of the various native races appears to have been characteristically matriarchal, descent being traced through the women and property being transmitted by a man to the children of his sister. The usage of matrilineal marriage also is prevalent in every part of that region, though at the present day the usual breaking down of old customs in

favour of patriarchal usages is taking place. In Northern Nigeria, among the Kooa, the women continue to live in their own homes, but instead of being visited by their husbands, it is they who visit the men at night. Among the Kilba of the same region, the wife returns home after the birth of her first child, and remains there for at least three years; the child lives with his mother's people until it grows up. Similarly among the Fulani, "the husband goes to live with his wife, not the wife with her husband. The first-born son of a Fulani always lives with his mother's kinsfolk till his father dies." In the Niono district of the French Sudan well-to-do families generally refuse to allow their daughters to leave their home, the husbands come and reside with them. Among the Barabra of Nubia, after the marriage negotiations are concluded, a house is built for the couple in the courtyard of the bride's home. Among the natives of the large region of Darfur, in the Egyptian Sudan, the husband comes and lives with his wife's people, and during the first year of marriage is regarded as their guest, the wife's father defraying all the expenses of the couple. The husband may after a time set up a household of his own, but never until he has a family of two or three children; should he suggest doing so before that time, his indiscretion is regarded as a justifiable ground for divorce. Indeed, the women are extremely reluctant to leave their natal home at any time. It is regarded as highly improper for the marriage to be consummated anywhere but in the wife's home.

The same usages which obtain amongst the Pygmies and the semi-extinct primitive races of Africa are also universal and time-honoured amongst the white races of Northern Africa who now inhabit the Sahara region. Special interest attaches to the social and cultural history of those races; for, according to a view which is held by some of the most eminent anthropologists at the present day, and which appears to gain increasing support with each extension of our knowledge, those populations are the direct representatives of the race which, migrating to the islands and European shores of the Medi-

turean, laid there the first foundations of Western civilisation. The Berbers of Algeria and Tunisia have to a large extent adopted Muslim customs and are now thoroughly patriarchal in their social organisation; but those tribes which withdrew to the interior rather than yield to foreign invasion, and which are known as Tuareg (sing.: Targi), have preserved both their ancient language and their social constitution. "Berber society," says Renan, "is nought else but an example that has survived until our own time of an ancient type of society which formerly covered the whole of the world before the administrative ruler, as in Egypt, or the mighty conqueror, as in Assyria, Persia, or Rome, had arisen."

Among the Tuareg the woman "does not leave her dwelling-place to follow her husband, but he must come to her in her own village." "The relations of man and wife in Abeer (or Air, one of the chief centres of the Targi population of the Sahara) are curious if not extraordinary," says Mr. J. Richardson. "A woman never leaves the home of her father. When a man marries a woman he remains with her a few weeks and then, if he will not take up his residence in the town or village of his wife, he must return to his own place without her. When the husbands visit them they give them something to eat, and they remain a few days or weeks, and again depart to their own native town, leaving the wife with her property and any chance lover. But the men marry two or three wives, and so are constantly in motion, first going to visit one wife and then another." Descent, among the Tuareg, is reckoned in the female line and the child takes the condition of his mother; a man's property and titles are handed down not to his children, but to his sister's children. They regard themselves, as we do, as descended from the first woman, Eve, but in their case there is no Adam. Their ancestors in Roman times, the Numidians, had the same customs. They were named after their mothers; 'mas' means 'son of,' and the son of Gala was called Masinissa, that is, 'son of Issa.' His sons were Misagenus, Micipsa. Masgaba. Jugurtha was the son of a slave woman, and therefore bore his

father's name, but his sons were called after their mothers. The women retain complete control of their property after marriage, and are not obliged to contribute towards the husband's household expenses, nor do they consent to do so. Each is thus economically quite independent. Most of the property is accumulated in the hands of the women. An old German poet who accompanied some crusading expeditions mentions that in Tunis "it is the women and not the men who inherit property." The matriarchal character of Targi society was noticed by the first traveller who described them in modern times, the Arab Ibn Batuta. "The women," he says, "are exceedingly beautiful, and they are of more consequence than the men. The character of these people is indeed strange, for they are quite impervious to jealousy. None is named after his father, but each derives his descent from his uncle on the mother's side. Only a man's sister's children inherit from him, to the exclusion of his own children. . . . As regards the women, they are not timid in the presence of men, nor do they cover their faces with a veil, although they are zealous at their prayers. Whoso wishes to marry any of them may do so, but the women do not follow their husbands, and should any of them wish to do so, her relatives would prevent it."

The position which women occupy among the Berber races of the Sahara has been commented on by every traveller. Among the Berber tribes of Morocco "the independence of the women is a cause of scandal." The girls marry when they please without consulting anyone, and the alliance is officially promulgated by the announcement that "So-and-so, daughter of So-and-so, has taken Such-a-one as her husband." In the Tibbu country, in the Eastern Sahara "it is man and his mistress, and not woman and her master." The Tibbu ladies do not even allow their spouses to enter the house without previously sending word to announce their visit. The women transact all the trade and manage all affairs. "The Tibbu women, indeed, are everything and their men nothing—idling and lounging their time, and kicked about by their

wives as so many drones of society. The women maintain the men as a race of stallions, and not from love of them, but to preserve the Tibbu race from extinction." Among the northern Tuareg what strikes one most, says Duveyrier, is "the predominant part played by the women." "In all matters, their word is law." The culture of the Tuareg is almost exclusively confined to the women; the men are entirely illiterate, but the women have artistic and literary tastes, and it is in their hands alone that is preserved the knowledge of the ancient Libyan tongue and of the script which is identical with that of the most ancient inscriptions of North Africa, and presents a striking affinity to that of Minoan Krete and the as yet undeciphered inscriptions of the Aegean. "In all their historical traditions, the women invariably play the principal part." Among the southern Targi tribes, says M. de Zeltner, "the women are consulted in the important affairs of life and their influence is very great, as has been observed of the Berbers. In short, it is no exaggeration to describe Targi society as a gynæocracy."

The Malay race, which has spread over the whole Indonesian region and has sent offshoots westward as far as Madagascar, northwards to Formosa and China, and in early days to Polynesia, has for centuries come under the influence of Hindu and Islamic religions. The Malays, nevertheless, always distinguish between the laws and customs of their adopted religion and their own ancient traditional law, known as 'adat,' and they cling with considerable persistence to the latter. The old form of marriage, known as 'arohil anak,' is among most Malay populations preferred to the patrilocal marriage by purchase, or 'jual,' which has been introduced by Islam. "Immediately after his marriage a Malay husband settles down to live in his father-in-law's house." Where there is but one daughter in the family, or in the case of a younger daughter, her parents commonly give up the house to her and go and live in an annex. "The married man becomes entirely separate from his original family and gives up his right of inheritance." Chinese travellers of the time of the

Ming dynasty (1368-1643) had noted that among the Malays of Sumatra "in marrying, the husband goes to the house of the wife and afterwards belongs to her family; therefore they prefer getting girls to boys." Malay tradition, as well as historical indications, represent the highlands of middle Sumatra as the cradle of the nation, and their inhabitants, the Menangkabau—a name probably derived from the Sanskrit 'pinang kabau,' 'the land of origin'—as the original and pure Malays. The Rajahs of Menangkabau were once supreme over Sumatra, and were known as the Maha Raja de Raja, or King of Kings. In the year 1160 men from Menangkabau migrated across the straits and founded the city of Singapore; and at the present day the inhabitants of the Negri Sembilan State, in the Malay Peninsula, still call themselves Orang Menangkabau, the Men of Menangkabau. In the secluded highlands of Padang, the Menangkabau communities preserve unmodified to this day the original social constitution and customs of the race. Tylor thus paraphrases from the account of them given by the Dutch Controller, Verkerk Pistorius: "The traveller, following the narrow paths among dense tropical vegetation, comes upon villages of long timber houses almost hidden among the foliage. Built on posts, adorned with carved and coloured woodwork and heavily thatched, these houses duplicate themselves into barrack-like rows of dwellings occupied, it may be, by over a hundred people, forming a 'Sa-mandei,' or 'Motherhood,' consisting of the old house-mother and her descendants in the female line, sons and daughters, daughter's children, and so on. If the visitor, mounting the ladder-steps, looks in at one of the doors of the separate dwellings, he may see seated beyond the family hearth the mother and her children eating the midday meal, and very likely the father, who may be doing a turn of work in his wife's rice-plot. If he is a kindly husband he is much there as a friendly visitor, though his real home remains the house where he was born. To the European the social situation wears a comic aspect, as when the Dutch Controller describes the 'chasses-croises' which take place at dusk when

the husbands walk across the village from their homes to join their wives." There is nothing to prevent a man having several wives; in which case he visits them in turn in their various homes. "The Malay family, properly so-called, the 'Motherhood,' " writes Pistorius, "consists of the mother and her children. The father does not form part of it. The bonds of kinship which unite the latter to his brothers and sisters are much closer than those between him and his wife and children. Both the man and the woman continue after their marriage to live in the family of their brothers and sisters. The husband is not charged either with the feeding or the maintenance of his wife and children; that obligation falls on the maternal family to whom the wife and children belong. The head of the family is usually the brother of the mother, called 'mamak'; he has the administration of the goods, but, according to custom, it is his sister who keeps the family valuables and money in her room. The family property is inalienable within the motherhood. The belongings of a Malay pass at his death to his maternal family—first to his brothers and sisters, after to the children of his sisters, but never to his wife and the children that are born of her."

The original archaic Malay populations thus present a more primitive form of the matrilocal marriage institutions which are prevalent among the whole Malay race. In various branches of that race, and often, indeed, in the same district, every conceivable transition between the primitive 'Motherhood' of the Menangkabau and the patriarchal form of marriage of Ialam where a man has full 'patria potestas' over his children may be observed. In the Indragiri district of North Sumatra the same unmodified matriarchal organisation is found as in Padang highlands. Among the Orang Mameq, who are divided into strictly exogamous clans, both the husband and the wife remain after marriage in their own clan. They very seldom live together: when they do the husband comes over to his wife's clan and lives with her. Husband and wife do not form one family; the household consists of the woman, her brothers, and her children. In the view of

the Orang Mameq there exists no relationship between a father and his children; the latter inherit from their mother's brother. In the Tiga Loerong district husband and wife do usually live together, but their home is the wife's, the husband passing over to her clan. He has, nevertheless, no power over his children, who do not inherit from him, but from their uncle. Similar usages are found among the Malays of Tapong and Siak. The wives never leave their native village, while their husbands come over from another village and place themselves under the orders of the clan-chief of their wife's clan.

The same rules which mark the original social organisation of the Malays obtain among the very primitive races which inhabit the almost inaccessible forests of Eastern Sumatra. Among the Sakai, tribal organisation is "strictly matriarchal." The men have no possessions, and take up their abode for a longer or shorter time in the house of a woman. "The woman can simply send away her husbands; house, children, and furniture remain in every case the property of the woman." The man, too, can go away when he chooses, but he is obliged to refund the expenses incurred for his maintenance by his wife's family.

The customs of the Malay race have passed with it over to the mainland. "In Negri Sembilan, land tenure, contract and succession to property are still governed mainly by the matriarchal law of *Meongkahoa*." "A man marrying into another tribe becomes a member of it; the children also belong to the tribe of the woman."

In Borneo, among both Land- and Sea-Dayaks, it is the rule that the husband takes up his residence with the family of his wife; often he is merely a visitor there. To this rule there are but few exceptions, as when, owing to the large number of brothers and sisters, the wife's home is too crowded to accommodate the husband, or when he is the only support of aged relatives. Thus in British North Borneo "after marriage the bridegroom becomes the *Bege-man* of his wife's family, dwelling in his father-in-law's house for at least

six months; but in districts such as Tusen and Pape, where the common village home has been abolished, he is allowed to move after the period and build a house of his own." In the Kenya and Kayan tribes the husband takes up his residence in the same room as his wife's people; he does not take his wife to his own home until his father dies, or a new house is built. If the woman be of noble birth she never in any circumstances leaves her home for that of her husband.

In the Philippines likewise it was the general native custom for the women to continue in their own home after marriage, their husbands joining them there. Among the wild Igorots of Bontoc, when a girl marries, a hut is built for her and her husband adjoining that of her parents. It was noted as a strange circumstance by the early Spanish conquerors that among the wildest tribes, whom they called 'Pintados,' on account of the tatooings with which their bodies were covered, the men "love their wives so dearly that in case of a quarrel they take sides with their wives' relations even against their own fathers and mothers"; that is to say, as is the rule with matrilocal peoples, the husband fought with his wife's clan and not with his own.

The natives of the Micronesian region, the Carolines with the exception of Yap, the Marshall, Mortlock, Pelew, and Gilbert Islands, are matriarchal in their social organisation. Thus in the Pelew Islands "the meaning of the family is different from our conception, and has reference to female descent," the head of the family is the oldest female, 'adhalal a bley,' the 'Mother of the family,' and the head of each district is 'adhalal a pelu,' the 'Mother of the Land'; all landed property is in the hands of the women, and a man's property goes not to his sons, but to his sister's children. Marriage is throughout the region essentially matrilocal, although the rule may in some islands not be strictly adhered to when inconvenient. In the Pelew Islands a man is under the obligation to reside at least for a time in his wife's home, and she may not be confined anywhere else. In Ponapé matrilocal marriage is the rule. In Yap a man visits his wives in their various homes.

In the Gilbert Islands, "on marriage a man always removes to the house of his wife. If he marries the eldest daughter, her parents give up the home to her and build themselves a new house in the neighbourhood." In the Mortlock Islands the husband has his field in one part of the reef and passes backwards and forwards across the lagoon, to and from his wife's home in another part, lending a hand to the cultivation of her patch.

Similarly in the western islands of Torres Straits, where matrilineal marriage is the rule, it is common for men to marry in another island and to divide their time between their own plantation and that of their wife, crossing backwards and forwards at different seasons of the year between the two islands. If the husband, in later life, settles down in a more permanent manner, it is usually in the home of his wife.

A very similar state of things is found amongst the natives of Dutch New Guinea, in the Doreh region. A man is usually to be found dwelling in a hut with one woman; but he has other wives in some neighbouring village or island, and divides his time between the several households with which he is connected by marriage. Similar arrangements obtain at the opposite, that is, the south-eastern, extremity of the large island; a man has a number of wives whom he visits in turn in the various villages where they dwell. That arrangement which has been already noted in several parts of the world, and which may be called a polyæcious form of marriage, is very clearly described, as practised by his countrymen, by a semi-civilised native of Dohu island, near New Guinea. "Suppose," he reports, "you reside at a village called A, one of your wives will be a woman belonging to the village B, another to C, the third to D, the fourth to E, and the fifth to F. No one of them can be of your town, A; the A women are forbidden to you. And each of those five wives of yours stays in her own town; she does not come to yours. Her house is built in her town, and you dwell in your house in A. But it is your business to go and visit them at B, C, D, E, and F, and plant food in each of those places. And as for the children

of these women, they belong to the town and tribe of their mother, so that you have no children at all in A, and your line is extinct in your own town. But if you have a sister, and a man marries her, he does not take her away to his own town. Her house is built near yours in A, and her children are not counted to her husband's tribe or clan; they are counted to yours. Thus your own children go to other tribes, but your sister's children come to yours." Matrilineal marriage would thus appear to be the typical native usage in most parts of New Guinea, although there are great gaps in our information concerning the various parts of that vast island. There are instances in several regions of a state of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal usages. Thus in some parts of Dutch New Guinea a man may take his wife to his home for a year, after which she returns to hers, where he visits her. The fundamental matrilineal character of their customs is significantly indicated by the fact that no boy can go through the puberty ceremonies unless he has resided for a time with his mother's family. Among the Massim tribes of eastern New Guinea all degrees of transitions and, as it were, hesitations between matrilineal and patrilineal marriage customs occur; it is incumbent on the men to spend some time in the wife's family and to make a garden there, but they also cultivate a patch round their own homes, and they spend the first years of their married life in a semi-migratory existence between the two homes.

In New Zealand a young man on marriage "continued to live with his father-in-law, being looked upon as one of the tribe, or 'hapa,' to which his wife belonged, and in case of war the son-in-law was often obliged to fight against his own relations. So common is the custom of the bridegroom going to live with his wife's family that it frequently occurs, when he refuses to do so, that his wife will leave him and go back to her relatives. Several instances came under my notice," says Mr. Taylor, "where young men have tried to break through this custom and have lost their wives in consequence." Often both the men and the women continued to live with their own

relatives, the husbands visiting their wives from time to time. In Samoa likewise it was usual for the husband to take up his abode in the home of his wife. He became an absolute bond-slave to his mother-in-law. In the Ellice Islands the husband lived with his wife's mother until the combined families grew too large for the hut. In the Hervey or Cook Islands, if the wife were a chief's daughter, it was compulsory that the husband should take up his domicile in her home; his children belonged to her clan, and both they and their father were under the obligation to fight with the mother's clan, even against that of the husband's father.

In the Nicobar Islands "until he marries, a man considers himself a member of his father's household, but after that event he calls himself the son of his father-in-law, and he becomes a member of his wife's family, leaving the house of his parents, or even the village, if the woman dwells elsewhere."

Among the Ainu of Japan, one of the most primitive races of Asia, the native usage is for the women to remain in their own home, and for their husbands to join them there, although at the present day, where contact with the Japanese is closest, a woman may sometimes join her husband in his home after some years, but never before the birth of a child. According to the older usage "the bridegroom is removed from his own family to take up his abode close to the hut of his father-in-law; he is, in fact, adopted." The Ainu, we are informed, "do not like to give their daughters into another family, but prefer to adopt the son-in-law." Where a man has several wives, they remain each in her own home. In the Kuril Islands, which are inhabited by a branch of the same race, which has not come under Japanese influence, the primitive customs are regularly maintained; a man does not live with his wives, but merely visits them in their homes.

Among all the peoples of northern and of central Asia no custom is more persistently and strictly observed than that which requires the bridegroom to reside for a more or less prolonged period in his wife's family, or that the bride, after a short residence with her husband, shall return for a pro-

longed period to her own home. Those customs, which are similar to the practices now observed in some parts of New Guinea and Africa which are, to our knowledge, in a state of transition from recent matriloal to patriloal usages, suggest that they are survivals of a time when marriage throughout those parts of Asia was also permanently matriloal. And that inference is confirmed when it is found that among several of them this is, in fact, the case. At the present day the Yakut, the most numerous and widespread of those Siberian races, visit their wives for several years in their homes, and many children usually are born before a separate home is set up. Travelling in their country in the eighteenth century, the French consular agent Lesseps, thus described their practice: "Polygamy is a social institution amongst them. Being obliged to make frequent journeys from place to place, they have a wife in each of the places where they stay, and they never gather them together in one home." "Each wife of a polygamous Yakut," says Troshchanski, "lived separately with her children, and relations and cattle; during the frequent absences of her husband she was actually the head of the family." Among the Chukchi of the extreme northeast of Asia, every man, no matter how rich he may be, is obliged to take up his residence for a considerable time, often for several years, during which he begets a considerable family, with his wife's people; at times he becomes a permanent member of it. In the neighbouring Aleutian Islands, wives remained for at least one or two years after marriage in their own home, and never in any circumstances left it until they had a child. It has been noted as a "singular custom" of the natives of Kamchatka that a man is there obliged to take up his residence in his wife's home and to serve her family in the capacity of a slave for from one to ten years; after that period of probation the husband "lives with his father-in-law as if he were his own son." It was usual to marry all the sisters of the family, or several cousins. Among the Koryak likewise the young husband was obliged to take up his residence in the home of his wife, where he might remain five or ten years.

The same customs obtain among the Yukaghir; the bridegroom is accepted by the bride's father only on condition, the latter solemnly declares, that "he will stay with me till the end of my life, till death." The husband frequently succeeds his father-in-law as head of the house. Among the Tungus the newly married couple were wont to remain for at least two years after their marriage with the bride's father; after that time the latter presented them with a 'yurta' of their own. There is little doubt that marriage was with them originally entirely matrilocal, for their social constitution was matrilineal, all relationship being counted on the female side only. "They are a very ferocious people," writes an old Chinese historian; "in a fit of rage they would kill a father or an elder brother, but never hurt their mother, because the mother was considered the fountain of kinship." Among the Buryat, a Mongolic tribe of southern Siberia, the bride after marriage returns home for six months or more, and those visits are several times repeated until she finally settles down in her husband's home. We are definitely informed by Buryat tradition that it was formerly the usage for the husband to take up his abode permanently in the home of his wife. Among the Samoyeds the women return home after marriage, but only for a few weeks. The custom that the bride should return to her home for a longer or shorter period, after a brief honeymoon, is common among all the Tartar populations of Central Asia. She remains with her parents sometimes for as long as two years, and during that period her husband only pays clandestine visits to her during the night. Similar customs are observed in the Caucasus. Among the Chevrens the bride never spends more than three days with her husband, after which she returns home and is secretly visited by him. Among the Ossetes the wife returns to her own home after some months, and the husband must come and formally claim her once more.

In several parts of China are various aboriginal populations of non-Chinese race. One of those tribes, the Nue-Kun, is said to be permanently ruled by a woman, the supreme au-

thority being confined to the female descendants of the ruling family. Among the more secluded of those tribes, in the mountains of Kwei-Chow, marriage is matrilineal; after ten years of married life a man sometimes removes from his wife's family to a household of his own. In the populations of the lowlands, such as the Lunk-Tsung-Ye-Yan, and the Miao, which have come in closer contact with the Chinese, the wife remains in her home until the birth of the first child. In south-western China, among the Lolo, the claims of the husband to remove his wife to his home are emphatically asserted, but are associated with a significant indication of other customs. The bride is brought to the house of her father-in-law, but "the remarkable particularity amongst the Lolo is that invariably, some days after marriage, the bride escapes and runs home to her father's house." The husband must use entreaties and offer presents to win her back; if she prove obdurate, he has the recognised right to use a stick.

Throughout the eastern peninsula of southern Asia—that is, among the people of Siam, Burma, Indo-China and Tonkin—marriage customs are characteristically matrilineal. Thus in Burma, "after marriage the couple almost always live for two or three years in the house of the bride's parents, the son-in-law becoming one of the family and contributing to its support. Setting up a separate establishment even in Rangoon, where the young husband is a clerk in an English office, is looked upon with disfavour as a piece of pride and ostentation. If the girl is an only daughter, she and her husband stay on till the old people die." In Siam, after the marriage negotiations are completed, it is the first duty of the bride's father to provide a home for the couple. "It is customary to erect the building near the home of the bride's father; hence a newly married young man is scarcely ever to be found with his own father, but with his father-in-law." Until after the birth of the first child all the expenses of the young couple fall to the charge of the bride's father. The rule of matrilineal marriage is the primitive usage of all the peoples of Cochin China. It is falling into disuse among the

more advanced populations of Annam and Cambodia, where in the more conservative families the bridegroom is merely required to reside with his wife's family for about a year. But among the more unsophisticated tribes of northern Tonkin, whence the Annamites and Cambodians derive, the usage is general and strictly observed. Thus among the Moi, the most important and numerous of these groups of tribes, "a girl who marries does not leave her parents; it is, on the contrary, the husband who comes to dwell with his wife, unless he is rich enough to provide a slave as a compensation in her stead." The bride is taken on a visit of five or ten days to the home of her father-in-law, but the marriage may not be consummated there. After the visit the couple return in state to the bride's home and settle there permanently. If, as is usual, there are several wives, they are commonly sisters; but if a wife is taken from another family, she also remains in her own home, and the husband divides his time between the homes of his various wives. An arrangement may, however, be made, if the second wife is not in good circumstances and has not a comfortable home, for the first wife to invite her to come and share her house with the husband and her sisters.

In India, in the Hills of Assam, are various tribes who, undisturbed by the tramps and drums of three conquests, have retained to this day a primitive social organisation, and still erect large standing stones like the menhirs of Brittany over their dead. In a Synteg household you will find an old crone who is the grandmother, or even perhaps the great-grandmother of the family, together with her grandchildren and great-grandchildren; but the husbands of the daughters are not there. They only visit their wives at night, and are known as 'u shong kha,' that is, 'begetters.' Among the Khasis, "the husband does not take his bride to his own home, but enters her household or visits it occasionally. He seems merely entertained to continue the family to which his wife belongs." In some Khasi tribes the husbands take up their abode with their wives, who remain under the same roof as their mothers and

grandmothers. The grandmother is called the 'young grandmother' to distinguish her from the grandmother who is the ancestress of the family and its protecting goddess. All a man earns before he is married goes to his mother, after his marriage his earnings go to his wife's family. Property is transmitted from mother to daughter, but curiously it is the youngest, not the eldest daughter, who gets the lion's share, and, in one tribe the whole, of the landed property. The maternal clan which thus constitutes the social units of these peoples is called 'Mahari,' that is, 'Motherhood.' "Their social organisation," says Sir Charles Lyall, "presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions carried out in a logical and thorough manner which to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source and only bond of union of the family; in the most primitive parts of the hills, the Synteg country, she is the only owner of real property and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan. The flat memorial stones which they set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan, and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to male kinsmen on the mother's side."

The same organisation is found among other tribes of the region. Thus among the Garos "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." The husband takes up his abode with his wife in the house of her parents. Among the Lalungs, another tribe of the Khas and Jaintia Hills, "the usual custom in regard to marriage is for the parents of the girl to find a husband for her and take him to their house as a member of their family. The offspring of such marriages enter the clan of the mother."

Among the Kochs "the men are so gallant as to have made over all property to the women, who in return are most industrious, weaving, spinning, brewing, planting, sowing, in a word doing all the work not above their strength. When a woman dies the family property goes to her daughters, and when a man marries he lives with his wife's mother, obeying her and his wife."

In Southern India, on the Malabar coast, the famous Nayers constituted the aristocratic caste of the native Tamil population. Among them no woman ever left her home to take up her residence with her husband. The family group, or clan, or, as it was called, the 'tarwad,' or 'Motherhood,' consisted "of all the descendants in the female line of a common female ancestor." The household was constituted by the mother and her children, sisters and brothers; no husband formed part of it. The husbands were in the strictest sense visitors only, and so scrupulously was that position recognised that a Nayar husband would not even partake of food in the home of his wife, not being a member of it, but made a point of paying his visits after supper. At the present day the essential rule of matrilocal marriage continues to be adhered to, and "ancient and aristocratic families still refuse to send their ladies out of the home." Throughout South Malabar and North Travancore it is exceptional for a woman to remove after marriage to her husband's home.

In several of the instances above considered, marriage is not permanently matrilocal, but the continued residence of the woman in her own home after marriage and the residence of the husband with her family are limited to varying periods of months or years. Sometimes such attenuated matrilocal usages have dwindled down to a mere ceremonial. Thus, in the Patani States of the Malay Peninsula it is obligatory for a young couple to spend the first fortnight of their married life in the wife's home. Since permanent residence of the wife to her mother's family was the original rule with the Malays, the obligation to remain there a fortnight after marriage can only be regarded as a ceremonial relic of the older usage.

When the same custom is found elsewhere, as, for instance, among the Kaduppattan of Cochin, the inference is probable that it derives from a similar original practice. Again, among the Baila of Rhodesia, a region where matrilineal marriage was once general, the wedding night is now spent by the newly married couple at the bridegroom's house, but they proceed the next day to the wife's home, and after a ceremony in which the bridegroom casts a spear in the ground before his wife, they remain there two nights. Among the Kagoro of Nigeria the bride and bridegroom spend their wedding night only at the house of the bride's parents. The same custom is strictly observed by some tribes of Dardistan; but amongst others the prescriptive residence of the young couple in the bride's home extends to several months. Perhaps the most attenuated form of matrilineal customs is found among some of the tribes of Southern India. Among the Mappellas of Malabar, the bride and bridegroom, after the wedding ceremony, are locked up together in a room in the bride's home "for a few moments." The marriage is supposed to be consummated; but, as a matter of fact, the custom is purely ritual. Among the Wends the bridegroom spends the wedding night at the bride's house; before doing so he bids an unnecessarily solemn farewell to his family. As with most other primal institutions of human society an attenuated relic of matrilineal marriage survives in our own usages as the custom of partaking of the wedding lunch at the bride's house; the bridegroom thus begins his married life as a guest of his wife's family.

In those instances the vestigial matrilineal usages are but empty ceremonial practices which cannot serve any practical object, and have merely a sentimental value. In other instances, several of which have been noted, the practice of transferring the wife to the husband's home is qualified either by alternating residences of the couple in the home of the husband and of the wife respectively, or by a return of the bride to her own home for a shorter or longer period, and by frequent prolonged visits to her family. The usage of

removing the wife to the home of her husband has evidently in these instances not the force of a primary principle, and has not yet become fully established as such. In many parts of Africa, as in other uncultured societies, even where the wife is brought to her husband's home, the connexion with her own family remains much closer than is the rule in advanced patriarchal societies. Of the Bakerewe, a missionary remarks: "A custom which is very injurious to good understanding and to stability in marriage is the habit which the women have of going back to their family on the least occasion. If she is indisposed, the woman says: 'I am going home.' If a feast is held by her people, she says: 'I am going home.' And these residences, often very prolonged, demoralise the poor husband, who is left alone. But he is powerless to alter things; it is the fashion."

In many other instances partial matrilocal marriage, limited to a period of months or of years, is scarcely distinguishable from what is termed 'marriage by service,' in which the bridegroom gives his services for a stipulated period in consideration of being afterwards permitted to remove his wife from her parents' home to one of his own. All matrilocal marriage is, in a sense, 'marriage by service,' for the association of the husband with the wife's family is generally conditional on his contributing his labour towards their maintenance and also on his fighting on their behalf, even against his own people, should occasion arise, and the association continues only so long as he fulfils those obligations. The practice of 'marriage by service,' in the relatively small number of instances where it is associated with 'marriage by purchase,' and where services for a given period are tendered in place of such payment, is clearly an adaptation of more ancient usages to conditions and transactions which are foreign to the constitution of primitive society. It is nowhere found except where permanent matrilocal marriage also is still customary, or is known to have formerly been the general usage. Thus, in reference to the tribes of Assam, where not only matrilocal marriage but the most complete matriarchal social organiza-

tion obtains, as among the Khasis, the Garos, the Kochs, we are told that among the Bodo and Dhimal, who now pay a bride-price on marriage, "a youth who has no means of discharging this sum must go to the house of his father-in-law elect and there literally earn his wife by the sweat of his brow, labouring 'more Judaico,' upon mere diet for a term of years varying from two on an average to five or even seven as the extreme period. This custom is named *gaboi* by the Bodo, *gharjya* by the Dhimals." It would be difficult to suppose that the custom of these tribes is independent in origin from the universal and permanent matrilocal customs of their neighbours and kinsmen, the Kochs, the Garos and the Khasis. Similarly, when we find the same custom of 'marriage by service' reported from some parts of Indo-China, among the Malays, or in Africa, and the bridegroom is described as earning his wife by service in lieu of paying for her, the practice can scarcely be regarded as unconnected with the general matrilocal usages of the Indo-Chinese, the Malays and the Bantu. The 'service' performed by the bridegroom is very commonly not an optional alternative to the payment of a bride-price, but is compulsory, no matter how well able he may be to make that payment. Nay, in some instances, instead of the 'service' being regarded as a form of payment, the husband himself is paid by the wife's parents to forgo any claim to remove her and her children from their home. Matrilocal marriage, even when quite unmodified and permanent, has not infrequently been erroneously described by some of the older observers as 'serving for a bride.' Thus the Jesuit missionaries in North America, with the Biblical precedent of the marriage of Jacob in their minds, frequently represented the marriage customs of the Indians as marriage by service. Their accounts abound by inconsistent and contradictory statements in this, as in other respects; some expressly tell us that the Indians served for their wives 'for a year,' or 'till the birth of the first child.' But it is easy to see from the discrepancies in those accounts, and from explicit statements, some of which I have cited, that those descriptions rest upon misunder-

standings. Far from the relation between the husband and the wife's family terminating after the birth of a child, it was, on the contrary, confirmed, and in fact only began, after that event. The traveller Henry, who knew the Iroquois, as well as many other tribes, intimately, states that a woman never left her parents' home till after the death of her mother. It can be readily understood that where the 'home' merely consists of a leather tent, considerations of convenience would generally lead, when the family increased, to the erection of a separate wigwam; but this in no way affected the constitution of the social group, and there is no evidence that in any circumstances a woman left her clan to join that of her husband. So likewise in many instances where we are told that after a number of years the husband removes his wife to a home of his own, this does not necessarily mean that he takes her away to his own people, but that, owing to the increase in the family, it is found convenient to build a separate dwelling, often adjoining her parental home. The parallel of the marriage of Jacob, which caused missionaries who detected a similarity between the customs of the North American Indians and those of the ancient Hebrews to take a misleading view of the marriage customs of the former, is itself not an example of the commutation by services of a payment entitling the husband to remove his wives, for, on the contrary, the Biblical narrative expressly tells us that Jacob's father-in-law utterly denied that he had any such right, even after twenty years.

The determination of the dwelling-place by the female is, we saw, the natural consequence of biological facts, and is the rule among animals; it is the female, and not the male, who chooses a suitable lair or shelter for the rearing of her brood, and the male accommodates himself to those requirements, and when associating with the female seeks her in her abode. All animals may be said to be, in so far as they form sexual associations, matrilocal in their habits. It is thence natural to infer that the habits of primitive humanity were the same. That this inference is correct is proved by a social fact to

which there are no exceptions. Whenever a man removes his wife from her home and brings her to his own, the procedure invariably involves a compact or transaction whereby such a transfer is sanctioned by the woman's family; that sanction is obtained in all but some of the highest phases of culture by bestowing upon them a compensation or consideration. Another woman may be given in exchange, or more usually some form of payment is made upon which the permission to remove the woman depends. Such a transaction, however simple, postulates a certain degree of cultural development and social organization; it would be out of the question to impute such a juridic or commercial procedure to any race of animals. But there must have been a time when emergent humanity differed but little from animals and was equally incapable of negotiating such a transaction. All agreements or transactions whereby sanction is given by a woman's family to remove her to another home are, on the other hand, commutations of the usages of a more primitive time when the man had no such right. That right was acquired by the development of juridic and commercial transactions and of the purchasing power of the man. Thus, in Indonesia matrilocal marriage was, we have seen, the original and primitive usage. Among the Alfurs of Ceram a man has the option of marrying his wife without payment and taking up his residence in her village, or of paying a bride-price and removing her to his own. If he marries a woman of the same village, there is then no question of payment. Similarly, in the Kei Islands payment of a bride-price is a late innovation introduced by Islam, which entitles a man to remove his wife and children to his own home; if that bride-price is not paid, there is, however, no bar whatever to his marrying her, but the woman remains in her home and the children are counted as members of her family. The same conditions obtain among the Alfurs of Buru. The patrilocal form of marriage thus depends upon a transaction superimposed upon the original arrangement whereby a man went to live with his wife's people. If that be so, and if it cannot be supposed that early

humanity emerging from an animal state began at once to enter into elaborate commercial transactions to form sexual unions, there is no alternative but to conclude that the practice of matrilocal marriage was the original form of marriage union, and is coeval with the origin of humanity.

CHAPTER V

THE MATERNAL CLAN

THE custom of matrilineal marriage is not an isolated usage. In the same manner as with the practice of patrilineal marriage are bound up other features of social organisation which, taken together, constitute what may be termed the patriarchal form of the family and of social relations, so with the practice of matrilineal marriage are found associated corresponding features and usages which differ from those obtaining in patriarchally organised societies. When the women of a family remain together, generation after generation, and their various sexual associates belong to different social groups, the whole constitution of the family is manifestly different from that which results from the established usage of removing the women to the homes of their respective husbands. The patriarchal family resulting from the latter procedure cannot, if matrilineal marriage was the universal practice in earlier forms of human society, be assumed to represent the nucleus around which social organisation has developed.

Although in most instances of matrilineal marriage the husband is expected to contribute his services to the support and protection of his wife's family, those functions are not indispensable to the existence of the maternal family. They are already provided for by the male members of that family. The husband's services are not, accordingly, bestowed upon his wife and his children; it is not 'his' family which he helps to support, but his wife's family. Among the North American Indians, for example, the habitual practice was for the husband to hand over the whole of the produce of his chase

to his wife. She thereupon distributed the greater portion of the food among her own relatives. She might keep a small portion for the use of her husband, but she was not bound to do so. If she did not, he had no right to remonstrate, but would obtain his required portion from his own relatives; his dinner would be prepared by one of his sisters. Similarly his children were in no way dependent upon him, but belonging as they did to their mother's clan, the functions of feeding and if need be protecting them fell to her own brothers. The economic relations upon which the patriarchal family is founded do not, then, exist where marriage is purely matrilineal. The economic uses of the sexual division of labour are fulfilled within the maternal family independently of any association between sexual partners. Those functions which in the patriarchal family are discharged by the husband and father, and which constitute him the provider and protector of his family, are in the maternal group fulfilled by the woman's brothers. The word 'brother,' in Sanskrit 'bhrate,' comes from a root which means 'to support.' The brother is the natural supporter and protector of his sister and of her family.

The position of the eldest brother of the woman, and uncle of the children, is a well-known and widespread feature of primitive society, and is so fundamental that it has frequently survived the original constitution which gave rise to it. In North America, "the relationship of uncle in Indian society is in several particulars more important than any other, from the authority with which he is invested over his nephews and nieces. He is practically rather more the head of his sister's family than his sister's husband. Amongst the Chactas, for example, if a boy is to be placed at school his uncle instead of his father takes him to the mission and makes the arrangements. An uncle among the Winnebagues may require service of a nephew or administer correction which his own father would neither ask nor attempt. In like manner, with the Iowas and Ottawas, an uncle may appropriate to his own use his nephew's horse or his gun or other personal property with-

out being questioned, which his own father would have no recognised right to do." In the southern part of the continent the same relation obtained. Among the Goajiros "the father cannot dispose of his daughter; that right appertains to the mother's brothers. These were regarded by Goajiro law as the natural protectors, the real fathers of the children." In every part of the African continent the position of the mother's brother has the same character as on the other side of the Atlantic. Thus, for example, among the Warrima of East Africa, the maternal uncle exercises all authority over his sister's children "by an indefeasible right with which even the parents cannot interfere." Among the Barea the wife obeys her brother, not her husband; she relies for assistance and advice on the former and not on the latter. In the Congo among the Bawana a man's children are taken charge of as soon as they attain puberty by their mother's brother; the father has no authority whatever over them. Or again in West Africa, among the Igalwas, "the father's responsibility as regards authority over his own children is very slight. The really responsible male relative is the mother's elder brother. From him must leave to marry be obtained by either girl or boy; to him and the mother must the present be taken which is exacted on the marriage of a girl; and should the mother die, on him and not on the father lies the responsibility of rearing the children; they go to his house, and he treats and regards them as nearer and dearer to himself than his own children, and at his death, they become his heirs." Among the Aleuts, according to Veniaminoff, the father had nothing whatever to do with the bringing up of his wife's children; it was her brother who looked after his sister's children of both sexes, and reared them. In Melanesia "the closest relationship, according to the 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 services 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 tradi-

tional bond of all native society, that of kinship through the mother. The youth, as he begins to feel social ties, looks to his mother's brother as to the male representative of his kin. It is a matter of course that the nephew should look to his mother's brother for help of every kind, and the uncle should look upon his sister's son as his special care; the closeness of this relation is fundamental." The mother's brother, says another writer, "takes the chief place in the Melanesian family, and the parents fall into the background before him. The children belong neither to the father nor to the mother, but to the mother's brother or to her nearest kinsman. The maternal uncle has the full right to dispose of his nephews and nieces. 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. On the death of the matuana, it is not his own children but his nephews who come forward as his heirs." The authority of the mother's brother in Melanesia, Professor Malinowski tells us, "though closely parallel to that of the father among ourselves, is not exactly identical with it. First of all his influence is introduced into the child's life much later than that of the European father. Then again, he never enters the intimacy of family life. . . . Thus his power is exercised from a distance and it cannot become oppressive in those small matters which are most irksome." That authority has reference rather to tribal matters than to family affairs. With the Melanesians, as with the majority of savages, masculine ancestry is naturally thought of as avuncular and not as paternal, and a Melanesian or an American Red-skin would never speak of 'our fathers,' but of 'our uncles.' When a Melanesian proselyte is employed by missionaries to assist in instructing his fellow-natives, and he translates for them the Lord's Prayer, he does not say "Our Father which art in heaven," but "Our Uncle which art in heaven." Marriage in most parts of Melanesia and in the Trobriand Islands, the sociology of which has been so brilliantly studied

by Professor Malinowski, is patrilocal. The position occupied in these societies by the maternal uncle is thus a surviving relic of a time when the usage of matrilocal marriage still obtained.

In most societies where the matrilocal custom obtains the husband who joins his wife's family is not so much under the authority of her brother as of her mother. The rules which govern the relation between a man and his mother-in-law in uncultured societies appear to us so grotesque that we can scarcely contemplate them without a smile, but the well-known attitude of the savage towards his wife's mother is to him anything but a laughing matter. It is one of the most constant rules in savage society that a man may not speak to, and generally may not even look upon, the mother of his wife, and the breach of this rule is regarded with as much horror as the breach of the rules against incestuous union. A few examples will serve to recall the character of that sentiment and tradition.

In Australia, among the northern tribes, a man is warned of the approach of his mother-in-law by the sound of a bull-roarer; and a native is said to have nearly died of fright because the shadow of his mother-in-law fell on his legs while he lay asleep. "It was formerly death for a man to speak to his mother-in-law; however, in later times, the wretch who had committed this heinous crime was suffered to live, but he was severely reprimanded and banished from the camp." In Tasmania a native, being concerned about the attentions which a younger man was paying to his wife, hit upon the plan of betrothing his newly born daughter to the suspected rival; from that moment it became quite impossible for the latter even to look at his future mother-in-law. In New Britain "a man must not speak to his mother-in-law. He not only must not speak to her, but must avoid her path; if he meets her suddenly he must hide, or if he has no time to hide his body, he must hide his face. What calamities would result from a man accidentally speaking to his mother-in-law, no native imagination has yet been found equal to conceive.

Suicide of one or of both would probably be the only course." In the Banks Islands "a man would not follow his mother-in-law along the beach nor she him, until the tide had washed out the footsteps of the first traveller from the sand." The missionary van Hasselt relates that in Doreh, in New Guinea, where he conducted a school for native children, a little boy of six suddenly fell to the floor during a lesson, "like a log of wood," and hid under the table. The reason, it was discovered, was that he had seen the mother-in-law of his brother pass the school. The rule is as rigorous in Africa as in Australia and Melanesia. Thus among the Masai, if a man "enters his mother-in-law's hut, she retires into the inner compartment and sits on the bed while he remains in the outer compartment. Thus separated they may converse with each other." Generally, however, all speech between a man and his mother-in-law is strictly forbidden, and they may not look upon one another, but cover their faces when accidentally meeting. A missionary was once holding among the Ovaherero a great religious meeting which was attended by the chief and a large concourse of the people, among whom was the prospective son-in-law of the chief. It unexpectedly happened that the mother of the bride also made her appearance at the meeting. Immediately the young man fell face on his face, and a number of anxious friends hastened to cover him completely with rugs and skins. There he lay perspiring and well-nigh suffocated during the whole of the proceedings, until the departure of the lady at the termination of the function at last released him. Among the Eschobolo of the Congo, the ceremonial avoidance of a man's mother-in-law continues to be observed even after the death of his wife. The Indians of Yukatan believed that if a man were to meet his mother-in-law he could never beget children. Throughout North America, "none of their customs is more tenacious of life than this, and no family law more binding." When travelling, or in an open camp, "the mother-in-law was afraid to raise her head or open her eyes, lest they should meet the interdicted object." "One of the funniest incidents I can

remember," says Captain Bourke, "was seeing a very desperate Chiricahua Apache, named Ka-e-tenny, who was regarded as one of the boldest and bravest men in the whole nation, trying to avoid running face to face against his mother-in-law. He hung to stones, from which, had he fallen, he would have been dashed to pieces, or certainly have broken several of his limbs." In primitive society those rules of mother-in-law avoidance are regarded as 'innate' sentiments implanted in human nature, and as a categorical imperative partaking of the character of a natural law of universal validity. The Tlinkit of Alaska, when digging for clams, which have a way of withdrawing rapidly in the sand, say, "Don't go so fast or you will hit your mother-in-law in the face"; the Kurnai of Australia call the spiny ant-eater "the mother-in-law of thunder" because in a thunder-storm it endeavours to hide itself by burrowing in the ground. It is stated of the Baganda, and the remark would appear to be generally applicable, that they attach a greater degree of sanctity to the prohibition referring to the mother-in-law than to the prohibition against incest.

Yet those sentiments and usages of primitive societies are on current views and in terms of our own ideas meaningless absurdities. Of this curious series of customs, "I have met with no interpretation which can be put forward with confidence," says Sir Edward Tylor. "No 'raison d'être' in existing custom has ever been discovered" for the usage. None of the suggestions that have been hazarded throws any more light on the enigma than do facetious references to the unpopularity of the mother-in-law and current jokes on the subject. Those well-worn jokes, it appears probable, are themselves a surviving echo of a sentiment which once occupied a foremost place in the mind of primitive humanity, but which is insusceptible of interpretation except in terms of the earliest conditions of human societies.

The suggestion has been frequently made that the rules of mother-in-law avoidance are primarily intended to insure against the occurrence of improper intercourse between her

and her son-in-law. But that hypothesis would seem to be definitely excluded by certain curious derivative practices found in several tribes. The inconveniences of carrying out strictly those elaborate precautions are so great that some uncultured peoples, as, for instance, the Fawness, and the Ojibwa, have been led to discard them and to allow them to fall into disuse. Emancipation from those vexatious observances has been in some instances attained in a different manner. Among the Navahos the rules of mother-in-law avoidance are as strict as anywhere; from the time of his marriage a Navaho can never look his mother-in-law in the face, else, he believes, he would grow blind. They cannot meet or sit in the same hut; and shouts warning men and mothers-in-law against accidentally meeting are said to be the commonest sounds in a Navaho camp. Indeed their name for mother-in-law, 'deyishini,' means 'She whom I may not see.' Those constant embarrassments are, however, sometimes avoided by a Navaho by the simple expedient of marrying his mother-in-law 'pro forma' before he marries the daughter; having thus made the formidable personage his wife all restrictions and terrors attaching to her status are removed. The Cherokees have hit upon the same plan of eluding mother-in-law observances. Among the Caribs a man might not look upon his mother-in-law and they carefully avoided one another; unless, as was sometimes done, he married both mother and daughter. The same solution has been adopted in an even more thorough manner by the Wagogo and the Wahle of East Africa, with whom it is a rule that a man must cohabit with his future mother-in-law before he is allowed to marry the daughter. It appears fairly clear that the tabus which can be legitimately evaded by marrying one's mother-in-law are not intended to guard against sexual relations with her, and are not the expression of any horror in respect of such relations; and in fact, although in a monogamous society the notion of such relations may be considered indecent, no 'horror of incest' attaches to them.

The mother-in-law restrictions can, moreover, be commuted by conciliating the lady by means of presents. Thus among the Akamba a man may, by making a present of a goat to his mother-in-law, obtain permission to enter her hut and sit by the fire when she is away; by means of a more liberal present, such as an ox or a number of blankets, the ban may be removed altogether. Among the Arapahos, all restrictions are removed if a man presents his mother-in-law with a horse. Among the Dakota tribes, if a warrior brought to his mother-in-law the scalp of a slain enemy and a rifle, the prohibition against intercourse between them was from that moment abolished. That the supposed danger which those rules are, in their first intention, designed to obviate comes from the mother-in-law and not from the son-in-law is further shown by the circumstance that among some peoples, as among the Warrawunga tribe of Central Australia, though a man may not go to a camp where his mother-in-law resides, she, on the other hand, and all the wife's relatives, are quite free to visit him in his own camp. Among the Fungwe of Western Africa, on the other hand, the mother-in-law avoids meeting, not only her son-in-law, but all his relatives, male and female. In New Britain a man will go miles out of his way to avoid meeting his mother-in-law; but should he render himself guilty of perjury, the punishment which is regarded as most suitable is that he should go through the painful ordeal of shaking hands with that lady. The idea underlying those observances is also exhibited in the forms which they assume in some instances. Among the Banyoro of East Africa, for example, a man is not obliged to avoid meeting his mother-in-law, but "it is absolutely essential for the son-in-law to kneel down and remain in a reverential position for some time whenever and wherever he meets her." Again, among the Araucanians of Chili there is no definite rule that a man shall avoid his mother-in-law, but it is a matter of etiquette that on the young couple's return from their honeymoon the bride's mother should pretend to be greatly offended with her son-in-law, giving him the cold shoulder, affecting not to speak to

him and to turn her back on him, and adopting generally a sulky attitude for about a year. Among the Ossetes of the Caucasus a man does not enter the house of his parents-in-law for two years after his marriage. But it is scarcely conceivable that the Ossete mother-in-law, who lives in semi-Oriental seclusion, is regarded as standing in danger of receiving improper advances from her son-in-law. In those customs the mother-in-law does not appear in the character of a possible object of unlawful desire, but as an offended personage whom it is needful to conciliate. And, in fact, among the Wakanda of East Africa, the Rev. D. C. R. Scott informs us, "the children endeavour to heal the breach between their father and their grandmother." In one instance at least, namely among the Modoc Indians of California, it would appear that the mother-in-law has good cause to observe scrupulously the usage of avoiding her son-in-law; for, according to Mr. Powers, a Modoc has a recognised right—which, it is to be hoped, is generally waived—to kill his mother-in-law with complete impunity should he happen to meet her. It is difficult to perceive any connection between such a strange form of the usage and the protection of the mother-in-law against possible improper advances.

The peculiar position occupied in lower cultures by the mother-in-law is, like that occupied by the maternal uncle, the direct consequence of the usage of matrilineal marriage. A man's mother-in-law, and not his mother, is the female head of the group to which he attaches himself by matrilineal marriage. The husband is often a more or less secret visitor to his wife's group, and the relation is not fully acknowledged until after the birth of a child. With a number of peoples, in fact, the rules and restrictions which apply to the relations of a man with his mother-in-law cease to be observed after the birth of a child. The position which a man occupies in matrilineal marriage is frequently described as one of slavery to his mother-in-law.

The whole of the social relations which necessarily result from the matrilineal form of marriage constitute a form of

social organisation which is incompatible with the hypothesis that all human social groups arose out of the relations established in a patriarchal family round the authority of a dominant male. That patriarchal family-organisation, which should according to that hypothesis be more prominent in lower than in higher cultures, may be said to be conspicuous by its rarity, if not by its absence, as we pass from civilised societies to those phases of social development which may be supposed to approximate more closely to the primitive conditions of human society.

The sexual mate, or husband, who, according to the hypothesis that the primitive human group was a patriarchal family, ought to be the head of that group, is wherever the primitive social constitution has remained unchanged, a stranger within it, and has neither authority nor executive power or protective functions in that group. Speaking of the natives of East Africa generally, Mr. Joelson says: "For want of a better word I must needs refer to the negro 'family,' but my readers will realise that the term in this connection is used to convey an idea essentially different from the construction put upon it in modern society." "In East Africa," says Dr. Wriote, "the husband is nothing, so to speak, but a connection by marriage. He is his children's father, but he is not related to them; in fact, he belongs to another clan." Among the Congo Pygmies, the social group consists of brothers and sisters, and in several camps no husbands and no wives may be found. The men visit their sexual partners in another camp. Of the 'family' in West Africa, M. F.-J. Clouet says, "Although apparently it resembles that of European societies with father, mother and children, the father's authority scarcely exists, and from the civil point of view he is not the parent of his children. The true family among the Alladian only takes account of the uterine parentage. It is on the uterine family that the social organisation is based. The member is called 'etloco,' and it is the eldest 'etloco' who is the real head of the family, whether it be a man or a woman." Among the Fantl "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." The son of a powerful chief at Bassam, in French Guinea, on being asked whether he would not be a rich man when his father died and he inherited some of his wealth, answered: "Why should I? I am only his son." Even where the principles of masculine supremacy and patriarchal organisation are fully established it by no means always follows that the father and husband is 'ex officio' the head of the family. Thus, among the Koryak, the social group is organised on the principle of seniority quite irrespective of the relation of the man to the group and of uterine or agnatic descent. The eldest male is 'head of the family'; when he dies his eldest brother succeeds him; if there is no brother, his son; and if a son-in-law happens to be the eldest male in the household he becomes the 'head of the family.'

Among the Wyandots, says Mr. Powell, "the family household is not a unit, as two gentes are represented in each, the father must belong to one gens, the mother and her children to another." "The Indians consider their wives as strangers," says an old missionary. "It is a common saying among them, 'My wife is not my friend,' that is, 'she is not related to me and I need not care for her.'" "There was nowhere such a family bond as we find in civilisation," says another writer: "Marriage among members of the same gens was prohibited; therefore since the ties of clanship were very strong, and the links of matrimony very weak, there was no harmonious, firmly united family, but rather a loosely constructed household. Since the child belonged to the mother, and the mother was a member of a gens different from that of the father, there was always a wide gulf separating the individuals of the domicile. The husband was isolated, perhaps even tolerated; plans and secrets existed among the members of the gens rather than between husband and wife." "The al-

airs of the father's clan," says Mr. Baudelier, "did not concern his wife and children, whereas a neighbour might be a confidant in such matters. The mother, son and daughter spoke among themselves of matters of which the father was not entitled to know, and about which he scarcely felt enough curiosity to enquire." The children do not regard their father as a relative by blood; if he requires assistance they consider that "his people" should look after him. In the event of dispute, of hostilities between one clan and another, the children and the father, in primitive society, stood against one another as enemies. Among the Haidus "it almost appears as if 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. . . . Husbands and wives did not hesitate to betray each other to death in the interests of their own families." Among the Goajiros, we are again told in so many words, "what we call the family does not exist." In Samoa, "the husband did not by marriage become one of the family . . . a wife does not enter into the family of her husband." "The Malay family in the narrow sense of the word consists solely of the mother with her children. The father does not belong to it." The Mekeo of New Guinea "have no word representing the idea of a family." Speaking of the Kani tribes of British New Guinea, another writer says: "the family is non-existent, or nearly so." The Fuegians "are devoid of all family bonds." It would thus appear that the group or association which was at one time supposed to be the original unit of human society is somewhat elusive in its more primitive stages.

Not only does it not exist as a psychological, juridic, or social unit; it frequently does not exist as a physical association. It is common in primitive society for husband and wife not to live together. In Australia the women and the men have each their own camp and live quite separately. "In all the Melanesian group it is the rule that there is in every village a building of a public character where the men eat

and spend their time." The women and the children live by themselves at home. Such is the rule, for example, in the Banks Islands, and in the New Hebrides; the sexes live entirely separate. In New Caledonia, "the wife does not live with her husband," "Domestic life does not exist"; men and women do not live under the same roof, and "one seldom sees men and women talking or sitting together. The women seem perfectly contented with the company of their own sex. The men are rarely seen in the company of the opposite sex." Similarly in British New Guinea, the husband lives in the club-house of the men, and visits his wife only occasionally. In Moto, for example, all the men, married and single, sleep in the common house. Every night the husband leaves his wife and goes to the club to sleep, and as often as not his place is taken by one of the unmarried men. Among the inland tribes of Dutch New Guinea "the lives of man and wife are entirely separate." In northern Papua a man associates with other men, but not with his wife. A Swedish traveller notes, as a remarkable fact, that among the Mekeo family life is far more developed than in any other part of New Guinea which he visited, for husband and wife "sleep together in one house." In Hawaii, men and women did not live together; "the women lived almost entirely by themselves; no social circle existed." In New Zealand husband and wife "behave to each other as if they were not at all related, and it not infrequently happens that they sleep in different places before the termination of the first week of their marriage." In Tahiti, father, mother and children never assemble "as one social happy band"; family life is "quite unknown among them." In Raratonga, "a family, as the term signifies to an English ear, was not known." In Micronesia, the men have their common house and the women theirs; the sexes live almost entirely separate; "there is no family life." Among the Andamanese the men and the women keep to themselves in parties of their own sex. Among the Orang Bédusda tribes of Johore, the husband is no more than an "honoured guest" in the house of his wife. We

have seen that his position is similar among the Menangkabau Malays; the longer the marriage lasts, the rarer become his visits. Among the Igorots of Luzon "there is almost an entire absence of anything which may be called home-life." The Nayar husband is not permitted by custom to partake of food in the house of his wife, and it is a universal rule in India that men and women do not eat together. Among all the tribes of Assam and Upper Burma men and women live in separate houses. There is no common life between husband and wife in China; the house is divided into two, and the sexes live in separate apartments. In Korea "family life as we have it is quite unknown." Among the Samoyeds, men and women do not live together; they have their meals apart. The same is the custom with the Eskimo, and the Cleuts.

In all North American Indian tribes there was scarcely any social intercourse between the men and the women; the sexes lived their lives separately. A man did not take his meals with his wife; in public and in private they scarcely spoke to one another. "In the lodge the man may be looked upon as the guest of his wife." Among the Creeks, "every family has two huts or cabins, one is the man's and the other belongs to his wife, where she stays and does her work, seldom or ever coming in the man's house, unless to bring victuals and on other errands." So fundamental was the custom that it was kept up by completely Christianised and semi-Europeanised Indians living on the outskirts of Quebec. "The men," says Father Charlevoix, describing the village, "live, according to their custom, in one house, the women and children in another. I say 'house,' and not 'hut,' because these natives are now lodged after the French fashion." Among the Hupas of California, the sexes live entirely separate except during the hunting season in the summer, when eight shelters are erected where men and women come together; during the rest of the year the women and children live in the houses, the men, married and single, in the 'sweat-house,' which is also the men's common house. Exactly

similar customs obtained among the Pueblo Indians. Charming descriptions of their family-life have been given, but those descriptions refer to the present day. "The separation of the sexes having been abolished during the Spanish times, the Pueblo Indian is to-day acquainted with home life and the idea of the family." When the first Spanish padres came, they found the elaborate houses of the Indians occupied by the women and children only; the men did not dwell in them. Even after marriage they spent the night in those singular constructions known as 'kivas,' and called by the Spaniards 'estafas.' "The Pueblo Indians had, in fact, no home life." Among the Hopi "there exists no private family life in the sense in which we understand it." Among the Caribbeans tribes, husband and wife "do not live together as man and wife in the night, because they are persuaded that a child conceived in the night will be born blind; nor do they live together at any time, but occupy separate huts with a great stove between them, to which the woman goes to put the food she has prepared for her husband." Among the Carajas of Brazil, a man's home was not with his wife and children, but with his sister and her children; he was regarded as a member of her household, and not of that of his wife, whom he merely visited. Among the Uaupes of the upper Amazon basin a man and his wife lead separate existences during the day, and very seldom spend the whole night together. Among the Mundrucus the men all live and sleep in a common house apart from the women.

In Africa, husband and wife do not live together in the same hut. "When the husband has attained to a degree of prosperity that will enable him to practise the polygamy natural to his ideas, the several wives each have a separate hut, though the various dwellings that go to make up the family domicile will be enclosed in a quadrangular or circular fence built of reeds or elephant-grass. When the husband eats he is either alone or in the company of male friends, or perhaps one or two of the male children; never do the wives or concubines join in the repast." Among the Bassa Komo

of Nigeria, "husband and wife do not live in the same house; but all the men live in one part of the village, and the women in another. The wife visits the husband occasionally, and vice versa." Among the Nuer of the Upper Nile, husband and wife live in different villages, and a common household is never set up until the eldest child is able to walk. Among the Fan, the men live in the 'palaver house,' and the women bring their meals to them there. "I should hesitate," says Miss Kingsley, "to call it a fully developed family." Among the Mumbake, a woman does not live in the same house as her husband until the children are able to walk. Among the Aranda of the Upper Congo, the men and the women live in different villages at some distance from one another; one village being inhabited exclusively by the men, the other by the women and children. In Senegambia, husband and wife do not live under the same roof, and there is no common social life between the sexes. Among the Hottentots the women and the men did not associate, and led entirely separate lives. Among the Zulus, men and women are scarcely ever seen together; if a man and his wife are going to the same place, they do not walk together. Speaking of the Kaffirs generally, Dr. Fritsch says: "Family life, in our sense of the word, cannot be said to exist."

Every allowance may be made for superficial observation or for exaggeration in those reports, and no effort has been spared by anthropologists to emphasise the family relations of surviving semi-Christianised uncultured races. But the contrast between those relations and the group formed by the patriarchal family in civilised societies remains conspicuous, and thrusts itself upon the notice of every observer who has had any experience of the life of uncultured races. I have sometimes dwelt several weeks in a Polynesian or a Melanesian community before discovering that "Mrs. Brown" was the wife of "Mr. Brown." The bonds between sexual associates, that is, between the constituent members of the family-group formed by husband and wife, are beyond all comparison looser in all lower cultures than in more ad-

vanced societies. That group was at one time supposed to have constituted the original germ of all social organisation. As an eighteenth-century writer elegantly put it, "The husband and the wife of his bosom, whom love unites by the silken ties of matrimony, form the first society; this union is first founded on the call of nature, in mutual assistance, and the sweet hopes of seeing themselves reproduced in a numerous offspring." The facts do not accord with that supposition. If that association of husband and wife were the germ from which more complex social organisations have developed, it should be closer and more apparent in societies of low culture than in advanced ones. The fact alone that the wife and the husband are members of two entirely different social groups is irreconcilable with the hypothesis that the clans to which they respectively belong were originally formed by the aggregation of family-groups. The fact is far more strongly emphasised than any relation established between them, the social status and allegiance of each is to their clan and not to a family-group for which there does not even exist a name in the languages of the lower cultures. The maternal clans of primitive societies are not composed of patriarchal families, but of maternal families of which the husbands are not members. The rule of exogamy alone constitutes a fatal objection to the patriarchal hypothesis.

The patriarchal family-group formed by the permanent association of husband and wife is not the product of the factors which have originally determined human association. Its formation by the removal of a woman from the group to which she belonged to that of her husband is found to stand in direct conflict with the primal social rules of humanity in its simpler stages. The establishment of the patriarchal family marks everywhere the breaking up and decay of primitive clan and tribal organisation. The social group which the sexual patriarchal group has everywhere antagonised and has eventually destroyed is the biological group formed by the mother and her offspring, a group economically self-contained through the coöperation of clan-brothers and

clan-sisters, and one of which the sexual partner is not a member. The forces which make for the association of sexual mates are in uncultured humanity subordinate to those deeper biological ties. "Love of the clan," as an Arah poet put it, "is greater than the love between husband and wife."

CHAPTER VI

PRIMITIVE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

ONE of the reasons why the patriarchal family is not to be found in lower cultures is that it is founded upon property, and that the dominance of the husband in that family and the subordinate position of the wife rests ultimately upon the economic advantage of the former and the economic dependence of the latter. These conditions do not exist in the lower social stages. Personal property, except in tools and weapons, is non-existent. Economic needs, instead of being supplied by the accumulation of private property, are provided for by a communal division of labour between the sexes.

That sexual division of labour is, as has been noted, not found among the higher animals. It probably arose from the same causes which led to the establishment of permanent social groups and from the development of hunting, the avocations entailing long excursions from the home being taken up by the men, while the care of the household was taken up by the women. An Iroquois myth represents early man and woman as hunting together in the forest, both taking part in the work of obtaining food. But when children were born there were so many things for the wife to do that she stayed at home, and the man went alone. The handicap arising from the care of offspring does not bring about any division of labour or coöperation between the sexes among animals, such as we saw pictured in the imaginary natural history of Professor Malinowski. In spite of that handicap every animal female, even among the higher anthropoids, provides her own food and protects her young without any assistance from the male. That handicap is, owing to the prolongation

of infancy, much greater in the human species. Incipient human culture, moreover, calls for all sorts of labour which does not exist among animals; food is prepared by cooking, which involves many collateral processes. It is chiefly owing to that cultural advance that the division of labour between the sexes, which does not exist among animals, has perforce developed in human communities. In all probability it did not exist in the earlier stages of human culture, and before the use of fire became known. By those functional necessities, greatly accentuated as culture advanced, rather than by the respective powers and aptitudes of the sexes or by the physical inferiority of woman, that division of economic labour was determined.

There is not among primitive men and women the disparity in physical power, resourcefulness, enterprise, courage, capacity for endurance, which are observed in civilised societies and are often regarded as organic sexual differences. To a very large extent those differences in physical and mental capacity are the effect, rather than the cause, of that divergence in the avocations of men and women which has taken place in the course of cultural and social development.

While the general rule throughout the great part of the animal kingdom is that the females are larger and more powerful than the males, among mammals the male is almost invariably larger. It would appear that there is some correlation between the physiological development of maternal functions—prolonged pregnancy, prolonged maternal care—and the reduced size of the females among the higher vertebrates. But although the mammalian female is generally smaller than the male, there is no indication that any physical inferiority, lesser activity, combativeness, or resourcefulness go with that difference in size. Females, among mammals, are on the contrary generally more active and more intelligent than the males. It is well known to hunters that the females of carnivorous animals are far more formidable antagonists than the males.

Women are, as a rule, smaller than the men of the same

race. But there is great racial variation in this respect, and of several races it is reported that the women are equal in size, or even larger, and they are quite commonly better developed and more muscular. Thus among the Bushmen, the women are, according to Fritsch, on an average about four centimetres taller than the men. Arab and Druse women are said to be as tall and as strongly developed as the men, and so are the women of Afghanistan. In numerous instances the superior muscular development of the women has been noted. Thus, among the Adombies of the Congo "the women are often stronger than the men and more finely developed," and among the Achira "the men are not nearly so finely built as the women." "A Kikuyu man," says Mr Routledge, "is quite unequal to carrying a load that his women think nothing of." Admiral Wrangell ascribes the division of labour among the sexes in northern California "to the remarkable circumstance that the women are, in general, of greater bodily strength than the men, who, although tall and well proportioned, nevertheless appear to be weaker than the women." Among the Fuegians, "in general the female sex is much sturdier and stronger than the male sex." Tibetan women are described as being taller and stronger than the men. A crew of Dayak women can beat a crew of Malay men.

Such testimonies could be indefinitely multiplied. Speaking generally, the physical differences between the sexes are far less pronounced in primitive races and in the lower phases of culture than among civilised peoples. In prehistoric skeletons the determination of sex is often difficult and doubtful; the bones are as massive in the female as in the male, the muscular attachments are nearly as pronounced, and the differences in the shape and dimensions of the pelvis are much less marked than among modern Europeans. It has been noted that even in the less highly civilised parts of Europe, such as Russia, there is less difference in physical proportions between the sexes than in France or England. The masculine type of the women among uncultured races is apparent

in any collection of ethnological photographs. It is very pronounced among many African races. Among the Bushmen it is often difficult to distinguish the sexes, even though the individuals are almost naked. The breasts constitute no distinction, for they are so developed in the males that these are sometimes able to suckle. The sexual characters of the pelvis are difficult to distinguish even in the skeleton. Among Bantu races it is often scarcely possible to distinguish the women from the men, either by their facial conformation or by their figures. "It is often hard to distinguish the sex of an individual," says Mr. Phillips of the Lower Congo races. Among the Wanyamwesi "it is sometimes difficult to tell a grown woman, seen from behind, from a man." "Sometimes," says so experienced an observer as Sir Harry Johnston, "it has occurred even to myself to ask about some youth, 'is that a man or a woman?'" Of the natives of King George's Sound, Captain Cook remarked that "the women are nearly of the same size, colour and form as the men, from which it is not easy to distinguish them." Among the Botocudos men are said to be feminine-looking and women masculine. The Kuki of Assam have a tradition that different ways of wearing the hair were introduced among them in order to obviate the difficulty of distinguishing the sexes. To a large extent the secondary sexual characters of men and women would appear to be products of social conditions and artificial cultivation.

That the pursuit of hunting, one of the primary factors in the primitive division of labour, has been taken up by men and not by women is not due to any incapacity on the part of the latter. There are numerous reports of women hunters among uncultured peoples. In West Africa the women formerly used to "carry bows and arrows and go out hunting without the aid of the men." Among the Hill Dayaks of Borneo a spear forms part of the equipment of every woman; they go hunting with dogs. Of the women of Nicaragua we are told that "they could run and swim and shoot with bows and arrows as well as the men." Among

the Tungus, young unmarried women and widows frequently disperse with the male hunter's assistance and provide for themselves by hunting, and they are said to be "good shots and hunters of land-game." Eskimo women have been known to refuse to marry, to set up their own home, and to provide for themselves by hunting.

Fishing, which with many primitive populations is the chief source of subsistence, is commonly done by both men and women; often it is exclusively a woman's occupation, as, for instance, among the Bambara, the Tasmanians, the Fuegians. The Fuegian women not only collect shell-fish from the rocks, but go out to sea in canoes, which are their exclusive property, and conduct operations on a large scale. The women go out in all weathers, and even at night, though they are entirely naked, and at certain seasons they not only provide the whole food-supply of the tribe, but in addition supply English missionaries with quantities of fish in exchange for biscuits and theology. The women alone are able to swim.

It is abundantly clear that the division of labour between the sexes has not arisen from any inability of primitive woman to provide for herself. An account given by Hearne of a Canadian Indian woman who, having been taken prisoner by a hostile tribe, had escaped and had for seven months lived entirely alone, illustrates the manner in which primitive woman is able to supply all her needs. She had constructed ingenious traps and had supported herself by snaring animals and birds. She had built a comfortable hut, had manufactured knives and needles, made herself clothes, which were not only warm and comfortable, but "showed great taste and not a little variety and ornament." She had a neat store of provisions, was in perfect health and condition, and had a prosperous appearance. Among the Arawaks, women whose husbands have died and whose children have got married are found at the present day living together in self-supporting little communities where there are no men; they clear their own field, build their home, and provide for all their own needs.

The primitive division of labour as regards the procuring of food and the exclusion of women from hunting has become firmly established rather by the spirit of professional exclusiveness and monopoly which is a marked feature of all occupations in primitive society than by natural differences in aptitude.

"It has been alleged," remarks a writer in speaking of the Congo natives, "that the black imposes upon his mate all the base tasks, while he reserves for himself those which are regarded as noble, such as hunting, fishing and war. That conception may to a certain extent be true as a statement of the sentiments which exist at the present day, but it is wholly erroneous if put forward as a general explanation. . . . Certain tasks falling habitually to the lot of the men, these have little by little come to regard them as menial, as the only forms of labour which they could undertake without derogation—in short as 'noble' occupations—whereas those tasks which have devolved upon the women, whom several savages regard as inferior beings, have come to be looked upon as inferior tasks."

The differentiation of the man as warrior and fighter is certainly not due to any constitutional indisposition or incapacity in primitive woman. Australian women are "perfectly capable of taking care of themselves at all times, and so far from being an encumbrance on the warriors, they will fight if need be as bravely as the men, and with even greater ferocity." One writer relates how, on hearing an alarm raised, "the women threw off their rugs, and each, armed with a short club, flew to the assistance of their husbands and brothers." "It not infrequently happens," says another writer, "that while the battle is raging between warriors, the gins become too excited to be mere spectators; seizing their yam-sticks, they fall on each other with cries, shrieks, howls and gesticulations truly barbarous." In Borneo it was quite common for women to fight by the side of the men, and even to lead them into battle. Brooke, who is disposed to speak disparagingly of certain chieftainesses with whom he

had considerable trouble, recognises that the success of the military operations which they conducted was due entirely to their personal ability and courage. Among the Hill Dyaks, when the men are away on a war expedition the women remain in the village, but if it is attacked they defend it. In the island of Bura, in the southern Moluccas, "the women did duty with the men and were as able to withstand any enemy whatever, being of a very large breed, but furnished with few good qualities." In the Caroline Islands "the women take a share in the war, not only to defend their country against the enemy, but also to attack, and in the squadrons, they form, though in small numbers, a part of the military forces." In the Ladrone Islands they fought under female leaders. Female troops have frequently played an important part in African and Asiatic armies. The Sultan of Zanzibar had a corps of six thousand female soldiers, and Amazoonian guards were kept by the kings of Siam, the king of Kaody, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and by the ancient Persians. There is no reason to suppose that such female warriors were purely ornamental. Such was certainly not the case as regards the famous corps of Amazons of Dahomey. It is stated that without their assistance the Dahomey monarchy would have long since fallen from the rank it occupied among African kingdoms. It was to the courage and devotion of the Amazons that King Gueso owed his safety in the disastrous expedition against Abeokuta. The women alone stood their ground, in spite of appalling losses, while the rest of the army scattered in utter rout. On another occasion King Gueso's successor and the rest of the army took to flight, while the Amazons were hacked to pieces rather than yield an inch of ground. Their strenuous training has often been described by eye-witnesses. In their manoeuvres they take fortified positions by assault, charging through obstacles formed of cactus, thorny bushes and spikes; and as they march past after those playful sham-fights, their bodies are streaming with blood and the skin hangs in shreds from their torn limbs. They crown and girdle themselves with

thems as trophies, smiling proudly. "Their appearance," says Mr. J. Duncan, late of the 1st Life Guards, "is more martial than the generality of the men, and if conducting a campaign, I should prefer the female to the male soldiers of this country. From what I have seen of Africa, I believe that the King of Dahomey possesses an army superior to any west of the Great Desert."

Primitive women are not only as courageous as the men, but they are, it must be admitted, even more cruel and ferocious. The American Indians handed their prisoners to the women to be tortured, and the squaws excelled in the ingenuity of their cruelty. The old women among the Lenapes "in vindictiveness, ferocity and cruelty far exceed the men." Among the Hottentots women used to torture slaves, beating them with bougts of the thorny acacia, and rubbing salt and saltpetre in their wounds. When engaged in this feminine pastime "one could easily read in their faces the infernal joy it gave them to witness the tortures of their victims." In Western Australia Sir George Grey remarked that "the ferocity of the women exceeds that of the men." In Fiji the women excelled the men in fiendish cruelty; one of their favourite amusements was to torture prisoners of war by slowly scraping off their skin with a sharp shell. During a battle they would rush upon a fallen foe, tear his body open with their teeth, and drink his blood; and they led their children over the battlefield, teaching them to kick and tread upon the bodies of enemies. In New Britain the women "were generally the most prominent in abusing the dead and in inciting their own people to the perpetration of any insult or cruelty which was possible." The women are apparently the chief instigators of head-hunting in Borneo; and the natives of New Guinea say that it was the women who first urged them to cannibalism.

The primary differentiation of masculine, or 'manly' avocations, which has associated hunting and fighting with the male type, and which is the exact reverse of what obtains in the animal kingdom, where the female is fiercer and a keener

hunter than the male, has thus its root in social adaptations rather than in natural dispositions.

The respective status of the sexes, whether in the lower or the higher cultures, does not, however, rest upon physical advantages, and patriarchal dominance is not imposed by physical force. The patriarchal constitution of civilised societies rests entirely upon economic factors. It is by virtue of economic advantages that husband and father holds the chief place in the patriarchal family. And the entire absence of those factors in the lower cultures excludes the traditional assumption that the family was from the first similarly constituted. The economic advantage in the sexual division of labour, so far as it exists in the lower cultures, is, on the contrary, entirely on the women's side. The occupation of the hunter is a whole-time avocation, and he is consequently debarred from devoting time and labour to any of the other needs of life. The whole of that labour, with the exception of that whereby the raw material of the produce of the chase is supplied, falls consequently to the share of the women. All industries were at first home industries, and developed therefore in the hands of the women.

To be clad in the skins of beasts may seem the crudest form of attire, but the preparation of those skin garments and of hides for the many uses to which they have been put has given rise to a long and wonderful industrial evolution. The Australians merely use unprepared dried skins of opossum, roughly sewn together with tendons, and rendered more flexible by cutting a series of slashes in the hide. From that crude procedure an elaborate technique has developed, which embodies a multitude of trade secrets. It varies infinitely according to the use for which the leather is intended: pliable skins smoothed out to a uniform thickness and retaining the layer to which the hair is attached; hard hides for tents, shields, canoes, boots; thin, soft wash-leather for clothing—all require special technical processes which primitive woman has elaborated. The results achieved in leather-work by savage women elicit the admiration of experts. The North

American Indian women "surpass the world in the beauty of their skin-dressing." The women of Central Asia likewise "are wonderfully skillful at dressing hides. With the aid of milk and a wooden toothed implement they work the skin until it becomes as soft and as fine as if it were tanned under the most scientific methods." The strength and quality of the boots produced by Tartar women are admired.

In order to carry out these industrial processes primitive woman has devised various implements. The 'scrapers,' which form so large a proportion of prehistoric tools, were used and made by women. In the days when Boucher de Perthes's discoveries of the palaeolithic tools of European humanity were being discussed, much controversy took place as to the possible use of these 'scrapers.' The fact which went farthest towards silencing scepticism was that the Eskimo women at the present day use instruments identical with those which their European sisters have left in such abundance in the drift gravels of the Ice Age. The scrapers and knives of the Eskimo women are often elaborately and even artistically mounted on handles of bone. In South Africa the country is strewn with scrapers identical with those of palaeolithic Europe; and Mr. E. S. Hartland learnt from the testimony of persons intimately acquainted with the Bushmen that those implements were manufactured by the women. The question arises whether the art of flint-knapping was not a feminine invention, whether the scraping-knife preceded the axe and the lance-head, and whether man's first weapons were not, as were his first tools, devised by women.

The weaving of fibres on looms is a development of the more primitive art of plaiting by hand, which is one of the earliest achievements of feminine industry. Even Australian, Tasmanian, Andamanese, and Fuegian women make baskets. Speaking of the Loyalty-Group woman, Mrs. Hadfield says: "If she found herself in want of a receptacle in which to carry her produce, she immediately broke off two or three leaves from a coconut-tree, and in a few minutes

made herself a good stout basket.²⁶ The same description of the facility with which primitive women fashion a plaited receptacle applies to all. Maori women, if they have anything to carry, will pluck a couple of leaves of flax and will have a basket in which to carry their goods in less time than it takes to make a paper parcel. The weaving of bark and grass fibres by primitive women is often so marvellous that it could not be imitated by any man at the present day, even with the resources of machinery. The so-called Panama hats, the best of which can be crushed and passed through a finger-ring, are a familiar example of a dexterity and technical skill to which masculine fingers are untrained. In New Zealand at least twelve different styles of mats, differing in the fashion of plaiting and known by different names, were in use. Each was the speciality of the women of a particular tribe. Initiation to the art was, among Maori women, conducted as a religious ceremony; a consecrated workshop, the 'whare pona,' was reserved for the work, and if a man entered the precincts all work was stopped and put aside. Among the tribes of Manipal cloth, in ten different patterns, is produced in certain villages only. "This industry," says Mr. T. C. Hodson, "is carried on by the women alone, and the six villages, as far as possible, prevent their girls from marrying into a village where the industry is not practised. In this way a 'Clothworkers' Guild' is in process of formation, and as a proof of the hold that custom, once it has become custom, has on others outside the charmed circle, I may adduce the case of a woman of the village of Tolo who married a man of the village of Powi and wished to weave cloths in her new village, but was forbidden to do so by the people of Powi, who, so far from being desirous of acquiring this new and valuable accomplishment, declared that it was forbidden to them to weave cloths, and declared it a *tabu*. Every specialisation of function in this level of culture seems to derive its sanction from the idea that it is dangerous, in some vague mysterious way, to infringe the patent."²⁷

The art of pottery, which has played so important a part

In the development of primitive culture, belongs in all phases of it to the sphere of feminine occupations. "Among all primitive peoples the ceramic art is found in the hands of women, and under the influence of advanced culture only does it become a man's occupation." The men, in every part of the world where an aboriginal industry of pottery manufacture exists, have no part in it. "It would be little, if at all, short of improper for a man to set about making pots." Among some Hamitic tribes of East Africa, the industry has been taken up by men. This, however, "is quite exceptional." Throughout the savage world the potter is a woman.

In the higher phases of culture the art has, like most other industries, been taken over by the men; but relics of the original division of labour are often found surviving in the midst of advanced cultural conditions. Thus, for example, in Tenerife and the Grand Canary at the present day a large industry in earthenware is carried on by peasant women. These potters, who lead, like their ancestresses, a troglodytic existence in curious cliff-dwellings, may be seen any day bringing their wares to the towns, each woman carrying on her head a huge bundle of some twenty pitchers. Among the hill-populations of Algeria "the women are the only potters." So also in Tunisia the pottery is, in the country districts, made entirely by the women; in the towns it is made on the wheel by men. The Algerian pottery is very similar to that found in the neolithic deposits of southern Europe. That of Tunis, which is of a very elaborate and ornamental kind, is indistinguishable from the oldest pottery of Egypt. In Nubia, at the present day, the pottery is made exclusively by the women; but in Upper Egypt the head-potter is always a man, although women, working under him, are employed in the manufacture. In Lower Egypt, on the other hand, the pottery is made by the men. There is thus, following the course of the Nile, a complete series illustrating the stages by which the ceramic art passed from the hands of the women into those of the men.

At Ordeaan, near Bagnière de Bigorre in the Pyrenees, "pottery similar to that found in caves is still moulded by the women." In the Hebrides the pottery is manufactured by the women. There can be no reasonable doubt that the pottery of prehistoric Europe and of European barbarians was the work of the women. The remains found in the lacustrine dwellings of Switzerland bear numerous imprints of thumbs and fingers; they are undoubtedly those of women. The conclusion is confirmed by the statement of Strabo that among the Gauls, "as with other barbarians, the respective occupations of the men and the women are distributed in the reverse way from that which is customary amongst ourselves"; which may be taken to mean that the division of labour between the sexes was among the European barbarians the same as is found among most primitive peoples.

It is interesting to note, and is significant of the reliance which can be place upon current interpretations of anthropological facts, that notwithstanding that no such thing as a male potter is to be found as a native institution in any part of the uncultured world, it is quite usual in archaeological works to come upon descriptions of the invention and manufacture of pottery by men, and even to find absurd pictures of neolithic men occupied in making pots, supposed to illustrate the invention of the art.

The patterns with which the clay is ornamented are commonly derived, in Africa, Papua, America, as in the prehistoric pottery of Europe, from the braidings of basket-work. "The shaping of earthen vessels in or upon baskets," says Mr. Holmes, "either of plain bark or of woven splints of fibre, must frequently have occurred. The peculiar impressions left upon the clay probably came in time to be regarded as ornamental, and were applied for purposes of embellishment alone. Decorative art has thus been enriched by many elements of beauty. These now survive in incised, stamped and painted designs. The forms, as well as the ornamentation of clay, very naturally preserve traces of the former intimacy of the two arts." Such reproduction of basket-work as a pat-

tern on clay pots is plainly seen on all the pottery manufactured by New Guinea and New Caledonian women. The tracery of African pottery is an imitation of plaited basket-work. Very ancient fragments of earthenware are found throughout the continent by the side of almost fossilised bones, and "these pieces of broken pots with their rims ornamented with good imitation of basket-work attest that the lady potters of old followed the example given by their still more ancient sisters." The origin of ceramic ornament may be clearly seen in the polychromatic designs of Maids basket-work, which for beauty even surpass many products of Greek ceramic decoration. Fifty entirely different schemes of design have been distinguished. At the present day "the knowledge of these designs is almost exclusively confined to the older women." Similarly, the extremely intricate designs of Turkian pottery differ in every family of women-potters, and are transmitted from mother to daughter. In Guiana the women not only decorated the pots they made, but also all other articles, and even the posts of the huts. It would thus appear that decorative art originated with the women, the first decorators of clothes, of plaited basketry, of pottery.

We are so more accustomed to think of the building art and of architecture than of bootmaking or the manufacture of earthenware as feminine occupations. Yet, as the animal female is the builder of nest or burrow, so also primitive woman is not only the home-maker, but the actual home-builder. The title of "mistress of the house," which she retains even in patriarchal societies, is more than a mere recognition of her sphere, or even of the primitive ownership of the house by the woman; primitive woman not only owned the house, but fashioned it with her hands, and among several primitive peoples she alone, with her children, dwells in it, while the men sleep elsewhere, or are only admitted to the home as her guests. The huts of the Australian, of the Andaman Islanders, of the Patagonians, of the Botocudos, the rough shelters of the Seri, the skin lodges and wigwags of the

American Indian, the black camel-hair tent of the Bedouin, the 'yurts' of the nomads of Central Asia, are all the exclusive work and the special care of the women. Some of these more or less movable dwellings are extremely elaborate. The 'yurta,' for example, is sometimes a capacious house built on a framework of poles pitched in a circle and strengthened by a trellis-work of wooden battens, the whole being covered with thick felt, forming a dome-like structure; the interior is divided into several apartments. "With the exception of the wood, all its component parts are products of the industry of the Turkoman woman, who busies herself also with its construction and the putting together of the various parts." When Mr. Bogoras was studying the language of the Chukchi, he enquired from some men the names of the various parts of the framework of the house. But they were quite unable to inform him on that point; "I don't know," they would answer, "that is women's business."

Not only are all the huts, tents, and portable homes of primitive nomadic humanity fashioned by the women, but so likewise are some of the most elaborate buildings of the uncultured world. The earth-lodges of the Omaha were built entirely by the women. The 'pueblos' of New Mexico and Arizona recall the picturesque sky-line of an Oriental town; clusters of many-storied houses rise in terraced tiers, the flat roof of the one serving as a terrace for that above. The upper stories are reached by ladders or by outside stairs, and the walls are bordered with ornamental crenellated battlements. Courtyards and piazzas, streets and curious round public buildings serving as clubs and temples, form part of those towns which are now but a small remnant of those which once covered the south-western region of the United States, as their innumerable ruins testify. Those edifices are built exclusively by the women. Among the Zulu at the present day the men assist with the heavier work of timbering; among the Hopi the work is still done entirely by the women. Before the coming of Europeans "it was the custom for women to raise the walls of buildings and to finish the

house inside and out." When the first Spanish priests settled among the Pueblo Indians no man had ever set his hand to the erection of a house. Reporting concerning their settlement one of the padres describes with pride the beautiful churches and convents which the natives had built for them. "Those buildings," he says, "have been erected solely by the women, the girls, and the young boys of the mission; for among these people it is the custom that the women build the houses and the men spin and manufacture their cloaks, go to war and to the chase." When first a man was set by the good padres to building a wall, the poor embarrassed wretch was surrounded by a jeering crowd of women and children, who mocked and laughed, and thought it the most ludicrous thing they had seen that a man should be engaged in building a house.

In the primitive division of labour the gathering, and later the cultivation, of vegetable food are the special avocation of the women, as hunting is that of the men. The yam-digging stick among the Australian aborigines is as much an inseparable appurtenance of the woman as weapons are of a man. From the lowliest stages of root-digging until highly developed phases of agriculture, cultivation is the prescriptive sphere of woman's work. It is at the stage only when domesticated cattle come to be used to draw the plough that agricultural work comes to be taken up by men. From being the first cultivators of the soil women come in all lower cultures to be regarded as its owners, and landed property thus first develops in the hands of women.

To them also, as cultivators of the soil and keepers of the food-store, belongs all surplus production. It is theirs to dispose of. And as the sole producers of manufactured commodities, they hold the means of barter and exchange. In all early culture the traffic is in the hands of the women; they are the primitive traders. Throughout Africa, in the markets and fairs where vegetable produce, baskets, pottery, are brought in by the women from surrounding districts, a lively trade is driven, and it is almost exclusively carried on by the

women. Among the Kikuyu and the Masai, all barter with passing caravans is done by the women, and the traffic between different tribes continues even when the men of those tribes are at war with one another. In the Congo, similarly, the trading is almost exclusively in the hands of the women. In the Cameroons the women are in charge of trading stations, and conduct all the business. In Nigeria, "practically the whole of the trade in the Ibo country is in the hands of the women, and they are extremely capable. The markets are controlled by the influential old women, and they frame and administer the rules and regulations and settle questions as they arise. Each market is presided over by its 'queen' (Anwa) assisted by the women's council of which she is the head. This council often fixes prices, the rate of *cowrie* exchange, what markets shall be visited, and with what towns commercial relations shall be established and maintained." In the Tihbu country the great trade in salt which brings there caravans from all north-eastern Africa, is carried on entirely by the women; when a caravan approaches the men disappear and betake themselves to the hills, in order not to be in the way and to leave the whole business to the women. In North America the fur trade was entirely in the hands of the women, who prepared the skins. In Nicaragua "a man might not enter the market, or even see the proceedings, at the risk of a beating." Throughout Central Asia the trading is entirely in the hands of the women; what Marco Polo briefly reported holds true to this day: "the women do the buying and selling." The trade of Tibet was in former times regulated by a council of women. "Trade," says an old Chinese account of the country, "cannot be carried on by anybody except under the express sanction of a set of women." Among the tribes of Assam and of Manipur "women do all the trading." At Tranganore, or Trengganu, in the Malay Peninsula, according to an old account, "the women do all the commerce." In Burma "the whole retail business of the country is mostly carried on by women, and a large proportion also of the wholesale description." In the Island of

Timor "the women do all the selling and buying." In the Luchu Islands "the market-place, which is the centre of life, is entirely in the hands of the women." When a Japanese merchant arrives at Luchu, the first thing he does is to engage the services of a saleswoman and to deliver all his merchandise to her; on his return the strictest account of all transactions is given to him, and all he has to do is to receive the profits handed to him.

The economic dependence of women, which is the ultimate foundation of the patriarchal constitution of advanced societies, does not exist in any of the lower phases of culture. In the primitive division of labour, the sexes are interdependent, and it is upon that mutual dependence that the association which constitutes society is founded. That association is an economic, not a sexual one, for the sexual division of labour in matriarchally constituted clans provides for the economic needs of clan-brothers and clan-sisters apart from any association of sexual partners. The contributions made by the sexual associates of the women are superadded acquisitions to the community, but not indispensable to its existence. The closer association between sexual partners which constitutes the primitive forms of marriage, whether matrilocal or patrilocal, are likewise founded upon economic interdependence. Patriarchal marriage, in which the woman is removed from her group to form a separate household with her husband, rests originally, as we shall see, upon economic rather than upon sexual factors. But throughout the simpler phases of culture these economic factors consist in the dependence of the man upon the woman's labour at least as much as in the dependence of the woman upon the man's labour.

So far as there exists any economic advantage of one sex over the other, that advantage is entirely on the side of the women. While in all hunting and early agricultural societies the men's share is a hand-to-mouth contribution, the women alone produce fundable wealth. With the development of agriculture in their hands that economic advantage of the

women acquires a notable importance. In purely agricultural societies their ownership of the land which they cultivate becomes the chief determining factor of economic relations, and the acquisition of that property through marriage comes to be one of the chief objects of patriarchal institutions. The productive labour which in earlier phases was entirely in the hands of the women becomes transferred to those of the men when, by the establishment of permanent sources of food-supply under pastoral and advanced agricultural conditions, the hunter is set free to take up other avocations.—

But any society, our own included, would at once lose its patriarchal character founded upon masculine economic dominance, were the forms of industry and wealth-production to revert to the dimensions of household industry. Within what is called 'woman's sphere,' that is, the sphere of household activities, the respective efficiency of the sexes is much the same in civilised as in primitive societies. The intellectual genius, the master of industry, the capable ruler and leader, the keen competitive business-man, the able administrator, whose places could not be filled in their respective spheres by their wives, would be as helpless babes in the primitive details of life; they would be at a loss in the kitchen, in sewing on a button, or negotiating with the grocer. Primitive culture is almost entirely confined to that household sphere, to those immediate details of life, to direct dinner-providing and housekeeping activities. Primitive industries are connected with the kitchen and the sewing-room; primitive commerce is represented by marketing; primitive law and primitive administration are chiefly family and household management. The man in primitive society contributes the raw materials, not the wages of production or of administration. Those activities which in civilised societies chiefly constitute the sphere of the man are practically non-existent in primitive society; they have developed in the higher phases of culture under patriarchal conditions, as a result of accumulation of power in the hands of the aggressive fighter and ruler, of the predatory and competitive male.

The predominance of women in primitive society which to many appears incredible and paradoxical, would to a large extent be automatically restored in our own if culture were narrowed down to the range of primitive culture, if our industrial enterprises suddenly reverted to the dimensions of household industries, if the State shrank to the dimensions of the household. The greater equality of the sexes, or the actual superiority of women in primitive society, as regards productive and administrative efficiency, arises not so much from differences in the respective ability of the sexes, as from the profound difference in the spheres of those abilities in primitive and in advanced culture.

In those spheres which at the lower cultural level are of importance, the intellectual advantage is not on the side of the male. The primitive human female, like the animal female, is far more wary, sagacious and ingenious than the male, who is dull and stupid by comparison. Her maternal functions have in the course of a long evolution developed an alertness, a circumspection, an ingenuity, a constructive aptitude, which are foreign to masculine development. The female is accordingly, in primitive conditions, not only the equal intellectually of the male, but often his actual superior. This is observable in all savages where practical affairs are concerned; and it is no wonder that the savage habitually goes to his women-folk for advice. It has been remarked that the Ibibo women of West Africa are mentally of a higher type than the men. Among the Veddahs of Ceylon the men are extremely dull; they scarcely ever speak to one another, and have "the perplexed manner common to people of weak intellect. The women appear sharper and quicker than the men." The same contrast has been noted among the Fergians: "the women are more intelligent than the men." In Borneo it is noted that the women are much more at their ease in dealing with strangers than are the men. Among the tribes of the interior of New Guinea, Moskowski remarks: "Generally it was not the men, but the women who received us; their brave consorts hid themselves trembling behind the women." The

picture is not overdrawn or unusual; the experience is a common one among savage races. Among the Eastern Melanesians, where the status of women is more definitely one of subjection than in most other parts of the savage world, it is nevertheless the woman who naturally takes the lead in negotiations with strangers. On entering a Fijian village I have been received by a wizened old hag who advanced to meet me, and introduced her sons, a couple of elderly cannibal chiefs, who hang back like confused schoolboys until dragged forward almost by force by the grinning dame. Among the Bushmen, women went to parley with a strange party while the men awaited the result of the interview before putting in an appearance. "It is not an uncommon sight to see a Mkariba run for life at the sight of a European, while his wife will be found sitting by the roadside undisturbed, and looking as if nothing could induce her to run." Among the Aleuts, "when strangers arrive at a village it is always customary for the women to go out and meet them, while the men remain at home." In Tibet it is the woman who faces the stranger. "The Tibetan woman," says Mr. Lander, "is far superior to the Tibetan man. She possesses a better heart, more pluck, and a finer character than he does. Time after time, when the male, timid beyond description, ran away at our approach, the women remained in charge of the tents and, although by no means cool and collected, they very rarely failed to meet us without a show of dignity. . . . The women seemed much less shy than the men, and conversed freely and incessantly." An early Jesuit missionary remarks that among the North American Indians "the women are everywhere far better managers than the men." The same thing may be observed in the ruder strata of our own societies; the French peasant woman, for instance, is a more intelligent, alert and less awkward person than her man.

CHAPTER VII

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN Matriarchal Societies

The facts which we have considered appear to prove that the predominance of the male as husband and father which characterises historical patriarchal societies did not exist originally in the constitution of human social groups, but is a result of comparatively advanced social conditions. The indisputable objections which have been raised against the patriarchal theory of social origins would seem to arise largely from misconceptions for which the term 'matriarchy' is in part to blame, and which have been rendered more misleading by the manner in which the matriarchal theory has been presented in the first instance from the superficial evidence of scattered indications.

'Matriarchy' literally means 'rule by the mother,' in the same manner as 'patriarchy' means 'rule by the father,' and suggests therefore that in a matriarchal type of society the women exercise a domination over the men similar or equivalent to that exercised by the men over the women in a patriarchal social order, the two types of social organisation thus differing merely in the sex which wields dominant power in each. The speculations of Bachofen encouraged that misconception and the picture of Kingdoms of Women, or realms of Princess Ida, in which the respective parts of the sexes were reversed as in a topsy-turvy world.

That in particularly propitious circumstances the maternal constitution of primitive human communities has remained preserved in advanced stages of culture, and has led through the accumulation of material property and political power in

the hands of women, to something closely resembling such gynaeocratic societies is possible and even probable. But, as Sir James Frazer, justly maintains, such conditions are exceptional cultural curiosities of little significance to the general history of culture. What, on the contrary, is of the profoundest significance for that history is that throughout the earlier stages of culture it is not matriarchally constituted societies which are the exception, but on the contrary, patriarchally constituted societies and families. Almost every variety and degree of feminine influence and power is to be found in the lower cultures, sometimes considerable, as when superstition has invested the women with the imaginary monopoly of magical and supernatural powers, sometimes amounting to little more than a status of social equality with the men. Whether the women do or do not enjoy power and influence in matriarchally constituted societies, their status is not, in those societies, defined by the specific disabilities which marks their position in a patriarchally constituted social order.

But the constitution of matriarchal societies is not a matter of the domination of one sex over the other. It is convenient to continue to use the term 'matriarchy' which is established by usage, and although it is open to objection, so are other terms, such as 'mother-right,' or 'matrilinear society' which it has been sought to substitute for it. But domination or rule is no more the foundation of matriarchally constituted society, than 'right,' or the mere practice of matrilinear reckoning. In point of fact there is nothing in the lower phases of culture corresponding to the domination of one sex over the other which characterises patriarchal societies. There is nothing in the most primitive human societies equivalent to the domination which, in advanced societies, is exercised by individuals, by classes, by rulers. The lower cultures are nothing if not equalitarian. The notion of domination is entirely foreign to primitive humanity; the conception of authority is simply not understood. The notion of privileged right has no place and no existence at those phases of culture.

When therefore the conception of feminine domination and of mother-right is regarded as the characteristic of the maternal constitution of pre-patriarchal social organisation, the ideas and principles of patriarchal society are imported into a social state which knows nothing about them, and it can cause no surprise that the result is an improbable monster.

Those misconceptions are characteristically instanced by Sir James Frazer's fundamental objection (as he conceives it to be) that chiefs are generally men. The objection loses some of its force when the fact is noted that in none of the lower phases of social organisation are there any chiefs in our sense of the term. The leader in hunting and in war is a man because he must be a hunter and a warrior. But that position entails nothing analogous to what is habitually associated with the power and authority of a ruler; there is no such power and no such authority in early stages of society. The power of the 'headman' in war or hunting is extremely limited and ephemeral; it is, like leadership among animals, purely functional, and no authority attaches to the office apart from its utility to the community. Thus in Australia, where male domination is fully established, and where the influence and authority of the older men is greater than in most primitive communities, they have, nevertheless, no power. Among the Australian aborigines there are, properly speaking, no chiefs. The persons called by Europeans 'headmen' are merely such delegates as may act as spokesmen in intercourse with the white men. It is more than doubtful whether any such institution existed before the arrival of Europeans. Australian 'headmen' have no power to issue commands. They cannot act on their own initiative and personal authority; the collective action of the clan or tribe is governed by the influence of the elder men, but there is no formal council. In northern Melanesia the transacting of any official business with the natives is rendered very difficult owing to the fact that they have no chiefs. In New Caledonia, another centre of male domination under the rudest conditions, "the chiefs often have no great influence and absolutely no political power." In the Banks Islands, in Torres

Straits Islands, there are no headmen. In New Guinea the chiefs have very little influence. Among the tribes of Assam "each village is a small republic and each man is as good as his neighbour; indeed, it would be hard to find anywhere else more thoroughly democratic communities. Headmen do exist, but their authority is very small." They are chiefs in name only. Among the Fuegians there are no chiefs. The medicine-men were described by Captain Fitzroy as 'chiefs'; but, says Captain Bove, "they have no authority whatever, they are as often as not derided and despised." The Patagonians "owe no manner of allegiance to any head cacique. . . . Their natural bias is to independence, and rather to subordinate ideas of one man being as good as another." Commander Musters's advice to future travellers among the Indians is: "Don't give yourself airs of superiority, as they do not understand it." The Indians of Brazil, reports an old missionary, "know neither princes nor kings. Each family regards itself as absolutely free, every Indian looks upon himself as independent. As the continual wars which they have to wage against their neighbours place that liberty in danger, they have learnt the necessity of forming a sort of society, and they choose a chief who is called 'cacique.' But in choosing him their intention is not to give themselves a master, but a protector and father, under whose guidance they desire to place themselves. In order to be raised to that dignity it is necessary to have furnished striking proofs of courage and valour." The Iroquois and Delawares "know no magistracy, laws, or restraint. Chiefs are nothing more than the most respected among their equals in rank." Their principal duties were to conduct negotiations with other tribes and with Europeans, and to hold themselves responsible for the carrying out of any agreement thus entered into. For a small mistake they were severely reprimanded; for any neglect of their duties they were cashiered. They "laugh when you talk to them of obedience to kings." A trader in the employments of the Hudson's Bay Company relates the perplexity of the Indians when he spoke of the directors of the Company as his

'chiefs.' They asked, "Who are thy chiefs, and what makes them superior to other men?" He explained that their influence was owing to their great wealth; "but the more I said in their praise, the more contempt I brought upon myself, and if ever I regretted anything in my life it was to have said so much." Several American tribes appointed chiefs in wartime only. The Sioux had no chiefs before the coming of Europeans. Among the Carrier Indians, chiefs "have not much authority or influence." Among the Navahos, "chiefs are but elders, men of temporary and ill-defined influence, whom the youngest man in the tribe may contradict and defy." Among the Blackfeet, chiefs are described as occupying the position of beggars. "The Eskimo," says Mr. J. W. Bilby, "have no idea of authority, except that which one man may exercise over another in virtue of his superior wisdom, experience, skill or strength. In their family and tribal life, the Eskimo carry out a very smooth-running sort of communism, the chief tenets of which are rigidly enforced peaceableness, open hospitality to the stranger, and a sharing of food and the necessaries of precarious existence among each other. There is a community in which one man is equal to any other man. The idea of one man being a servant to another would not seem to be native to the Eskimo." Even among the Arabs the sheikh "is merely influential; he is respected and deference is paid to his advice, especially if he is a ready speaker, but he is not entitled to issue commands. He is obliged at every turn to consult the tribal council, which is composed of the heads of the component families of the clan. Without the assent of this assembly war cannot be declared or peace concluded." Among the Kabyls, chiefs were appointed in wartime only. In Africa, the land of barbaric despots, chiefs are not always what the European, brought up amid the traditions of a feudal society, is apt to assume, and their existence has sometimes been taken for granted by the white man. What are described as 'chiefs' are often no more than war-leaders. Speaking of the representative tribes of East Africa, the Akamba, Akikuyu, Aketsaka, the Hon. H. C. Dun-

das states: "After the most careful enquiry and consideration of what is still evidence, I feel convinced that these tribes had no heads or leaders who could be dignified with the name of chiefs."

The power of the 'headman' or 'chief,' when such exists, is thus unattended with any form of domination, but is exercised at the discretion of the community, for its own purposes, and often at the peril of those who unwillingly exercise it. The primitive headman possesses executive power only, that is, the delegated function of coordinating any collective action which the group as a whole has decided to take. Very generally his main, or sole, function is that of spokesman in any intercourse of the group with other groups. In the internal organisation of the primitive group no compulsion is exercised; tasks are not imposed, 'duties' are not enforced, privilege and domination are not recognised. The place of enforced tasks and duties is occupied by spontaneous psychological sentiments which need no theoretical sanctions and no compulsory enforcement.

The authority and privileges of the male 'headman' in matriarchal communities are even more insignificant than in other primitive societies. Among the Seri the 'chief' appears to exercise scarcely any other function than to communicate the desires and decisions of the matrons to the men; he is not chosen with regard to his own qualifications, but to those of his wife. The Pueblo Indians had no chiefs. The Khasis of Assam "show no very particular courtesy of bearing towards their rajas; indeed, the latter do not seem to have much power. They have the right of calling on all to bear arms, or send a contribution in case of war." In older days their function was that of war-leaders. They "can perform no act of importance without consulting and obtaining the approval of the *durbar* upon which the '*mantris*' sit." They "are a very impecunious set of persons." In Khyrim, which appears to have retained a more primitive constitution than other tribal districts, the chieftainship is limited to the male relatives of the High Priestess, who controls their administra-

sion. Among the Pelew Islanders the authority of male chiefs is exercised over the men only; women do not even salute them. They can take no action without consulting the council of matrons. When an important decision has to be arrived at, the chief is shut up in his house in the company of several of the elder women, who assist the potentate in making up his mind. It cannot be supposed that in those communities the nebulous authority of the 'chiefs' has been forcibly and arrogantly seized by the men; the women's authority and influence is paramount, they command every means and every avenue of power. Chieftainship is purely functional; what authority is attached to it is exercised over the men, not over the women, and is subject to the will of the latter.

The position of male chiefs in primitive social groups, whether matriarchal or patriarchal, far from constituting a difficulty as regards the matriarchal theory of social origins, appears, on the contrary, to be irreconcilable with the hypothesis that human society first arose in groups formed round the authority of a dominant male. The visionary conception of the primitive patriarchal group, dominated by an 'old male' wielding despotic authority is radically incompatible with the equalitarian character which is everywhere the most conspicuous feature of existing primitive societies. And it is impossible to suppose that, had the earliest human societies originated as the patriarchal theory postulates, the state of things which is found to be the rule in lower cultures could ever have developed out of opposite conditions. The patriarchal theory is in this respect, as in many others, an anachronism, which imputes to primitive social conditions what appertains to much later stages of cultural history. Where military power has developed, the war-leader and the warrior class have arrogated a domination which was naturally exercised in the first instance over conquered peoples, and became extended by usurpation of privileges over their own tribes. But those conditions, which we come upon in African kingdoms where empires as vast as those of the ancient East were formerly established, has nothing to do with prim-

tive conditions or with the lower phases of social culture. Nowhere are the features characteristic of the primitive matriarchal constitution of society more clearly apparent than in the principles which, even in the most despotic masculine autocracies, regulate the office of royal ruler. That office was until quite recently in our own society the only political function which might be exercised by a woman.

That the earlier phases of human society were not organized on patriarchal, but on matriarchal principles was first suggested by the prevalent practice of reckoning descent in the female, and not in the male line. The classical example of the usage is the account given by Herodotus of the practise of the Lydians in Asia Minor. "They have," he says, "a singular custom which no other people have; for they take their names after their mother and not after their father. And if a Lydian be asked who he is, he will recite his genealogy on his mother's side, reckoning up his ancestry from mother to mother." That tracing of descent in the female line, which Herodotus thought 'singular,' is known to be the rule with about half the people of the world below the most highly developed stages of culture; and with most of those peoples who reckon descent in the paternal line clear evidence exists showing that the opposite rule formerly obtained amongst them also. That practise which first suggested the view that the position of women was formerly different from that which they occupy in patriarchally organized societies, does not imply that their position was in any sense dominant, and no great difficulty is found in showing that a matriarchal constitution of society cannot be inferred from the practise of matrilineal reckoning of descent.

But it is quite otherwise with the practise of matrilocal marriage. For whatever interpretation may be placed upon the origin of the custom, there can be no dispute as to its effects. When a woman, instead of following her husband, remains in her own home and in the midst of her blood-relations, while the husband is more or less a stranger within the gate, or is accounted a member of her family instead of the

woman being transferred to his, it is obvious that the wife occupies a position of vantage entirely different from that which she holds in patriarchal societies, however civilised, and that her status cannot be one of subjection. Heer Adriani remarks that among the Toradras of Middle Celebes, owing to the woman remaining in her own home and in the midst of her own relatives, the husband's position is always one of subordination. The whole organisation of Zulu society, remarks Dr. Kroeber, is founded upon the continued residence of the woman in her home. "Attached to her ownership of it is the Zulu woman's position in her world. Upon her permanent occupancy of her house rests the matrilinear custom of the tribe." The arrangement postulates, for one thing, that landed property, when it comes to be of value, is held by the woman and that the husband is economically destitute but for the daily produce of his labour. It also follows that such property is transmitted in the female line, and that the children are part of the group of the mother and not of the group to which the father belongs. In Dalmatia, even in the last century it was customary, when a woman owned land, that her husband, who came to live with her, should change his family name and assume that of his wife. Thus the children took the family name of their mother and not that of their father. While the reckoning of descent through females does not necessarily imply a matriarchal type of society, matrilocal marriage does; and accordingly, while we may find many matriarchal features existing where marriage is patrilocal, it is exceedingly exceptional to find patriarchal customs associated with an established practice of matrilocal marriage. Of the various features of the matriarchal order of society the practice of matrilocal marriage is, then, the most distinctive.

Whether domination is, or is not, exercised by the women in a matriarchally constituted society is neither a character which can serve as a basis for scientific distinctions nor one which can easily be estimated. The wildest differences of judgment are apparent in estimates of the relative influence of

the sexes even in definitely patriarchal societies. Many opinions could be cited to the effect that women enjoyed unusual freedom and exercised a marked influence in Victorian or in Georgian England. There existed, no doubt, genuine grounds for those estimates. A patriarchal husband may quite well be a hen-pecked husband, and conversely the men in a matriarchally organised society may be bullies. Nevertheless the social constitution of Victorian England was strenuously patriarchal, and that of the Iroquois was definitely matriarchal. The actual influence of women in any society varies, as one might expect, enormously in different cultures. But in point of fact, in none of the lower cultures is the position of women equivalent to that which they occupy in a patriarchally constituted society.

It used to be a commonplace that the position of women in uncivilised societies is one of outrageous oppression, and few of the older writers could touch on the subject without laying down the principle that the status of women in a given society is the truest index of its degree of civilisation. "It may perhaps be laid down as an invariable maxim," so ran the stereotyped remark, "that the condition of the female part of society in any nation will furnish a tolerable just criterion of the degree of civilisation to which that nation has arrived."² Like most dogmatic pronouncements on social history the assertion, in accordance with which the Redskins and the Papuan cannibals would have to be accounted more civilised than the Chinese and the ancient Greeks, is the exact reverse of the truth. In all uncultured societies, the general appearance of independence which marks the demeanour and behaviour of the women stands in sharp contrast with the demureness, deference, and subservience which is typical of the 'lady' of a civilised patriarchal society. In no part of the savage world, whatever the juridic position of the women, whether the social organisation be matriarchal or patriarchal, is anything to be found corresponding to the outward manifestations of her subordinate position in relation to her male relatives displayed by, say, an English lady of the Victorian age. That

is a matter of common observation which must needs strike anyone who has had any experience of savage society.

The fanciful opinion that women are oppressed in savage societies was partly due to the complacency of civilised man, and partly to the fact that the women are seen to work hard. Wherever women were seen engaged in laborious toil, their status was judged to be one of slavery and oppression. No misunderstanding could be more profound. Although the primitive division of labour between the sexes may throw the most continuous and onerous tasks upon the women, it is precisely that fact which excludes the possibility of masculine supremacy as it exists in patriarchal society. The state of things is the exact reverse; so long as woman remained economically productive it was impossible for complete patriarchal supremacy to become established. The primitive woman is independent because, not in spite of her labour. Generally speaking, it is in those societies where women toil most that their status is most independent and their influence greatest; where they are idle, and the work is done by slaves, the women are, as a rule, little more than sexual slaves. The woman who is seen toiling, and whose fate is pitied, may be the virtual ruler of her home. She may be a princess, a queen. The primitive princesses of Africa, Polynesia, Micronesia, like the Homeric Nausikaa, labour as other women. In Uganda "princess and peasant women alike look upon cultivation as their special work. No woman would remain with a man who did not give her a garden and a hoe to dig with; if these were denied her she would seek an early opportunity to escape from her husband and return to her relations to complain of her treatment, and to obtain justice or a divorce." The negress who is seen hoeing the ground, with perhaps a baby on her back, in Madagascar, is as likely as not the owner of the field, and the most despotic of wives. In New Zealand the wife of a chief, the powerful ruler of a large district, would insist on cultivating her field of sweet potatoes laboriously, even though she was old and infirm. In the Pelew Islands, "the richest woman in the village looks with pride upon her taro patch, and

although she has female followers enough to allow her to superintend the work without taking part in it, she nevertheless prefers to lay aside her fine apron and to betake herself to the deep mire clad in a small apron that hardly hides her nakedness, with a little mat on her back to protect her from the burning heat of the sun, and with a shade of banana leaves for her eyes. There, dripping with sweat, in the burning sun, and coated with mud to the hip and over, she toils to set the younger women a good example." Among the Pueblo tribes, as among all other American tribes, the women work harder than the men; the woman who may be seen toiling up the steep path that leads up the cañon to the cliff dwelling which she has built, carrying a huge water-vessel—also her own handiwork—strapped to her forehead, is the matriarchal head of her home. The Seri women do all the labour of the community; the men are by comparison but idle drones. To the subject of the labour of women in primitive society further reference will be made later, and it will be shown that in no instance is it undertaken by them otherwise than voluntarily; it is never imposed upon them by the men. Primitive women would as strongly resent that the work which they regard as their own sphere of activity should be done by others as a primitive warrior would resent his being forbidden to join his companions in the field. An Indian woman, seeing some white men carrying bundles of firewood, ran at once to their assistance and collected wood for them, "because to see men doing women's work was a scandal which she could not bear to look upon." The breach of usage was painful and offensive to her.

No labour of any kind is, in primitive society, other than voluntary, and no toil is ever undertaken by the women in obedience to an arbitrary authority. "There are many persons," wrote Heckewelder, "who believe from the labour that they see Indian women perform that they are in a manner treated as slaves. Their labours, indeed, are hard compared with the tasks that are imposed on females in civilised society; yet they are no more than their fair share, under every considera-

tion and due allowance of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntary, but cheerfully submitted to, and as the women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or conscience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to being loaded with unjust or unequal burdens." "The women," says the Rev. Owen Dorsey, "did the work which she thought was hers to do. She always did her work of her own accord. The husband had his share of labour, for the man was not accustomed to lead an idle life." "In the affairs of the family," writes Leskiel, "the husband leaves the whole to his wife, and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word, but rather goes to some friend. . . . If his wife longs for meat, and gives a hint of it, he goes out early in the morning without victuals, and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer he throws it down before the door of the hut, and walks in, saying nothing. . . . She may then do with it what she pleases. He says nothing if she even gives the greatest part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. . . . Most married people understand that whatever the husband gets by hunting belongs to the wife. As soon as he has brought the skin and meat home he considers them as his wife's property." "The Indians," says another writer, "seldom make their wives feel their authority by words or deeds."

What is true of North American Indian society is equally true, with very few exceptions, of all primitive societies. Even where, as in Australia or Melanesia, women are ill-treated and roughly handled, such treatment is not used to compel them to do tasks which they do not voluntarily undertake; the idea of such compulsory labour imposed by force is entirely foreign to all primitive societies. "A superficial consideration of the position of woman in Eskimo society," says Rasmussen, "might induce one mistakenly to believe

that she leads a cowed and unhappy existence. But certainly no one would be more astonished than she herself if anyone consoled the Eskimo woman and pitied her. She herself has no consciousness whatever of being man's drudge." In Africa, where the misconceived 'slavery theory' is often applied, "a woman," Sir T. Shepstone states, "need not work except of her own free will. The actual labour performed by the women bears no comparison to what is performed by the women of the lower classes in England. The labour of the Kaffir woman is to cultivate her garden in which the manias are grown. This takes three or four weeks in spring. Two months afterwards she has to hoe the ground, which takes three or four weeks more. She is not driven to work, and if so disposed may take it easily enough. As a rule women only work during these eight weeks in the year." In the Cameroons, remarks another observer, "the position of women in general, including slave-girls, is, in spite of the fact that they are purchased and that upon them devolves the whole of the not very onerous field and house work, by no means so oppressed as one is liable to imagine. There is, under those conditions which appear strange to us, much more real human happiness than in Europe." Referring to Zulu women, a missionary writes: "Whoever has observed the happy appearance of the women at their work and toil, their gaiety and chatter, their laughter and song, their ceaseless jesting and banter, chiefly at the expense of the men, let him compare with them the bearing of our own working-women." In West Africa "the Kru women do much work on the farm, each wife having her distinct field of rice, cassava, ground nuts to attend to; and she is very ambitious that it should be large and carefully weeded, so as to make a large return for the labour bestowed." Men, when they can, will always lend a hand. Where servile labour is available, the women do not need to work, but they nevertheless reserve for themselves the cultivation of their garden and the upkeep and ornamentation of the home.

It is commonly adduced by travellers as evidence of the

servile position of savage women that in travelling all the burdens are carried by them, while the men carry their weapons only. But such an arrangement is essential to the safety of both. "In all their movements," remarks Dr. Keating, of the Chippewas, "they are prepared for any event, whether of the chase or warfare." A woman would object to travelling with men who were not ready to defend her at an instant's notice, and the supposed 'beast of burden' is often the ruler of the household. "I have never known an Indian woman," says Heckewelder, "complain of the hardship of carrying their burden, which serves for their comfort and support as well as that of the husband." Speaking of the tribes of the Gran Chaco, Dr. Frlieschi observes: "Although to Christians the woman may seem too much overburdened when carrying heavy weights by the side of a man who bears his arms only, yet they are not worse treated than the universal majority of women amongst ourselves. Moreover, an Indian never makes a journey without the intention of securing food, and is never free from the possibility of attack. How could he procure the first, or encounter the second while bearing a heavy burden?" In Africa, remarks Miss Werner, the native man "has been much reproached for carrying nothing but his weapons while she is heavily loaded. But this leaves out of account the ever-present possibility of attack by raiders or wild animals—of course, now rapidly becoming a matter of tradition. Still, no longer ago than 1894 I saw men patrolling the gardens with spear and shield while their wives gathered millet, in very real danger of being carried off by the Machingas."

In contrast with the formulas inspired by patriarchal tradition and the superficial impressions arising from lack of understanding of the social conditions of uncultured societies, we have many testimonies to the fact that the matriarchal constitution retained by many of those societies is no mere formal juristic fiction, but carries with it of necessity a status of the women which differs entirely from that which is assumed under a patriarchal organisation. Thus, of the North American tribes, the missionary Laistau said: "Nothing is

more real than the superiority of the women. It is in the women that properly consists the nation, the nobility of blood, the genealogical tree, the order of generations, the preservation of families. It is in them that all real authority resides; the country, the fields, and all the crops belong to them. They are the soul of the councils, the arbiters of war and peace." That description has been thought to be highly coloured, but we have evidence to show that it is strictly accurate. When the Iroquois met the American authorities to negotiate terms of alliance, their chosen orator, 'Good Peter,' addressed Governor Clinton in the name of the women in the following words: "Brothers! Our ancestors considered it a great offence to reject the counsels of their women, particularly of the Female Governesses. They were esteemed the mistresses of the soil. Who, said our forefathers, brings us into being? who cultivates our lands, kindles our fires, and boils our pots, but the women? Our women, Brother, say that they are apprehensive their uncles have lost the power of hunting, but take this opportunity of thanking you for preventing their fall down the precipice to which their uncles have brought them. They entreat that the veneration of our ancestors in favour of the women be not disregarded, and that they may not be despised: the Great Spirit made them. The Female Governesses beg leave to speak with the freedom allowed to women and agreeable to the spirit of our ancestors. They entreat the Great Chief to put forth his strength and to preserve them in peace. For they are the life of the nation." Warriors sometimes affected a professional contempt for women as non-combatants, but in the face of the actual realities of their social organisation that theoretical professional pride was little more than hollow bluster. "Even among the Iroquois," says Mr. Lucien Carr, "those fierce and haughty warriors who sweep, as with the besom of destruction, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from the St. Lawrence to the Cumberland, woman's influence was absolutely paramount. Chiefs, warriors and councils were all obliged to yield to her demands when authoritatively expressed; and there are

few scenes more dramatic in Indian story than those in which the eloquent Red Jacket and Corn Planter were constrained to do her behest in the face of their repeated declarations to the contrary." The reality of that power is concretely evidenced by the fact that the deeds of land transfer of the Colonial Government nearly all bear the signatures of women. The compensation due for the murder of a woman was double that for the murder of a man.

Among the Plains Indians the position of the women was scarcely less independent. "Among the Cheyennes the women are the rulers of the camp. They act as a spur to the men if they are slow in performing their duties. They are far more conservative than the men, and often hold them back from hasty, ill-advised action. If the sentiment of the women of the camp clearly points to a certain course as desirable, the men are quite sure to act as the women wish." "The social position of the Navaho women is one of great independence; most of the wealth of the nation belongs to them; they are the managers of their own property, the owners of their children, and their freedom lends character to their physiognomy."

Of the condition of things in pre-Columbian Central America, Father Mendieta remarks: "In this climate the women appear to have the advantage over the male sex." Herrera, speaking of the natives of the province of Cumana, reports ironically: "The men are daring, cruel and subject to their women." Elsewhere, referring to the natives of Nicaragua, he adds that "the women wore goggets and shoes and went to the market; the men swept the house and did other such-like service, and in some places they spin." Andagoys gives further details: "The husbands were so much under subjection," he says, "that if they made their wives angry they were turned out of doors, and the wives even raised their hands against them. The husband would go to the neighbours and beg them to ask his wife to let him come back, and not to be angry with him. The wives made their husbands attend on them and do everything like servant lads." Something of the same oppressed condition of the husband appears to have sur-

vived among the Payaguas. They dare not assert any authority over their wives. If the husband gives his wife any cause, real or fancied, of offence, she packs up the tent and its furniture, appropriates even the canoe, and takes everything away; the children follow her, and the husband and father is left with the clothes (?) he stands in and his weapons as his only possession. Among the Calchaquis of Tucuman, in western Peru, the women, says Father Techo, are the only persons who can manage their combative and quarrelsome men. "The women are most powerful to reconcile the warring parties and produce peace, those most barbarous people easily granting anything at the request of those that have suckled them." The Guaycurus "are kind to women, not only those of their own tribe, who are greatly esteemed and hold a position of great predominance. The women have certainly more liberty than is bestowed by our Sovereign Lady Queen Isabella on the women of Spain." Among the Guarani-speaking tribes, "what gives the natives most satisfaction is to see their old women happy, for they are guided in everything by what they tell them, and are more obedient to them than to the old men." Among the Mantemerys of the upper Purus River, "the women seem to be on a perfect equality with the men, they frequently scold them and interfere with their trade."

In New Britain, remarks a traveller, "the grey mare appeared to be the better horse." The women loudly abuse and rebuke the men if the latter do not act according to their wishes. When harter is being effected with the natives, the men hand over all they get to the women, who examine the goods carefully and take charge of them. In New Ireland the women, in contrast to what obtains in most other parts of Melanesia, "have pretty much their own way," and "on the whole they are treated kindly by the men." In New Hanover the men will not transact any business or sell anything without the consent of their wives. In British New Guinea the consent of the women is likewise sought before entering into any transaction. The same is true of Dutch New Guinea; one traveller saw a man subjected to a sound

drubbing from his wife because he had brought some trinket to the boats for barter. The men are described as being under the tyranny of the women; all property, except weapons, is in their hands and they command a monopoly of the staple food, the sago. "The part which the women play among the tribes of the interior is even more important than on the coast. The mother-in-law rules absolutely in the home, and all barter is conducted by her."

Throughout the Malay Archipelago women are treated with uniform consideration, and among many populations, and those almost invariably the most primitive and uncultured, they occupy a position of definite influence. In Sumatra generally the men, we are told, "preserve a degree of delicacy and respect towards the sex which might justify their retreating on many of the polished nations of antiquity the epithet of Barbarians." Among the Bataks, the most primitive population of the island, no instance ever came to the notice of Dr. Jungbuhn of a woman being maltreated, and, on the contrary, the behaviour of the men towards women is marked, he says, with a gentleness that does them honour. Among the Alfurs of Ceram, a wild population of hunters and fishers, "the position of women is distinctly high." They are treated with great deference, and all men remain silent when a woman is speaking; their influence in all political business is unmistakable. "Among the natives of Celebes," says Crawford, the women appear in public without any scandal; they take an active concern in all the business of life; they are consulted by the men on all public affairs, and frequently raised to the throne, and that too when the monarchy is elective. Here the woman eats with her husband, nay, by a custom which points at the equality of the sexes, always from the same dish, the only distinction left to the latter being that of eating from the right side. At public festivals women appear among the men; and those invested with authority sit in their councils when affairs of State are discussed, possessing, it is often alleged, even more than their due share in deliberations." Among the Minshassa of northern Celebes the husband will

not dispose of anything without his wife's consent, and a man has been known to go and consult his wife before transacting the sale of an egg. In southern Celebes likewise the woman "is the absolute mistress of the house, and her husband undertakes nothing of importance without consulting her." Among the Dayaks of Borneo the women enjoy everywhere a position of extreme independence; they "not infrequently wield supreme rule in the house and even govern whole tribes with masculine vigour; they take part in military expeditions and even personally lead the men to battle. Many of the most important deliberations are decided by the influence which the women wield over the men." In the island of Timor a husband is severely punished if he beats his wife, but she, on the other hand, may beat her husband with a stick without being liable to any penalty.

On the Nicobar Islands "the position of women is, and always has been, in no way inferior to that of the other sex. They take their full share in the formation of public opinion, discuss publicly with men matters of general interest to the village, and their opinions receive due attention before a decision is arrived at. In fact, they are consulted on every matter, and the henpecked husband is of no extraordinary rarity in the Nicobars." Much the same is true of the Andamanese; "the consideration and respect with which women are treated might with advantage be emulated by certain classes in our own land," says Mr. Man. They "have a good deal of influence and are under no restrictions."

In all parts of Micronesia, as we saw was the case in Pelew Islands, the position of women is, by common consent, notably exalted. An old missionary, visiting a 'savage island' in the Ladrones group, with current notions concerning the crushed position of women among savages in his mind, thus describes his disillusion: "The women in this country have arrogated to themselves those rights which everywhere else are claimed by the husband. The wife absolutely rules the house. She is the master, and the husband is unable to dispose of anything without her consent. If he does not show all the deference

which the wife claims the right of exacting from him, if his conduct is irregular, or if she happens to be in a bad temper, she maltreats him, or else quits him and resumes her pristine liberty. Her children follow her. Thus a poor husband has sometimes the chagrin of finding himself in a moment without either wife or children, in consequence of the ill-humour or whim of a capricious woman." The writer goes on to describe how, if the husband is suspected by his wife of conduct of which she disapproves, she calls all her female relatives to arms—literally, for they come armed with spears and clubs and sack all the guilty man's possessions, often ending by pulling the house down. "The women," says another writer, "exercised all rule except leadership in war and the navigation of canoes. Without being precisely invested with political authority, they exercised nevertheless so great an influence in the councils and tribunals on which they sat that the direction of public affairs may accurately be said to have rested in their hands."

Throughout Polynesia the position of women, though theoretically subordinate, is invariably one of great independence and influence, and stands in marked contrast with their status in Melanesia. In Tonga it is described as "equal, if not superior, to that of the men"; they are served at meals before men of equal rank, and are treated with great deference. In Tahiti they are regarded by the men as equals; they "possess an influence over their husbands which causes them to be treated with attention, lest the husband should lose his wife, as she would soon find a husband ready to receive her with more kindness; and the result of this is that infidelity is more common amongst the women than amongst the men." In Samoa the women spoke at tribal councils, and a chief was bound by custom to abide by the wishes of his sister. In war no-one dare kill a woman. Care was taken to save them as much work as possible; the men not only provided the food, but also did the cooking and housework.

In Madagascar the women have always enjoyed great independence and influence. The Abbé Rochon, who visited the

country at the end of the eighteenth century, says the men thought of nothing so much as how to please their women; "the balance of power inclines in favour of the woman." A modern missionary says that the women rule the family. According to Sir Francis Galton, "Bushmen husbands are, generally speaking, henpecked. They always consult their wives"; and we have descriptions of the rough handling to which they are at times subjected by the 'weaker sex.' Among the Bechuana the wife occupies an important position. The mother of the chief is present at councils and he can hardly decide anything without her consent. A married man cannot dispose of the property which he and his wife hold in common unless his wife agrees, and on this point the husband generally conforms to her wishes. Among the Hottentots the women have always occupied a position approaching to one of family despotism; the husband "has not a word to say; the woman is supreme ruler." Among the Herero "the women enjoy greater consideration and are treated with respect." A young mother is regarded as a holy personage, and the herdsmen bring the milk of their cows to her to be blessed by her touch. Among the Basyal, if a man was asked to perform a service, "he would reply, 'Well, I shall go and ask my wife.' If she consented, he would go and perform his duty faithfully; but no amount of coaxing would induce him to do it if she refused. The person whom Nyskoba appointed to be our guide," says Livingstone, "came and bargained that his services should be rewarded with a bee. I had no objection to give, and showed him the article. He was delighted with it, and went to show it to his wife. He soon afterwards returned and said that, although he was perfectly willing to go, his wife would not let him. I remarked to my men 'Did you ever see such a fool?' They answered: 'Oh, that is the custom of these parts; the wives are the masters.'"

It is a characteristic of all Bantu women that they will not stand rough treatment, and strongly resent any act which they regard as unjust or unkind. As a good observer well puts it, "Native women are very thin-skinned and sensitive.

I remember being roused one morning in Bibe by an awful hubbuh, as though someone were being murdered near my house. I ran out in my pyjamas expecting to see someone speared or hacked to pieces with an axe. Instead I saw a native woman with her hands clasped around her head. She was crying, and the big tears were coursing down her cheeks as she ran along the road. "What is the matter, woman?" I asked. "Oh," she said, "my husband spoke roughly to me, and I'm going home to my mother." "The negress," remarks another observer, "does not easily allow herself to be compelled to involuntary toil; she has far too lively a spirit of independence and even of opposition." On one occasion, relates the same writer, the Dualla women from one village went on strike; they one and all left the village and their men, and built themselves another village farther on. The cause of the strike was that they thought their men-folk were too niggardly, and did not supply them with a sufficient allowance of dress materials in the form of European cloth. The strike was completely successful and ended in the abject surrender of the insufficiently generous husbands. Among the Bagesu of the Uganda Protectorate "a wife would not hesitate to attack her husband with her hands, a stick, or a knife, and a man of a quiet disposition was often completely ruled by his wife."

In southern Nigeria, among the Ekoí, "the chief wife, not the husband, was regarded as the head of the house. So strictly are women's rights guarded by native law that even now it is not unusual for a wife to summon her husband before court on the heinous charge of having made use, without her permission, of some of her property, perhaps a pot or a pan." In Kikuya, the position of woman "in girlhood, wifehood, motherhood, and old age is in many ways preferable to that of her white sister." Among the Warega of the Congo women are said to enjoy almost as much consideration as the men. Among the Madi negroes it is noted that "women are treated with respect and politeness by the men, who always show them preference, resigning to their use the best places,

and paying them such-like courtesies. . . . Any insult to a woman is revenged, and is frequently the cause of war." Among the Manbuttu and Momou, women "are much respected"; their husbands "regard them as at least the equals of the men." The Manbuttu woman "plays a considerable part in the great gatherings which are held to discuss important questions which concern the fate of the nation, to decide peace or war. It is not long since a wife of the late Sultan Nyangara, named Nensima, directed with great wisdom the policy of the Manbuttu people. All the great chiefs who ruled in that country came to her to ask advice in difficult circumstances." Schweinfurth remarks that "they exhibit the greatest degree of independence. The position in the household of the men was illustrated by the reply which would be made if they were solicited to sell anything as a curiosity, 'Oh, ask my wife; it is hers.'"

Among the tribes of the Upper Nile the women are "practically on an equality with the men, except occasionally when they rise to the height of henpecking their husbands." Among the Bega, the wife "rules the roost in a way which is difficult to reconcile with the defiant and baughty nature of those untamed nomads." Among the Beni-Amer the position of the husband is pitiable, indeed ridiculous. He is deliberately exploited by the women, whose avowed object is to ruin him. For every child that is born he must make his wife a present: should he in an unguarded moment lose his temper and speak a rough word to her, he is turned out of doors, a hue and cry is set up throughout the village, the wife's brothers and all the women rush to the support of the offended lady, and the husband is only admitted back into the house on payment to a trifle, such as a cow or a camel; or else he is made to spend the night outside until, on payment, his offence is remitted. The husband's worldly goods are thus gradually transferred to his better half and become her inalienable property, and when the man has nothing left he is dismissed and another victim sought. To show any affection to the wretch would on the part of the virago be a humiliating degradation not to be

contemplated. In the province of Dongola, the position of the husband is equally abject. His relations with his wife are carefully regulated by tribal law. It is illegal for him to dispose of any property without consulting her. "Further, he should bear with all her caprices, or if she abuses him, he is expected to laugh at it and is not despised for so doing. The husband is absolutely forbidden to beat his wife, whatever her offence. Intolerable offences he should report to her guardian, and the guardian will beat her, and she be proud of it; whereas if the husband beats her himself, the guardian is deeply affronted and exacts compensation. The woman expects to share as an equal partner in all that concerns the common life, but she ought not to show love for her husband even in private, or pity for him if he is sick, or sorrow if he goes away on a journey, or divorces her, and it is reckoned disgraceful for a woman to weep in public over her husband's death."

It has already been seen that very similar conditions obtain among the Tuareg of the Sahara. "In order that the Targi woman should have placed herself thus above the law," remarks Duveyrier, "more than the attractive power of the female sex over the male has been necessary." In Abyssinia, likewise, women occupy a high position, and their rights are at least equal to those of the men.

In Asia, while among the most highly civilised races of the continent, such as the Hindus and the Chinese, women occupy a position of effacement and subordination, their status is almost completely reversed among the most primitive and secluded races. Among the savages of the Aleutian Islands the women are the dominant sex; a man scarcely dares even to express his wishes in the presence of his wife. In Kamchatka "husbands are under the iron-rule of their wives." Among the primitive Ainu the position of women is dominant; "the wives dictate to their husbands, and make them fetch and carry." Of the Giliak of Sakhalin a Japanese traveller writes: "In this country it is the custom that women should rule over the men; they treat these like servants and make

them do all the work." Among the Moi, the most primitive race of Indo-China, "nowhere does woman enjoy more consideration and esteem. It would be going too far to say that the Moi wife is the head of the family and rules her husband; the truth is that in that community all members are absolutely equal." Among the Garos of Assam, says Sir W. Hunter, "women enjoy a power and position quite unknown among more civilised tribes and people." The free and independent position of the women in Tibet has frequently attracted attention. "In that country," says an old traveller, "the wives are the chief rulers in the household, which they govern more than do their husbands. These live in great dependence upon their wives and show great respect towards them; and they treat them with so much love and submission that they do not undertake anything without their advice and consent." "By what means," remarks Mr. Rockhill, "have those women gained such complete ascendancy over the men, how have they made their mastery so complete and so acceptable to a race of lawless barbarians who but unwillingly submit to the authority of their chiefs, is a problem well worth consideration."

The problem is, indeed, not only difficult, but insoluble. If it be asked, How could the ascendancy of women come to establish itself in a primitive society where the men are, as we are accustomed to imagine, predominant and masterful, and to displace the authority and initiative which we assume to be natural in the male? the only answer is that such a process is impossible. If man in his rudest and most brutal original condition had been supreme master in the human group, and women had occupied the position of chattel and slaves in which we find them among some savage races, there is no conceivable process by which, in a primitive state of culture, that position could have been modified, much less reversed.

That impossibility depends not so much upon the completeness of male domination, when once it is established, or upon the physical inferiority of woman and her incapacity to throw

off the burden of oppression, as on her utter indisposition to do anything of the kind. A defiant and rebellious attitude is found in women only where they already occupy a position of considerable vantage and influence; it is not found where their status is really one of oppression. However burdensome their position may be, it is accepted; it may be lamented, but it is set down to fate, not to injustice. As Olive Schreiner justly remarks, "Wherever there is a general attempt on the part of the women of any society to readjust their position in it, a close analysis will always show that the changed, or changing, conditions of that society have made women's acquiescence no longer necessary or desirable." In other words their condition is no longer one of subjection.

There are a few conspicuous exceptions to the rule that the social independence of women is greater in the lower than in the higher stages of culture, and those exceptions bear out the old conception of savage man "crushing down his mate, as yet we find in barbarous isles." A tendency is everywhere found in existing uncultured societies for patriarchal relations to supplant older matriarchal organisation. The causes which tend to bring about that change will be considered presently, and they will be seen to be in general economic causes. But where a society has remained from time immemorial in a low state of culture, masculine dominance may become established even while the primitive matriarchal social organisation of that society remains substantially unchanged. These conditions are found characteristically, and it may be said almost exclusively, in those lowly cultures which have, owing to geographical conditions, developed, or rather stagnated, in complete isolation from outside influences, namely, in Australia and some portions of Melanesia. It is also from these surviving lowly cultures that most modern anthropological field-work is naturally derived. And thus, to use an expression of Dr. Westermarck's, many people have become accustomed to view savage society through Australian and Melanesian spectacles. But, as Dr. Westermarck also points out, the conditions of those cultures, which afford a tempting field

of investigation for the modern anthropologist in quest of the disappearing savage, are exceptional. Australian and Melanesian societies are as old as our own. They have remained practically isolated from the rest of the world since the Pleistocene age. While they have scarcely advanced in material or social culture, it cannot be supposed that they have remained unchanged, and indeed there is clear evidence that this has not been the case.

The women in Australia and in the southern parts of Melanesia are subject to a masculine despotism which is not to be found in other parts of the uncultured world. "Nowhere else," remarks a resident of long standing among the Australian aborigines, "is it possible to meet with more miserable and degraded specimens of humanity than the women of Australia. The women are treated by the men with savage brutality." "The poor creatures," says another writer, "are in an abject state, and are only treated with about the same consideration as the dogs that accompany them." A girl of seven, eight, or ten is handed over to a man old enough to be her grandfather. He drags the child by the hair to his camp, and "the bridal screams and yells make the night hideous." "For the slightest offence or dereliction of duty she is beaten with a waddy or a yam-stick, and not infrequently speared. The records of the Government Courts in Adelaide furnish numberless instances of blacks being tried for murdering their 'lubras.' The woman's life is of no account if her husband chooses to destroy it, and no one ever attempts to protect her or take her part under any circumstances. In times of scarcity of food she is the last to be fed and is not considered in any way. That many die in consequence is not a matter of wonder." "They ill-use them in a most brutal manner," says another writer, often, yes very often, killing them outright in their ungovernable periods of passion. When an accident of the kind happens, the other members of the tribe do not pay the least heed to it; it was only a woman, and a husband has a perfect right to chastise his women, even unto death." "Blows over the head with a stick are the more common modes

of correction, and spearing through the body for a slight offence." "Few women," says Eyre, "will be found upon examination to be free from frightful scars upon the head or the marks of spear wounds about the body. I have seen a young woman who from the number of marks appeared to have been almost riddled with spear wounds." Dr. Howitt knew of women "being almost cut to pieces," and Sir George Grey likewise remarks on the "ghastly wounds" inflicted on the women for trifling causes. A very similar state of things is found in most Melanesian islands. In the northern groups, that is, in the archipelagoes of New Britain and New Ireland, the women retain a good deal of independence and influence, but in the more southern islands of Melanesia, in correlation apparently with the greater power exercised by chiefs, they are entirely under the despotic rule of the men. "The New Caledonians take no more account of a woman than of a pig. Dogs in our country are better treated."

Such is the condition of things which naturally tends to come about in low phases of culture where the men are dominant. In view of that fact it must, on consideration, appear strange that there should be any exceptions. Every race and every society must be assumed to have passed at some time through cultural stages similar to that occupied by the natives of Australia or Melanesia. If, at those stages of culture, the women occupied the position which they do in Australia, by what means could they ever rise above it? It is quite impossible to conceive that such societies as those of the North American Indians, or of the Malays, or of Micronesian peoples, or of East Africa, or indeed any society in which the status of the women is even one of approximate equality as regards the men, as is the rule throughout the uncultured world, could ever have developed out of a condition such as is found to obtain in Australia or in southern Melanesia. Patriarchal dominance is the result of economic conditions which can only operate in comparatively advanced stages of culture. It is not, normally, the result of brute force. But in conditions of exceptional isolation from cul-

tural influences, and where, as a consequence, a society in the lowest stages of material culture has remained at that level, masculine domination may in course of time be established violently and by sheer brutality, and also by the appropriation by the men of those magic functions which, in the lower stages of culture, are chiefly exercised by the women.

That is what appears to have taken place in Australia and in parts of Melanesia. And in fact we possess definite evidence that the status of women in Australia was formerly entirely different from that which they occupied on the advent of Europeans. Marriage was, it appears, in Australia as elsewhere, originally matrilineal. Speaking of the Queensland tribes an old observer reports: "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 became 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 his own blood-relations." Among the tribes of east-central Australia, when a man marries into a neighbouring tribelet, he is obliged to reside with his wife's people for at least three months. The same thing is reported from Charlotte Bay in northern Queensland. In the Dieri tribe there is, we are told, "always a hot opposition to a marriage which takes the girl out of it."

There can, in fact, be no doubt that in Australian society, the dominance of the men and the debased condition of the women are features of comparatively late origin, and that these conditions have supplanted a social state in which women occupied a more influential, if not actually a dominant, position. That is the view of Sir W. Baldwin Spencer and Mr. Gillen, our highest authorities on the central tribes. From a consideration of their traditions they have arrived at the conclusion that "at some time the women were possessed of greater privileges than they enjoy at the present day. There is a great gap between the 'Alcheringa' (the traditional or mythical history of the tribes) and recent times, and a very

noticeable feature is the change which has in some way been brought about with regard to the position of women." Among the tribes studied by Sir W. B. Spencer and Mr. Gillen they did not come upon any instance of a man taking up his residence with the clan of his wife; but it is the custom among the Arunta, a custom very strictly observed, that a certain portion of the product of a man's chase regularly goes to the blood-relations of his wife; and further, if those relatives should happen to be hunting in his company they have a recognised right to the whole of the game which he may kill. This, as Sir W. B. Spencer and Mr. Gillen point out, indicates "a former condition in which a man owed allegiance to the group of his wife." In Western Australia the degraded condition of women at the present day has been perhaps more uniformly reported and emphasised than in regard to any other portion of the continent. But it has also been noticed that old women enjoy an extraordinary influence, which is in marked contrast with the abject and oppressed condition of the younger ones. It is a traditional custom in those tribes that certain elderly females are solemnly invested by a ceremony held at tribal gatherings with the status of 'meyram,' or 'grandmother.' "It is a proceeding which confers upon the woman privileges of importance to all parties," says Mr. Moore. "She can henceforth no more be carried off for a wife or female drudge, nor be made a victim of revenge. Her influence is henceforth powerful with the tribe either in stirring them up to war or in allaying and reconciling quarrels. She is even permitted, if she thinks fit, when a dispute is anticipated, to mingle among the threatening combatants and deprive them of their spears and their darts." That traditional custom so opposed to the present abject position of women in those tribes, suggests, as Mr. Moore remarks, that their status was formerly entirely different. There is reason to think that women formerly played an important part in the exercise of religious or magical functions, from which they are at the present day strictly excluded in Australia; and it appears not unlikely that the West Australian 'Grandmothers'

are a reminiscence of a time when the tribal mother from whom the natives still trace their descent occupied a position of influence and importance similar to that of the elder women in matriarchal societies, and may have even been the virtual ruler or sacred chieftainess of the clan.

The Australian natives are not only, in a cultural sense, primitive, they have through age-long isolation and unfavourable economic circumstances sunk into a cultural and social state from which it would be impossible for them to rise. Had they been surrounded by more advanced peoples, there can be no question that they would long since have been wiped out as completely as Neanderthal man. The unprogressive condition of their social culture may not be wholly unconnected with the establishment of masculine despotism at a very low stage of culture. They have remained at that stage.

What may be termed the 'cave-man' conception of social origins is not only impossible to reconcile with the facts of social history and ethnology, but is an intrinsic impossibility. Much show of academic scepticism has been made in regard to the suggestion that the position of primitive women was a higher one than in patriarchal societies. But it would be hard indeed to lend any colour of plausibility to the alternative hypothesis that women were originally under complete masculine subjection, and have subsequently through some unimaginable causes, risen to the status of independence which they are found to occupy in the great majority of lower cultures.

CHAPTER VIII

PRIMITIVE SEX RELATIONS

THE development of patriarchal society is the evolution of patriarchal marriage. The marriage institutions of our own societies are derived through Roman Christianity from those of Rome, as is likewise the conception of the 'familia' consisting of the dependents of the father and husband, the economic and juridic head of the family. Western tradition founded upon these conceptions has always tended to interpret in the light of them all forms of sexual relations or associations and all groups of kindred, not only throughout the various phases of human culture, but even among animals. The transient sexual congresses of the latter are assimilated to the institution of marriage, and the animal family consisting of the mother and her brood, the father of which is absent and unknown, is denoted by the same word as the Roman family formed round the 'patria potestas' of the father. The same principles of interpretation and the same loose nomenclature have been applied to the social relations of uncultured societies. Every form of sexual association formed in those societies has been described as a form of marriage, although the same relations occurring in our own communities would be branded as being no better than the promiscuous congress of animals or of savages, and would be accounted the collapse of the institution of marriage.

By the use of such loose terminologies and analogies the doctrine has been promulgated that marriage has existed from the very beginning of human society, that the family founded upon such marriage is the original germ of all social

relations, and that conceptions and institutions which European culture derives from the Romans are biological relations which obtain among animals. These doctrines of late-Victorian anthropology, which may be termed Adam-and-Eve anthropology, and seek a foundation in an imaginary natural history, constitute the patriarchal theory of social origins.

The sex relations of uncultured human societies are not founded upon marriage. In the reports of older observers it was frequently stated that marriage did not exist among the peoples to whom those reports referred. It may in the majority of instances be shown that some form of continuous association is, in reality, to be found in those communities. The circumstance has been thought to constitute a refutation of theories of primitive promiscuity, and to prove the doctrine that patriarchal marriage has always existed. But these more or less continuous associations to which the name of marriage has been given do not constitute the ordinary sex relations of those communities, and are not founded upon them. Thus, for example, in Hawaii and in the Society Islands marriage was confined to a small portion of the population. "There existed," we are told, "a union something like marriage among them, but this seems to have been confined almost wholly to higher class chiefs." Or again in the Line Islands marriage was merely a juridic device for the acquisition and transmission of private property, this being vested in the females and therefore only transmissible by a man to his son by marriage. But the landed class among whom that juridic device was adopted constituted only an infinitesimal portion of the population. The vast majority of the people did not marry at all, but simply cohabited irregularly. In the Island of Futuna similarly, marriages are contracted with some pomp and ceremony by the aristocratic class. Before the introduction of Christianity, the practice was extremely rare, the majority of the people did not marry, but contracted loose unions "which followed one another in disorder." The natives of the islands of Pagh, off the southern coast of Sumatra, were frequently cited as an example of people who had

no marriage. Further investigation has disclosed the fact that a form of sexual association is sometimes to be found among them, but it is only contracted by men in advanced life who wish to provide a home for their old age. "Marriage plays a far less important part in their social customs than free love." The same state of things is general throughout Micronesia and among the more primitive populations of the Malay archipelago. Thus, in the Caroline Islands, we are told, it is not until a man has bidden farewell to youthful passions that he makes up his mind to enter the married state. The Alfurs of Ceram think of marrying only when age is beginning to make itself felt and they are tired of promiscuous love. The Andamanese were formerly reported to live promiscuously. But it has been discovered that individual associations do take place amongst them; they are, however, not entered into until very late in life, and after the men have retired from a career of free love.

A large and fiercely controversial literature exists concerning the marriage institutions of the Australian aborigines, and the question is debated whether the promiscuous relations which exist between associated clans or marriage-classes represent the original sexual organisation of the aborigines, or whether that sexual organisation is represented by individual marriage. But the controversy appears to lose much of its significance when it is noted that individual marriage is, after all, confined to the old men. Scarcely anywhere, we are repeatedly told, is a married man to be met with younger than thirty, and it is rare to find one under forty. In some tribes a man is absolutely forbidden, even on pain of death, to marry before thirty. Sexual life begins, with savages, incredibly early and decay takes place at a correspondingly early age. A man of thirty is, in uncultured races, past his prime, and a man of forty or fifty is an old man. Yet those individual associations which have been cited in mitigation of promiscuity and as representing more truly the sexual organisation of lower cultures are commonly confined to men whose sexual life may be said, in the conditions of savage life, to be

probably
never true

over. They are institutions of advanced age and do not in any sense represent the sexual life of the people.

The same may be said of a large number of races in the lower phases of culture. Thus in the Solomon Islands most men formerly married in late life, and many remained unmarried. In Fiji, youths of princely families contracted alliances lasting a few days or weeks which were officially treated as marriages; but the common people only married in advanced life. In the central parts of New Guinea the men show no eagerness to marry; they do so in advanced age only. According to an early missionary the natives of Formosa seldom married before the age of fifty. In many parts of the Malay Archipelago it is by no means unusual for the bride and bridegroom to be grey-haired, and many men remain unmarried. The Nagas, the Kochs, the Bodos, the Dhimal of the Bengal hills never marry until they have retired from all active pursuits. Among the Badags of the Nilgiri Hills the men settle down to a durable union only after age and infirmity have made their mark. Among all the Dravidian races of India, according to Mr. Crooke, the freedom of sexual relations outside marriage enables the men "to avoid marriage till they are advanced in life and desire to found a home for their old age." The same was the rule throughout North America. The usual marriage age was from twenty-five to thirty, and there were many old bachelors of forty or fifty. Similar habits were universal in South America. Of the Indians of the Gran Chaco, for instance, we are told that "they marry when they are very aged, after having lived according to their fancy in freedom, and when they are tired of their wickedness." Among the Patagonians the majority of the men never marry.

Among many peoples in the lower cultures marriage is, it is true, said to take place very early, indeed as soon as puberty is reached. But these associations are as a rule so transient and unstable that it is often difficult to distinguish them from casual sexual relations, and that transiency is proportional to the youth of the participants. Thus, for example, the Sa-

kal of the forests of Malaya have, like the Veddahs of Ceylon and other forest tribes, been cited for their monogamy and the regularity of their sexual relations. They 'marry' as a rule as soon as puberty is attained. But the 'marriage' is quite frequently dissolved only a few days or weeks later by the separation of the partners and their association with new ones. Even after children have been born, they commonly separate without any quarrel, exchanging the best wishes for their future happiness, and on the very same day, the young woman, who takes the children with her, is settled in a new home with a new husband. It is nothing rare among the forest tribes of Malaya to meet young men who have been married forty or fifty times. In the Nicobar Islands marriage, says Mr. Bodenloss, "is merely a variation of the Malayan custom of nocturnal visiting," and "it is sometimes a fine point to decide whether the parties are married or not." Among the natives of Minabassa, the state of sexual relations "is practically one of free love; a man may leave his wife without any better reason than that he has placed his heart on another woman." Among the Ainu, as formerly among the Japanese themselves, there was no clear distinction in language or in usage between transient liaisons and more durable forms of union; their marriages are "very little more than a conventional union binding for so long only as suited the mutual convenience of the spouses." Among the Chukchi, Mr. Bogoras came upon a man who had been married ten times in three years. Equally frequent changes of partner are the rule among the Samoyeds. Among the Tungus, a man sends his wife back to her people whenever he is tired of her; this frequently happens during the 'honeymoon.' Among the Aleuts "marriage in the European conception of the term, can hardly be said to exist." Throughout Central Asia a man, whenever fancy dictates, "turns his wife out of doors, and takes another"; marriages are contracted for months, weeks, or days, and a woman of thirty who has not had several husbands is an exception. Among the Chevsurs few people are to be met that have not been married more than ten times.

Among the Gonds it is difficult to say what is and what is not marriage. Among the Aes "a man separates from his wife whenever he gets tired of her." The laxity of marriage bonds and the frequency of changes of partners amongst the Khasis are such, says Sir Henry Yule, "that their unions can hardly be honoured with the name of marriage." Among the Paliyans of Southern India "the laws of marriage are so loose that true marriage can hardly be said to exist." The Badagas of the Nilgiri Hills "changed husbands or wives as fancy dictated"; the same people would often come together a second time. Nothing can be said about their marriages, says a missionary, "because they can scarcely be said to have any." The Irulas "have no marriage contract; the sexes cohabit almost indiscriminately, the option of remaining in union or of separating resting principally with the females."

Among the Bushmen "any disagreement was sufficient to cause the separation of the man and the woman, when new connections could immediately be found for both." "Marriages and the bonds of the family, among the Bushmen," says another writer, "are as good as non-existent." Among the Damaras, says Sir Francis Galton, "the spouse was changed almost weekly, and I seldom knew without enquiry who the 'pro tempore' husband of each lady was at any particular time." Among the Marotse, according to M. Lopes, marriage hardly exists; a man and woman unite one day and live together as long as they like, and separate even more easily than they united. Another authority says the same thing, and describes the sexual relations as being no other than a complete state of free love. Among the Baila "women are huddled about from man to man, and of their own accord leave one husband for another. Young women scarcely out of their teens often have had four or five husbands, all still living." Among the Wadshagga the women leave their sexual partners whenever they please and take another man; it is not unusual for a young woman to have had ten husbands. In some parts of Guinea the changes of partners are so frequent that it is not uncommon for the children to be un-

acquainted with their fathers. Among the Basaka changes of partners are constantly taking place.

Easy and unceremonious changes of partners are "the usual custom among the Eskimo generally"; "a man seldom keeps a wife a number of years." On the east coast of Greenland it is quite common for a boy to have been 'married' three or four times before he has attained the age of puberty. The casual and loose nature of the relation which is spoken of as marriage among the Amerind tribes is frequently commented on. It was the custom with all the tribes for a man, when he went out on a prolonged hunting expedition, to arrange for a young woman to accompany him, both for the sake of sexual companionship, and also to assist him with the carrying, cooking, and preparation of the products of the hunt, work which belonged to the sphere of the women. The woman received, of course, a liberal share of the profits, and the whole transaction was on a business footing of mutual advantage. At the end of the expedition the temporary association terminated without obligations on either side. Similarly, young men, who had perhaps no female relatives free to look after them, would engage some young woman to perform the duties of a wife. Thus among the Hurons, "Many of the young men, instead of marrying, keep *'des filles à pot et à feu,'* and they live together as they please without this in any way preventing the young man or the young woman from freely visiting now and again their other mistresses or lovers, for such is the custom of the country." In fact, as the Rev. D. Jones puts it, "the women are purchased by the night, week, month, or winter." The relation spoken of as 'marriage' among the Indians, was commonly not much more durable or stable than those associations. "The Delawares and Iroquois," says Leskiel, "have seldom marriages of long continuance, especially if there are no children soon. There are happy and contented couples who live together peaceably and long, but they are the exception. There is no very strong tie between the married people in general, not even the oldest. The family connections of Indians are commonly

very extensive on account of their frequently changing wives." The Cherokee Iroquois "commonly change wives three or four times a year." "A large portion of the old and middle-aged men," says Schoolcraft, "have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them. Few women have more than two children by the same father." "Marriage is accounted only a temporary convenience." Separation takes place without any formality. "These savages are not even able to imagine that there could be any difficulty about the matter." They "laugh at Europeans for having only one wife, and that for life; as they consider that the Good Spirit formed them to be happy, and not to continue together unless their tempers and dispositions were congenial." The transient and unstable character of the 'marriages' of the Indians is the constant theme of lamentations on the part of the early missionaries. And indeed, as will be seen, La Hontan was scarcely exaggerating when stating that "what is spoken of as 'marriage' amongst the North American Indians would, in Europe, be spoken of as a criminal connection." Of the Oregon tribes we are told, "the marriage tie, if it can be so called, has no force"; of the Seminoles, "marriage among those Indians seems to be but the natural mating of the sexes, to cease at the option of the interested parties." Of the Athapascan tribes, Father Morice says: "Marriage in the Christian sense of the term is rather a misnomer when intended to designate native unions such as were contracted before the arrival of the missionaries. Cohabitation would be better to the purpose."

The marriage habits of the natives of Southern America are in general very similar to those noted in regard to the North American Indians. Thus, in speaking of the Botocudos, Mr. Kean remarks that rather than describe their unions as marriages "it would be more correct to say that there are no regular alliances at all, as understood in properly constituted societies. Their unions formed mainly for convenience and the preservation of the tribe, are all of a purely

temporary nature, contracted without formality of any sort, dissolved on the slightest pretext, or without any pretext, merely through love of change or caprice." Among the Coroados a common ground for changes of partner is a difference in culinary tastes. The Guaycurus "can scarcely be said to have any marriage. The husband separates from the wife, and the wife from the husband without fear of any dispute, and they accommodate themselves with another partner according to their inclination." Indeed, "the women, among the Guaycurus and the Guanas, may without any exaggeration be said to be common to all the men, and all the men their common husbands. There are few men who have not had three or four wives in the course of five years, and many have had a much larger number in that space of time. The women, in addition, more especially the nobler ones, have one or two lovers who are day and night at their side. The husbands do the same with other women." Their lives are a quick succession of marriages, separations, and remarriages, in the course of which everyone mates with everyone else, and the same couples come together several times. The associations of the Guarani "were not, properly speaking, marriages, but merely concubinage." Among the Fugians marriage unions are equally unstable. "They join or separate according to the caprice or the interest of the moment." In Hawaii "the tie, whatever name we may give it, was at all times extremely loose; in general, everyone's wishes were gratified without any restraint proceeding from the fear of the consequences of jealousy." Much the same description applies to Samoa. "The marriage tie was observed so long as it suited the wish and disposition of either party." Formal marriage was almost entirely confined to chiefs, and a chief sent away his wife whenever he got tired of her. Similar conditions obtained in Tahiti. In New Zealand, "the marriage tie was loose, and the husband could dismiss the wife on any occasion." In the Marshall Islands if a man and a woman live together they are regarded as married, and there is no distinction in their language between marriage

and concubinage. Separation and changes of partner are unrestricted and frequent. A young man of twenty-four may have been married eleven times. In New Ireland, says Mr. Kanké, "I have been told by the natives themselves that there is no marriage or giving in marriage. The woman just follows her own sweet will and lives with one man after another." Among the aborigines of Victoria the "numberless choppings and changes make it almost impossible to tell the true paternity of the children."

In our own societies marriage is regarded, in theory at least, as representing the only form of sexual relation for men and women, all other sex relations being condemned as illicit. But nowhere in the lower stages of culture is marriage so regarded. Whatever its purpose it is not looked upon as the sole avenue to sexual relations, and its purpose cannot therefore be accounted the regulation of those relations. In all uncultured societies where advanced proprietary and retrospective claims have not developed, girls and women who are not married are under no restriction as regards their sexual relations, and are held to be entirely free to dispose of themselves in that respect. To that rule there does not exist any authenticated exception. Elaborate attempts have been made, notably by Professor Westermarck, to show that pre-nuptial chastity is required among some peoples in low stages of culture. In my larger work I have examined in detail most of the examples adduced by him in support of that thesis, and I have shown that there is not one that will bear investigation and is in accordance with available information. It will here suffice to give one or two instances of the manner in which erroneous impressions on the subject may be conveyed.

Referring in his work on 'The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas' to the examples cited by him in his book on the history of marriage, Professor Westermarck says: "I have given a list of numerous savage and barbarous peoples among whom unchastity before marriage is looked upon as a disgrace or a crime for a woman, sometimes punishable

with banishment from the community or even with death; and it is noteworthy that to this group of peoples belong savages of so low a type as the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Igorrotes of Luzon, and certain Australian tribes." We will take as examples the instances which Dr. Westermarck himself has singled out.

The Veddahs of Ceylon, whose intimate life and customs are very imperfectly known, have long been the favourite example cited in support of the existence among savages of ideas of sexual morality similar to those current in European tradition. That distinction has been mainly owing to the report that, unlike the majority of savages, the Veddahs are monogamous and that their marriages are indissoluble. The monogamy of the Veddahs is the result of poverty and is neither invariable nor indissoluble. There are, on the contrary, the most definite testimonies derived from the Veddahs themselves, and investigated by Captain Lamprey, that a Veddah "if he did not like his wife, could send her back at any time." This is confirmed by other reports that the men change wives whenever they please, even a day or two after they have taken one. Moreover widows, no matter how young, enjoy recognised sexual liberty, and are in their relations common to all the men. It would seem to follow that, since the claims of a sexual partner are the only recognised restriction on the sexual freedom of the women, those restrictions do not apply before marriage. Veddah girls invariably marry, however, at the first appearance of puberty, that is, when they are eleven or twelve years of age. Since then there is with them no prenuptial state, it is manifestly difficult to prove the existence of either prenuptial liberty or prenuptial chastity. Dr. Westermarck's assertion that "the strict morality which characterises the Veddahs of Ceylon extends to unmarried girls," would thus seem to be merely misleading. Mr. Gillings, who was secretary of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, says that "adultery and polygamy are still common among them." Sir J. E. Tennent says the same thing, and

says that the Veddahs are characterised by "extreme indifference to morals." The Singhalese affirm that before the Veddahs fell into their present state of cowed degradation, they constantly made raids on their neighbours for the purpose of capturing and of violating young girls.

The second instance selected by Dr. Westermarck refers to the Igorot of Botoc in the Island of Luzon. Owing to their fierce hostility they had not until recently been approached by Europeans, and concerning their habits nothing but vague hearsays were available. Professor Blumentritt gave extracts from a local pamphlet written by a certain Don Mas. Dr. Westermarck quotes him as follows:—"As soon as the children attain puberty, both boys and girls are completely isolated. In each village are two large houses; the maidens spend the night in one of them and the boys in the other. With the latter an old man, and with the former an old woman, act as overseers and take care that no one shall slip in or out of the houses during the night." The remainder of the account, which is not quoted by Dr. Westermarck, is no less interesting. Don Mas informs us that so strict is the chastity enforced on Igorot girls that, being unable to control their passions, they are in the habit of going into the woods and of having connection with monkeys. Since the American occupation of the Philippines, the Igorot about whom nothing but such information was available, have been made the subject of an exhaustive study and monograph by Dr. A. Jenks of the Bureau of Ethnology. The work, which is frequently quoted by Dr. Westermarck, is one of the recognised classics of ethnological research and one of the most scientific studies of any savage tribe. Referring to the above cited passage, Dr. Jenks writes: "There is no such institution in Igorot society. The purpose of the 'olag,' or 'girls' house,' is as far from enforcing chastity as can well be. The old women never frequent the 'olag.' The 'olag,' an institution general in that region, is a place where the Igorots put their daughters as soon as they attain puberty. There they have complete freedom to receive the visits of

boys and young men, and married men also frequently visit the 'olag.' Boys, says Dr. Jenks, habitually visit these houses and spend the night having intercourse with several girls. The girls themselves solicit both boys and married men. There is among the Igoet, continues Dr. Jenks, no conception of modesty. "There is no such thing as virtue, in our sense of the word, among the young people after puberty."

Allegations concerning pre-nuptial chastity, or any form of chastity, among the Australian aborigines are not worth serious discussion. "Chastity as a virtue," says Mr. Woods, "is absolutely unknown among all the tribes of which there are records." Professor Gerland, after a wide collation of the available evidence concludes with considered moderation "chastity is not demanded either of girls or of widows, for it is not regarded as a virtue and the young people are therefore wholly unrestrained."

Since sexual relations within the prescribed limits of marriage-classes are much more free before than after marriage, it is manifest that the primary purpose of that institution cannot have been the satisfaction of those impulses. Of the Argama Nagas it is stated that "chastity begins with marriage," and among the tribes of Upper Burma "it is claimed that unchastity after marriage does not exist owing to their freedom of experiment before marriage." These remarks apply to the majority of uncultured peoples. As Dr. Starcke observes, "If marriage were decided by sexual relations, it would be difficult to understand for what reasons marriages were contracted in those communities in which altogether licentious life is permitted to the unmarried."

It has been supposed that, although the sexual life of men and women in lower phases of culture is not represented by the association of marriage, that association tends to become established by the birth of children. The statement of Professor Westermarck has been widely quoted that "marriage is rooted in the family rather than the family in marriage." It is true that in a large number of cultures, not

only in the lower, but also in advanced social phases, the relation between man and wife is not regarded as having become established until a child is born to them. And indeed in most social phases, as among the ancient Jews, the sterility of a marriage is held to annul the union or to afford grounds for divorce. But the theory of Dr. Westermarck, which rests upon the patriarchal hypothesis that human social groups had their origin in a patriarchally constituted family, is irreconcilable with the facts which render that hypothesis untenable. Where marriage is matrilocal, the husband is neither the natural provider nor the protector of the wife and children. Those functions are fulfilled by the mother's brothers. It has been seen that these conditions are extremely general and widespread and that there are grounds which compel us to conclude that they obtain universally in the earlier stages of social development. The argument from the needs of protection and economic support on the part of the father have therefore no force.

The supposition that patriarchal marriage becomes established by the birth of children is in fact based upon a misinterpretation of the facts adduced to support it. While individual marriages, or what corresponds to it, is frequently held to consist in the production of children, and sexual associations may in many instances be rendered more permanent after the birth of children, the relation established is not at all one implying permanency of association or even cohabitation. Marriage unions in primitive societies are frequently as transient after as before the birth of children, and sometimes that event, instead of consolidating the association, is the very cause of its dissolution. Among the Iroquois and the Delawares "sometimes an Indian forsakes his wife because she has a child to suckle, and marries another, whom he forsakes in her turn for the same reason. The women also forsake the men after they have received many presents and knowing they have no more to expect. They then marry another from whom they may expect more." Separation, after the birth of children, was the rule among all North American

Indians, who had children scattered around the country, and unknown to them. "Few women have more than two children by the same father." Among the Senecas, among the Pueblos, a woman, when she was tired of her husband, simply bundled him out of the house, or made a parcel of his belongings and put it outside the door, whether there were children or not. Among the Zouli, "divorce, if it can be so called, for it is nothing more than a separation, is as easy as marriage, more facile in fact. Most men and most women of middle age have been married to several partners. Even people of mature age change. The majority of the Zouli have half-brothers and half-sisters scattered through the town." The Indians of California, "when their wife was pregnant or had given birth, changed their residence without taking leave, and married another woman." Among the Idené, "suppose a child had been born to them, divorce was more difficult, but by no means impossible." Of the Guarani of Brazil, an old report states that "their marriages, if one may so call them, have no stability. A husband leaves his wife when he chooses; hence they have children in almost every village. They will stay in one a couple of years, then go to another and re-marry." Among the Payaguas of Paraguay, if the wife thinks she has any cause of offence, she packs up the tent in the canoe, and goes off, followed by the children, leaving their father with what he stands in. Among the Ainu of Japan, children "do not necessitate a more permanent union." Among the natives of northern Papua, separation constantly takes place soon after the first child has been born. Among the Australian aborigines, the women are constantly being repudiated and sent back to their families, or given to the younger men; this happens if anything more frequently after they have borne a family.

The relation established by the birth of offspring has reference, not to the fact that any new group or association is constituted, but that the husband becomes, by virtue of the circumstance that he is the father of a member of the mother's family, related to that family. He becomes in fact, known

as the 'father of the woman's child.' Thus, speaking of the Cree Indians in particular, Sir E. Tylor remarks: "Among these Indians the young husband coming to live with his wife's parents, must turn his back on them, not speaking to them, especially his mother-in-law, being treated thus as a stranger till his first child is born, whereupon he takes its name, and is called 'father of so-and-so,' and henceforth is attached thereby to his parents-in-law rather than to his own parents. That is to say, he is ceremoniously treated as a stranger till his child, being born a member of the family, gives him a status as father of a member of the family." Similarly among the Zubi, before the birth of a child, the parents neither address one another nor are referred to as 'husband' or 'wife,' and the husband is, as we have seen, not in any way recognised as a relative of the family; but after a child is born he is thereafter called 'his father. Among the Patagonians, "when a child is named, the father drops his former name and substitutes that of the child, so that the father receives his name from the child and not the child from the father." These usages are very widespread. They are found to be observed more especially among people who have preserved a matriarchal organisation, but have subsisted among many who have long since adopted patriarchal usages. The birth of a child, or of several children, establishes a permanent relation of kinship between the father and the mother's family; in other words the fact of fatherhood is unalterable. But it nowise establishes either a permanent social relation or a cohabitation constituting a new group. Fatherhood, in the lower stages of human society does not found a family; motherhood alone does.

Marriage, which in the tradition of Western culture is thought of as representing the sexual organisation of society and as leading to the foundation of a family, does not in the lower phases of culture represent either of those social relations. It does not represent the sexual relations of those societies, for they are far more extensive outside than within marriage. Extra-marital sexual relations are not, as in

Western tradition, accounted illicit. Marriage is not intended for the purpose of regulating them. It is a separate relation and institution having different purposes. The origin of the institution is in no way connected with the mode of operation of the sexual 'instincts,' and no argument can draw any inferences from that institution to those instincts. Sexual tabus and regulations are in every instance social institutions and cannot therefore serve as a basis for generalisations as to the operation of natural dispositions. Even the rule of exogamy is not the direct expression of biological behaviour—if it were, it would be a biological as well as a social law—but a consolidated social tabu. It was probably the earliest to become established, and for a long time the only restrictive regulation bearing upon sexual organisation. And there is ample evidence in every part of the uncultured world that, outside the group of tabu clan-relatives, no sexual restrictions obtained throughout earlier social phases.

There is no more connection in primitive social relations between marriage and propagation than between marriage and sexual relations. The children which a woman bears are not members of the social group to which the father belongs, but of that to which the mother belongs; they do not grow into a separate family, but constitute the increase of her clan. Marriage is no more grounded in that multiplication of the clan than in a patriarchal family which is not formed thereby. No minor or superficial facts drawn from the study of any existing uncultured society, not being biologically primitive, can invalidate the prior fundamental facts which characterise all those uncultured social organisations where patrilocal and patriarchal institutions have not become fully developed. Neither is their sexual organisation founded upon marriage, nor is their social organisation founded on the family.

CHAPTER IX

PATRIARCHAL MARRIAGE

For the elucidation of the original purpose of marriage we must turn from speculations and interpretations inspired by the traditions of Western culture to the testimony of uncultured peoples. That purpose, as it presents itself to them, could not be more clearly and accurately stated than it is by the Australian aborigines when they are asked why, in their declining years, they are anxious to possess a wife. The answer is invariably: "In order that she may fetch wood and water and prepare food." By the Australian black, marriage "is regarded chiefly in the light of an association contributing to his wants."

The matrimonial alliances of aristocratic families in feudal Europe, which were based on considerations of social and economic interest, those 'marriages de convenance' in which mutual attraction and even the ordinary suitability of the partners in regard to age or appearance were excluded from consideration as irrelevant, have been denounced as profanations of the purpose of marriage and as setting aside the motives which should be the foundation of the union. But the same principles that governed those alliances determined the marriages of the even more barbaric heathen predecessors of mediæval Europeans, and they govern the marriage institutions of the most primitive and uncultured societies which we know. An answer similar to that given by the Australian aborigines is returned by most uncultured peoples. Thus in Papua "a woman is acquired in the first place as a worker, and only incidentally as a wife." The natives, we are told, are indifferent to the sexual conduct of their wives provided

that they are not deprived of their labour. In the island of Rook "interest is the only motive of marriage; the wife hopes that her husband with his hunting and fishing will give her all in abundance; the husband on the other hand expects to find everything well prepared when he returns to his hut. If the woman does not know how to provide what pleases his taste he sends her back." In the Fclow Islands "marriage is a matter of business; love is left to youth." In the Loyalty Islands the choice of a wife is chiefly determined by her skill as a gardener. A Singhalese on being lectured on the sacredness of the marriage bond and the wickedness of divorce, asked what then he should do in the event of his marrying a woman who, it turned out, was unskilled in cultivating rice. In the Ao tribe of the Naga hills they have a seemingly strange, but significant courting custom. If a marriage is arranged between a couple, they, before concluding the alliance, start on a trading expedition together for twenty days. If the commercial venture turns out profitable, the marriage is proceeded with. Should, however, the balance-sheet at the end of the season not show a satisfactory credit and the financial results of the provisional partnership not justify its continuance, the match is at once broken off. Among the natives of the Tanganyika Territory marriage "is regarded entirely as a prosaic and material step in which sentiment can be allowed no part. The dusky youth who has acquired the wherewithal to purchase a wife, or who can prevail upon his parents to give him the necessary bride-price, is keen to resign bachelorhood for the simple reason that marriage is for him the foundation of economic prosperity, not because the comely Hadidja or the buxom Fatuma has aroused in his breast passions which no other maiden has been able to call forth." It is "entirely an economic affair." Among the Banyoro "marriages are seldom, if ever, the outcome of love, but are entered into for utilitarian and economic reasons"; and among the Bahima "there is no question of love." Among the Bagru "a man seeks to find a woman who is strong and able to work." Among the Akamba, youths, as elsewhere in Africa, have

mistresses, and may marry one of them; but "with his practical disposition the native looks carefully to see that he gets an industrious wife. If the one he chooses is lazy, he continues his connection with her as long as it amuses him, but he marries someone else." A Batoro native once surprised a missionary by coming to him and prostrating himself on the ground, pouring forth effusive thanks for the beautiful potatoes, bananas and beans which he had given him. The perplexed clergyman, who had no recollection of ever having supplied the negro with vegetables of any sort, at last discovered that the man's gratitude was occasioned by his having married a girl from the mission, who had turned out to be a most industrious and successful market-gardener. At the present day economic conditions in Uganda, as in many other parts of Africa, have entirely changed. There is great demand for native labour, and the men earn good wages in factories and on Government contracts. They no longer depend on household production and on the cultivation of the fields by the women. The result is that, although they are much wealthier, there is a tendency to avoid marriage, which is becoming so pronounced as to cause serious concern to the missionaries and the authorities. Marriage has fallen into disuse not because the men cannot afford it, but, on the contrary, because they can afford to do without it. The economic motive for individual marriage having disappeared there is no other left; they therefore no longer desire to marry.

Marriage, which in most uncultured social phases does not constitute the chief form of sex relations and which is not called for by the offspring's need for paternal care or protection, is regarded almost exclusively in the light of economic considerations. Throughout the greater part of its historical development the institution and the various changes which it has undergone have been likewise conditioned by economic causes.

In the matrilineal form of marriage the husband is expected to contribute by the product of his hunting and by personal service to the economic needs of his wife's family. All mat-

rilocal marriage is 'marriage by service,' and the evidence is, I believe, conclusive that this has everywhere been the most ancient form of individual marriage relation. The most primitive hunter, except in those societies where, as in Australia and in Melanesia, male dominance has in course of time become established, obtains access to his wife by 'serving' for her. He either remains a stranger and a visitor, or becomes adopted into his wife's group, fighting on the side of her relatives and supplying them with the products of his hunting. He may remain under the authority of his wife's mother, or brother, or maternal uncle as long as they live, or he may, when his family increases, set up a household of his own, not, however, removing his wife from the midst of her people. His 'service' may, in more advanced stages, be reduced to a longer or shorter period of probation, after which he may be allowed greater independence, the relatives of his wife continuing, however, to exercise considerable claims over her and her husband. Marriage by service may in this form persist where the custom of acquiring a wife by the payment of a bride-price has come into more or less general use. It is clear in such cases that the usage of matrilineal service is the older and original one, and that the payment of a bride-price has come into use as a commutation of such service. For wherever the two usages exist conjointly in the same community, matrilineal marriage is either known to have formerly been the general practice, or is definitely preferred and demanded by the family of the woman, or required in the form of a period of probation, whether or not a payment is made for the right to remove the wife to her husband's home.

It was supposed by many of the older anthropologists that the earliest mode of obtaining wives was by capturing them from neighbouring tribes. The hypothesis owed its interest to its affording an explanation of the universal custom of exogamy. It would also bring about patrilineal marriage and complete masculine supremacy. But the general prevalence of matrilineal marriage and the evidence showing that it has everywhere preceded the removal of wives to their husbands'

homes are irreconcilable with that hypothesis. And in fact, although the capture of women in the course of warfare and raids is known to have occurred amongst the great majority of peoples, women so captured are usually distinguished from regular wives and are treated differently. Notwithstanding the wide prevalence of such violence, there exists no authentic example of this having been the general and habitual mode of obtaining wives.

A somewhat different order of practices was included under the term 'marriage by capture,' namely, the abduction of individual women, not as an incident in warfare or raids, but as an isolated act of violence directly intended to obtain possession of the particular woman. Such abductions, again, fall into three classes. Some are instances of forcible capture of women against their will; in others the abduction is concerted with the woman, and the act is therefore an elopement rather than a capture; in other instances the whole proceeding is more or less fictitious and the violence is simulated, both the woman and her relatives, or sometimes the latter only, being parties to the transaction. It is chiefly the wide prevalence of those usages of simulated, or ritual, capture which suggested the theory that they represented the once general mode of obtaining wives. Such customs are in fact very common in all parts of the world where patrilocal marriage is the usual practice. Thus, for example, among the Wataita and Wadshaga, after the financial arrangements for the acquisition of the woman have been completed, the bride is seized and brought away by her husband and a party of four friends, who carry her by the legs and arms, squirming and shrieking, while a jeering crowd of girls follows the procession. In like manner, among the Warangi it is customary for the suitor with the assistance of his friends and relatives, to carry away a girl, who is more or less a consenting party. Her father sends in due course some of his relatives to negotiate a settlement, the bride-price is paid, and the wedding is festively celebrated by the two families. In Africa, as elsewhere, resentment is exhibited by the bride's rela-

tives over an 'elopement,' that is, when a marriage takes place without the bride-price having been previously paid. The matter is, of course, amicably settled as soon as the payment is forthcoming. In the vast majority of such cases of 'marriage by capture,' or more properly elopement, the procedure is plainly a means of securing better terms from her family, by bargaining from the point of vantage of a 'fait accompli.' While in some cases where the payment of a bride-price is the regular custom, the suitor who is too poor to afford the price asked or does not in other respects satisfy the requirements of the woman's relatives, may proceed to secure her as a preliminary to negotiations; in other instances, as with the Kurnai of Australia or some East African tribes, the elopement or capture of the woman is the regular preliminary to such bargaining, and the bride-price has therefore the character of a compensation for the already effected removal of the bride. Or again, the whole procedure is carried out with the full consent of all the parties concerned and after the bride-price or any other consideration has already been agreed upon or paid. The violence has, therefore, in such cases, a purely formal, ceremonial, or ritual character, and the usage, which in other instances has a very real practical object, and is a matter of keen business with an eye to the main chance, thus merges by almost imperceptible degrees into those widely prevalent wedding rites of ceremonial capture or resistance which form a common feature of marriage usages.

That ceremonial violence and the simulated abduction of the bride from the midst of resisting relatives are so common in every part of the world that if they are to be interpreted as survivals of a time when wives were habitually obtained by forcible capture, the practice would have to be regarded as having once been very general. Mock fights between the relatives of the bride and those of the bridegroom, the former pretending to prevent her removal from her parental home, and the latter endeavouring to secure her by force, are of almost universal prevalence. They are found in Australia, in Melanesia, in New Guinea, in Polynesia, in Indonesia, in

India and other parts of Asia, and in Africa. Those fictitious combats at weddings are even more conspicuous in the higher than in the lower phases of culture, and are a feature of wedding customs among the country people in every part of Europe.

What is perhaps the strongest ground for regarding ceremonial shows of violence or of resistance as reminiscences of forcible capture is the inadequacy and implausibility of the alternative interpretations that have been offered. It is frequently sought to interpret these usages as conventional displays of modesty or coyness on the part of the bride or of her friends. Thus, when among the Eskimo of Greenland a man removes his bride to his own home, it is etiquette for her to offer the most violent resistance, and for the man to catch her by the hair or anything else that offers a hold, and drag her, screaming and struggling, to his dwelling. We are told that this is "lest she should lose her reputation for modesty." But one cannot readily believe that the conventional violence is necessitated by her prudery, real or formal, for "it would be difficult to find a people more cynical and more devoid of shame." When it is remembered that matrilocal marriage is the general rule amongst the Eskimo, the breach of that immemorial usage of the race is quite sufficient to account for the beseeingness of a protest and of a pretence of yielding only to forcible compulsion, without postulating delicate ideas of modesty, of which the Eskimo have no conception. Or again, amongst the Kamchadals, who attach great importance to the severity of the tests imposed upon the bridegroom during his probationary period of service, he is obliged, in order to establish finally his right to the bride, to undress her and touch her vulva in spite of every obstacle placed in the way of his doing so. The woman is dressed for the occasion in many layers of leather gowns and pantaloons securely sewn on her and made fast by a multitude of straps, so that she looks "like a stuffed figure"; she is, moreover, carefully guarded, and any attempt on the bridegroom's part is violently resisted by the elderly females of the family. The suggestion

that the procedure is inspired by a desire to make a display of the chastity and modesty of the bride can scarcely be reconciled with the fact that the Kamchadal bridegroom has a right to reproach the bride's mother for her negligence should he happen to find his bride still a virgin, or with the circumstance that the ceremony is performed after the man and woman have cohabited as man and wife for four or five years. Nor is it easy to ascribe a concern for making even an hypocritical show of modesty to the young women of Tuhiti, who see nothing unbecoming in copulating in public, but yet consider it their duty to scratch, strike, and struggle on their wedding night.

It has also been suggested that displays of pretended violence at wedding ceremonies have a magical purpose, and are intended to avert the envy and malice of evil spirits. I am far from being disposed to underrate the part played by such magical purposes in primitive customs. It is, indeed, so general that almost every act and procedure amongst uncultured peoples contains provisions to secure 'good luck' and avert 'bad luck'; and it is more than probable that such intentions are frequently present as accretions in the observance of traditional usages, like the violence displayed in wedding rites, of which the original motive has been forgotten. But it would be a coincidence calling for conclusive explanation that the desire to avert the malice of spirits or ghosts should among so many peoples have taken the form of a simulated conflict between the families of the bride and bridegroom. Still less is it intelligible that the necessity for such magical safeguards should cease as soon as the due compensation has been paid. Quite commonly genuine abduction without any pretence whatever occurs among the same people side by side with fictitious and purely ceremonial sham-fights. The rejected Tartar suitor captures his reluctant bride in deadly earnest; while at the same time an ostentatious display of violence and resistance on the part of the two families and their friends is a regular feature of Tartar weddings when the transaction is the consummation of the most friendly agreement between

them. Similarly, in the island of Bali, off the eastern extremity of Java, elopement with violence is quite common, while ritual and simulated violence are also regular features of marriages following upon the most peaceful contracts. A young man may elope with a young woman, or even seize her forcibly against her will, and carry her off and hide with some relatives; the girl's relatives, of course, pursue armed to the teeth until negotiations are opened and the bride-price settled. The forcible seizure of the bride, on the other hand, takes place in much the same way, after the whole matter has been already duly settled between the two families. If that fictitious violence is to be regarded as a superstitious measure intended to placate malignant spirits, we should be compelled to look upon every instance in which a man runs away with a woman as an exercise in the practice of the magic art. Among the Banyero of East Africa there is no mimic fight or simulated violence in the customary wedding usages; but the traditional procedure includes precautions against such violence. The people belonging to the bridegroom's family, who are sent to carry the bride home, are not allowed to approach the house until formal permission has been given to them by the bride's father. When, in a later stage of the proceedings, the two parties, the bride's and the bridegroom's, met near the latter's home, the friends of the bridegroom stopped the other party and politely requested them to give up all their weapons, and the ceremony could not be completed until they were thus disarmed. If simulated violence be supposed to avert the wrath of evil spirits, it is difficult to see how precautions against the occurrence of such violence can effect the same purpose.

Compared with those vague and plainly defective interpretations, the definite and direct explanation that simulated opposition to the removal of the bride from her parental home, simulated elopement, simulated violence in effecting that removal, have reference to a stage in which such opposition, such abduction, and such violence were real, is immeasurably more satisfactory, and is equally applicable

to all forms and varieties of those all but universal usages. The only objection to the latter interpretation is that there is no evidence that forcible capture ever was the usual and normal mode of obtaining wives among any people, and that it is quite inconceivable that it could ever have been so. But that fatal objection to the interpretation of those customs as indications of a former practice of capturing wives, does not apply when the forcible removal of the woman from her home is regarded as referring not to violent rape in the course of a hostile raid, but to her removal by her lawful and acknowledged husband to his own home, in contravention of the immemorial primitive usage that she should never leave her own family and parental abode, and that the husband should take up his residence there and remain under the jurisdiction of his wife's people. The show of resentment, the opposition to the removal of the bride, are quite unintelligible as mere commemorations of former raids or acts of hostility; if, however, the ground of resentment and opposition is not the forcible marriage in itself, but the removal of the bride to the husband's tribe or home, there are very good reasons why the pretence should be persisted in long after it has ceased to be real. It has, for one thing, a very concrete and practical purpose, namely, the obtaining of due compensation—in other words, the payment of the bead-money which is the price of the sanction of the woman's relatives to the breach of the older usage and their ancient claim. Whenever elopement takes place, that is to say, removal of the woman before payment of the bride-price, the usual course is for the woman's relatives to take the first opportunity of manifesting their indignation until the matter is amicably settled by the payment of the required compensation. That payment invariably puts an end to all ceremonial violence, resistance, and resentment. In West Africa, among the Futa, the assembled relatives guard the bride's door "to prevent her being carried away. At last, by the bridegroom's presents and generosity, their grief is assuaged." Among the Muong of Indo-China, "when the bridegroom presents himself before the parents

of the young woman to take her to his home, he must pay a certain sum of money. If he refuses, or if he offers only a portion of the stipulated price, he and his friends are pelted with a volley of earth-clods or mud." In New Zealand, the bride having been carried off after a lively struggle with her relatives, "the parents of the lady, with all her relatives, came upon the bridegroom for his pretended abduction. After much speaking and apparent anger the bridegroom generally made a handsome present of fine mats, giving the party a handsome feast." An infuriated Maori mother who loudly cursed and abused the bridal party on their return from marriage in a Christian church, said, on being presented with a blanket: "That was all I wanted; I only wanted to get a blanket and therefore made this noise." The resentment of the bride's relatives and the whole procedure of elopement and 'capture' are real or formal according as the conditions which permit of the removal of the bride by her husband have or have not been complied with. Thus, in New Britain, the anger of the bride's family may, according to circumstances, be genuine or merely ritual. "When a considerable portion at least of the girl's price has been paid, the man builds a little house in the bush and elopes with his bride. The father thereupon collects his friends, and they sally forth, apparently in great anger, to kill the bridegroom. It is needless to say they do not find him, as they have no wish to do so, but they burn the house he has erected for his honeymoon; and not infrequently, on their return home, find the young married couple comfortably established in their own town. Should the elopement take place, however, before the bride's father has given a hint that he is satisfied with the payment already received, the expedition would be undertaken in real earnest, and, till the affair had blown over, the bridegroom would have to live in exile."

The bride-price, as differentiated by its more important value and by its use as a means of bargaining from the customary presents out of which it developed, acquires that importance only where the woman is removed from her house;

It is the price of that removal, not merely of access to her. Where marriage remains matrilocal there is no such development of the bride-price; there are also no ceremonies of capture or resistance. Both are unknown in North America, where matrilocal marriage is the rule. In Indonesia, where matrilocal and patrilocal marriage are almost everywhere found side by side, no bride-price and no rituals of capture accompany 'ambih-anak,' but only 'jujul' marriage where the bride is removed. Access to the bride is neither paid for nor resisted; there are no displays of opposition on the part of her relatives, nor do we anywhere hear of resistance on her part, of tears of supposed modesty, where she is not removed from her home. It is that removal, and not matrilocal possession of her, which is the occasion of these manifestations, whether genuine or merely conventional. The Biblical account of the marriage of Jacob offers a typical instance of 'marriage by capture.' Jacob runs away with his wives, and is hotly pursued by their incensed father and his kinsmen, who bitterly reproach him for the rape. But the capturing husband and the captured wives were at the time old married people; they had been formally married for over fourteen years and had a family. The wrath of the women's relatives was not roused by his marrying them 'by capture,' but by the breach of the time-honoured usage of matrilocal marriage.

There is an even more fundamental and potent reason for the ostentatious display of resistance and violence than the practical consideration of obtaining as high a bride-price as possible. The removal of the bride from her home to that of her husband constitutes a breach of the oldest usages of primitive marriage. Some peoples will not be induced by any compensation or consideration to allow their daughters to leave their home and to follow their husbands. The Brazilian Indians, when one of their daughters was forcibly taken away by a European, followed her 'en masse' and yielded themselves as slaves to the abductor rather than break with the old usage that they should not part with their

women. Every breach of established usage, more especially of marriage usages, is disreputable and humiliating, if not actually immoral and wicked. Where patrilocal marriage customs are supplanting matrilocal marriage, proud aristocratic families refuse to adopt the change and insist upon their sons-in-law joining their daughters in their own homes. The relatives who have been induced by economic considerations to yield to the man's desire to remove the woman from her home to his own, are bound to 'save their face' by the fiction that they are submitting to violence and compulsion.

One of the most familiar usages that have suggested an attenuated survival of 'marriage by capture' is the practice of lifting the bride over the threshold of her husband's home. The custom is very widespread. It was observed by the Romans, and is still found in modern Greece; it obtains in India, in China, in Java, in Palestine, in Egypt, in Algeria, and in various parts of Europe, including England and Scotland. The interpretation of the usage has given rise to a good deal of discussion. That it is reminiscent of a time when husbands, "taking their wives by force, brought them to their house," was the opinion of Plutarch, and has been followed by many modern writers. Others again have sought an explanation of the custom in superstitious ideas connected with the threshold as a place of particular danger and ill-luck, haunted by ghosts or by evil spirits. It may well be, of course, that such ideas have become associated with a usage the origin of which is as completely forgotten by all peoples who observe it as it was by the ancient Romans; but it is not obvious, if the threshold is a spot of such danger and so uncanny as to suggest to so many various peoples, from Java to Scotland, that it is not safe for a bride to step over it, why a bride should be the only person to be protected against such dangers by lifting her over the fatal spot.

It appears that by far the most natural idea originally underlying the custom is, after all, that the entrance of the bride into her husband's home is the final and essential act in her transfer from her own home to that of her husband.

It is a common custom to carry the bride the whole way from the one to the other. This, of course, can have nothing to do with special dangers attaching to the threshold. In Engano it is the custom, when the bridegroom has come to an agreement with the bride's relatives, for him to lift her on his back, and in that position he has to defend himself for a few moments against the assaults of her male relatives. Here again the lifting of the bride which takes place in her own home has no relation to the threshold. The entrance into her future husband's house is the final and irrevocable stage of her transfer to his home, and the conventional or ceremonial resistance or reluctance on the part of the bride is commonly accentuated in connection with the taking of that final step. Thus among the Nandi when the bride arrives before the door of her husband's house, nothing will induce her to cross the threshold until she has been coaxed and bribed by her future parents-in-law with the promise of a cow and a goat. Among the tribes of British Central Africa and Nyasaland the whole wedding ceremony is spoken of as 'entering the house.' Among the Baholoholo of the Congo the bride's entry into the man's hut is regarded as constituting the consummation of the marriage. "From that moment she is no longer a bride: she is a married woman. Should she fall dead the moment after, her father would not be called upon to return any of the bride-price." Where patrilocal marriage has supplanted the older matrilineal usage, the consummation of the transaction is in fact the crossing of the threshold of the husband's dwelling; it is in accordance with all transitions between the two usages that the act should be done by the bride under a show of compulsion from her husband or his friends, or from her own relatives who have given their sanction to the transfer. It seems quite unnecessary to seek in magic or other ideas a more recondite explanation of the usage.

The view here taken coincides essentially with the most obvious and the most general interpretation of these widespread customs which are commonly included under the

designation of 'marriage by capture'; but the conclusion to which we are led as regards the bearing of these facts upon social history is the exact opposite. These usages are not evidence of the former prevalence of a custom of procuring wives by capture, but of the universal distribution of matrilocal marriage. They do not indicate that to seize women by force from neighbouring tribes was the general method of obtaining wives in primitive humanity, but confirm our conclusion that for women to remain permanently in their own home and be joined there by their husbands was originally the general form of marriage. Such a primitive condition of society is the reverse of that pictured in the theory that the forcible capture of women was the germ of marriage, and that wives were originally carried off by barbaric males to their own homes. The home originally belonged to the woman; it was for the man to join her there, not for her to follow him to a home of which he never was the maker. Patrilocality is a reversal and a violation of the primordial and time-honoured order, and as such must be excused and justified by a show of yielding to force. The transition from matrilocal to patrilocality corresponds broadly to the change from a matriarchal to a patriarchal order of society. But that change has not in general been brought about by mere force, save where it has taken place in the rudest stages of social evolution. The prevalence of symbolic violence in the marriage usages of Europe bears out our conclusion that the change among the most advanced races is not of very ancient date. It is not the superior physical force of the male which has brought it about, but the development of economic conditions.

Wherever, in the lower phases of social development, a woman is removed to the home of her husband, the latter is obliged to make some payment to her relatives in order to obtain that right. Such so-called 'purchase' of the woman has remained the chief feature of the marriage transaction in most advanced cultures. Even in Europe in Christian times the proper payment of the bride-price was regarded as

the main condition constituting the legality of a marriage. In the early middle ages, marriages in which the husband had made no payment were regarded as illegitimate. We have, for example, a series of legal documents dating from Merovingian times in which a man goes to great trouble to obtain an order in the law-courts that his children shall be considered legitimate and not as bastards, notwithstanding the fact that he had not paid the proper purchase-money for his wife. King Frotho of Denmark in Christian times, when, owing to the influence of the new religion, men were beginning to become somewhat lax in the manner of contracting marriages, issued a decree to the effect that no one should be permitted to marry a woman unless he had properly paid for her.

The purchase of a wife is impossible in the most primitive cultural stages, not only because the men have no notion of any commercial exchange, but because they possess no fundable property, and are therefore destitute of purchasing power. The primitive hunter who joins the social group of his wife or 'serves' for her contributes all that his economic power enables him to give, the product of his labour; and this may be regarded as a form of payment. In more advanced cultural stages he holds possessions which may enable him to offer a substitute for such services, and to commute his obligation to serve his wife's group permanently. 'Marriage by purchase' is thus continuous with the 'mitigated form of slavery' of the serving husband. In Angoniland, as in several other parts of Africa, matrilineal service, which was once general, is falling into disuse and is commuted by the making of a payment; the older custom is now somewhat contemptuously referred to by the natives as "playing the son-in-law." As Livingstone remarked, that servitude of the husband is but a form "of the law from which emanates the practice which prevails so extensively in Africa, known to Europeans as 'buying wives.'" Only at a very definite stage of cultural evolution has the man become an owner of transferable and fundable property, and in a position to drive a bargain, and

to commute all contributions to the woman's family by a lump payment. That position was attained only when he became an owner of domesticated cattle, his first form of real property. Marriage by purchase in the proper sense is accordingly not found in Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia, or in America, where no domesticated cattle and consequently no man-owned wealth, existed. It is in pastoral societies, or in societies that have passed through pastoral stages, in Africa, Asia, and Europe, that the purchasing power of the bride-gift has developed.

The purchasing power acquired by the men in pastoral and higher cultural stages, which has enabled them to buy off the services which they were in earlier stages obliged to furnish to the relatives of their wives, has been the chief and most general cause of the change from matrilineal to patrilineal forms of marriage. The bride-price is sometimes sentimentally spoken of as 'the price of virginity.' Primitively it has no reference whatever to the right of access to the woman or even to the rearing of a whole family by her, but to the claim to remove her and her children from her parental home to her husband's. In Indonesia, where the native custom of matrilineal marriage and the more recent usage of marriage by purchase introduced by the Mohammedans commonly exist among the same peoples side by side, the latter practice confers on the husband the right to remove his wife and her children. But he is at the same time at liberty to marry the woman without paying any bride-price if he is content to take up his abode in her home. And while some conservative populations insist upon the immemorial form of marriage and demand no bride-price, others permit the patriarchal usage in consideration of the payment. Similarly in Tonkin and Cambodia the husband has the choice of living with his wife's people without payment, or of taking his wife home on payment of a bride-price, unless indeed her parents refuse to part with her at any price. In Nyassaland where matrilineal marriage is the traditional usage, marriage by purchase is coming into use; but "the husband who does not

purchase is reckoned the slave of his wife's friends." Frequently, when the required bride-price is paid in instalments, the wife who is purchased "out of income" continues in her own home until the payment is completed, and her children do not belong to her husband's, but to her parents' family. Thus in Hindu-Kush, "although a man may marry a woman with the full consent of all concerned, and although she may bear him children, neither she nor her children would be allowed to leave her father's house until the last penny of her price has been paid. It is paying the full price which gives the man the right to take his wife to his home for her to work in the fields."

Definite economic power was first placed in the hands of men by the domestication of animals, which are always regarded as appertaining to the province of the hunter, and by the development of pastoral societies. That power has commonly been used to buy off the claims of women and of their families to the allegiance and services of husbands; women are purchased for cattle, and patriarchal society, with, of course, patrilocal marriage, becomes inevitably established among pastoral peoples. Pastoral society, such, for instance, as it is pictured in the Bible, represents the type of patriarchal society. It is from these traditions of pastoral societies that the older theorists drew their presentments of human origins from groups of pastoralists, rich in flocks and women, under the authority of a patriarch—a picture which, by a strange anachronism, has been transferred to incipient humanity in palaeolithic times, thousands of years before any animal had been domesticated by man. Every pastoral society, without an exception, is stringently patriarchal and moreover extensively polygamous. The patriarchal polygamous societies of the Orient are the progeny of pastoralist nomads who have never known agriculture on an extensive scale.

Where, on the other hand, agriculture, which from the first has been the province of the women, has developed on an important scale without any intervening pastoral stage, the

matriarchal character of society has often persisted down to relatively advanced phases of culture. This, for instance, has been the case in North America, where no domestication of animals has taken place, and most conspicuously among those tribes, such as the Iroquois and the Pueblos, in which agriculture attained in the hands of women an important development. Similarly the matriarchal order is found persisting among the peoples of Indonesia and of Micronesia, where the culture of rice and of padi supply the staple means of subsistence and pastoral conditions have not existed. The matriarchal character of society has been preserved among many African peoples who have remained chiefly agricultural. This happened notably in Egypt, which owed its wealth and culture to the Nile and to the fields which it fertilised, and where pastoral property never attained to any degree of importance. Elsewhere the stage of highly developed agriculture has been reached only after passing through a partly pastoral phase of long duration, as with the 'Aryans' of India and the Semites of Western Asia, who were driven by the desiccation of their pastoral lands towards the great alluvial plains, the granaries of the world. Among the Semitic nations of Western Asia women retained many relics of their primitive influence; their position, especially in earlier times, was very far from one of degradation and oppression. The code of Hammurabi shows countless provisions protecting the status of women, more particularly of priestesses; women could own property, houses, slaves; they conducted business and commerce, and could plead in court. Yet the contrast of Babylonian society with Egypt is sharp and conspicuous in this respect; "the man is more important than the woman, the father than the mother, the husband than the wife." Assyrian pictorial art, in glaring contrast with that of Egypt, scarcely ever represents a woman; only once the queen of Ashurbanipal appears in a court picture at Kuyunjik by the side of her lord. That subordinate position of women becomes in time more pronounced. The development of agriculture in its most productive form in those societies which

were originally pastoral, instead of raising the economic power and importance of the earth-cultivating woman, has accentuated beyond measure the already established supremacy of the owners of flocks and herds, and given rise to the most pronounced types of patriarchal society.

In the poorer and more broken lands of Europe neither a fully developed pastoral society in which man was the chief owner of wealth, nor agricultural cultivation on the large scale for which the Asiatic and Nilotic river-plains offered free scope, has existed. The men never attained in archaic times to predominant economic control as owners of large flocks; it was not from such a position of vantage that they passed to the ownership of broad and fertile acres; they never became rich enough relatively to the women to purchase Oriental harems. The land, broken up into small patches of cultivation, remained until an advanced period in the hands of the women who had formerly tilled it. Matriarchal society survived until the dawn of culture brought about by contact with the rich civilisations of the Orient; and the man came as a suitor to the woman, through whom alone he could enter into possession of the land. The development of agricultural civilisations without any antecedent pastoral phase enhanced the matriarchal position of women not only as owners and heiresses of the arable land, but also through their traditional association with agricultural magic or religion, which assumed in archaic societies a momentous development in correlation with that of agricultural pursuits, the women retaining for a long time the character of priestesses.

But in spite of these favourable circumstances, that enhanced matriarchal influence, more especially in those regions where, as in Mediterranean Europe, the agricultural revolution took place amid highly developed cultural contacts and material industries, was unstable and of comparatively brief duration. The circumstances which favoured it rested upon tradition rather than upon existing economic conditions. Women had long ceased to be the cultivators of the soil. Their traditional ownership of it, by transmission of prop-

erty in the female line, was readily circumvented and reduced to a legal fiction. They possessed no other economic advantage. The regular and assured agricultural food-supply had released the men; the cornfield abolished the economic importance of the hunter. The primitive economic function of the male came to an end. He was set free for other avocations. He had yoked his oxen to the plough; he had by degrees taken over the bulk of agricultural labour. The industries which had hitherto been almost exclusively in women's hands, passed into those of the men. The household crafts which had originated with the household worker, pottery, woodwork, rude building, weaving, became masculine industries. They became greatly extended through the trading activities of the caravan driver and the seafarer. The fertility of the land had released the men; they took over the work of the women. The latter, from being the workers, were left idle.

Thus the great economic revolution brought about by agriculture, while it accentuated for a while the matriarchal character of the archaic societies which it transformed, had ultimately the opposite result. In the end, no economic change established male supremacy more firmly. The sexual division of labour upon which social development had been founded in primitive societies was at an end. Woman, instead of being the chief producer, became economically unproductive, destitute, and dependent. The contrast between the toiling primitive woman and the idle lady of civilisation, which has been mistaken for an indication of the enslavement of the former and the freedom of the latter, marks the opposite relation. It is the primitive toiler who is independent and the unemployed woman who has lost her freedom and is destitute.

One economic value alone was left to woman, her sex. In the conditions of uncultured societies there exists little competition, from a sexual point of view, among women; there is for them no risk of unemployment; an old maid is practically unknown. Hence the comparative absence of individual

preference and of sexual jealousy in primitive humanity; sexual selection is purely economic. Primitive woman has therefore very little disposition to cultivate charm and exercise attraction. The arts of fascination are scarcely known to her. She is 'unfeminine.' Those arts have developed in relation to the decrease of her value as a worker and her release from toil. It is in response to the economic situation created by the loss of her value as a producer of wealth that the evolution of feminine grace has taken place. The woman who was no longer economically self-supporting became competitive in terms of the only value which remained to her, as an instrument of luxury and pleasure. The Arabs forbid all manner of work to their daughters, lest their beauty should suffer. Woman cultivated her attractiveness, her body, her beauty, her adornment. To the biologist the aspect of the females in civilized society presents an anomaly without parallel. While the appearance of the male is studiously drab and inconspicuous, on the female's attire all the resources of art and of wealth are lavished, and the industries and commerce of whole nations are employed. To adorn her with the pigments and gloss of secondary male sexual characters, birds and mammals are exterminated. The biological rule is reversed, and the rule of primitive humanity no less than the biological. That inversion corresponds to an even deeper inversion of the biological and primitive relations between the sexes, which is represented by the substitution of the patriarchal for the matriarchal social order.

The loss of woman's economic value as a worker abolished the purpose for which the association of individual marriage such as it is found in primitive societies, originally arose. Marriage has very little to do with the sexual life of primitive man; pre-nuptial licence, often prolonged until advanced maturity, communal relations between clan-brothers and their wives, promiscuity during periodical tribal gatherings and festivals, numerous transient associations, far more than the economic partnership of marriage, constitute in the lower cultures the sexual aspect of the relations between the sexes.

It is as a worker rather than as a sexual partner that primitive man desires to appropriate a wife. That original motive and function of individual marriage no longer exists where woman has ceased to be a worker. Sometimes, as we saw, the sudden economic change which has abolished that function has caused marriage to fall into disuse. In those societies which have reached a relatively high stage of material culture after passing through a pastoral patriarchal stage, the enormously increased purchasing power of the men enables them to gather about them large harems of wives and female slaves; the sexual freedom which is concomitantly limited by the proprietary rights arising from the same enhanced economic power of the men is thus compensated by their ability to acquire numerous women. Marriage, in those conditions, instead of being economic and unconnected with sexual objects, assumes, on the contrary, a purely sexual aspect and becomes the chief form of sexual relation.

Those conditions have not occurred where, as in Europe, agricultural and industrial culture have been attained without passing through any important pastoral stage. The chief object of marriage in the most ancient phases and throughout a considerable portion of European social history, is, as in the most primitive societies, economic, but in a somewhat different sense. It is not as a worker that a wife is desired in archaic European society, but as an heiress. The chief purpose of marriage is to gain access to the property, to the lands, which in a matriarchal social order were originally in the hands of the women and were transmitted through them, and to hand down that property to the man's own heirs. Archaic European marriage was thus, like primitive individual marriage, governed essentially by economic considerations, and, unlike marriage in opulent Oriental societies, had little reference to sexual life and the sexual aspect of the relation between the sexes. While polygyny to the utmost possible extent was the Oriental ideal, the juridic and economic marriage of archaic Europe, aiming chiefly at acquiring the rights of a matriarchal

heirs and at breeding legal heirs to the acquired property, was of necessity essentially monogamic.

Monogamic marriage, the product of the transition from primitive to agricultural society without an intervening pastoral stage, is thus rooted in the special conditions which have led to European civilisation. No other culture has been monogamic. In Greece the object of marriage was stated to be that "the heritage should not be left desolate and the name cut off." In lieu of the right to the chieftainship and lands which heiresses bestowed in archaic times, the Athenians offered a dowry as an inducement for men to marry their daughters, and the whole transaction of Greek marriage centered round that dowry. Medea, in Euripides, complains that "We have to buy ourselves husbands at great cost." Wealthy heiresses were, of course, in demand, and men, if they were already married, put away their wives in order to marry an heiress.

There appears at first sight to be a radical opposition between the so-called 'purchase' of a wife by a bride-gift, the universal usage of barbarians, and what may equally well be called the 'purchase' of a husband by a dowry. The Greeks and the Romans did not fail to remark upon the contrast between their own peculiar practice in the matter, and that of barbarians and of the primitive Greeks themselves. The two forms of marriage, by bride-gift and by dowry, do in fact imply a developmental difference. When a matriarchal order of society passes directly into the patriarchal form through accumulation of property in the hands of the men, they naturally use that wealth to purchase wives. But if in a matriarchal order property develops and accumulates in the hands of the women, marriage necessarily means that the benefit of that wealth is bestowed by the woman upon the man in monogamic marriage. The first situation will arise in primitive or archaic societies which, at the time of the transition, were mainly pastoral, the chief form of property, cattle, being men's property. The second is that which will

necessarily develop where the chief form of property, in the transition stage, is arable land, and the society has retained up to that time its matriarchal constitution, property being transmitted in the female line. Accordingly, where early development has been chiefly pastoral, as with the Arabs, the Jews, the Indian Aryans, the Tartars and their cultural descendants, the Chinese, the marriage contract remains essentially 'marriage by purchase.' Where, on the other hand, small landed property, and the tribal rule that generally goes with it, constitute the chief form of propertied privilege, it is the woman who bestows it upon the man, and that essential economic aspect of archaic marriage is perpetuated in the 'dowry' which the wife brings to the husband.

This is precisely what we find in regard to the transmission of archaic princely inheritance in Greece. It was in the right of the women, not of the men, and transmitted in the female line; and the sons of princes went forth from their home to marry princesses in order to obtain princely rights. That inheritance was from the first the chief inducement to 'legal' marriage; and accordingly the 'dowry' remained throughout the social history of Greece the pivot of the institution of legal marriage, and the chief consideration in the juridical elaboration and regulation of that institution. Since it was the dowry, representing the economic perquisite originally bestowed on her husband by the matrifocal wife, which constituted the distinction between the 'legal wife' and a concubine, a girl who married without a dowry was regarded as disreputable and little better than a prostitute. It hence became the custom for the State to supply some pittance to free-born girls in poor circumstances, in order that they should be married with a dowry.

In patriarchal societies, such as those of Africa and Asia, which have developed directly out of the economic power acquired by the men under pastoral conditions, the large polygamous family whose wealth consists chiefly of cattle, and is susceptible of being divided among a number of heirs retains to a large extent the character of a clan. The typical 'patri-

archs' of Semitic tradition are not the heads of families, but the heads of clans, and their wealth and social power is bound up with the extent of their prolific progeny. The Jews have never had family names. To increase and multiply and become the founders, not of families in the Western sense, but of whole clans of closely bound descendants has always been the Semitic social ideal. Hence among the Semites, as among all pastoralists, tribal organisation has retained a far more important place than family organisation, and the former rather than the latter has remained the foundation of the social structure. Landed property is not susceptible of being subdivided among a large number of heirs. Where, as for instance in Morocco, cultivated land forms an important part of the estate of a polygamous family, the individual shares are so small that they are not worth cultivating, and it is consequently common to see fertile lands allowed to lie fallow and abandoned from this cause. In those conditions, that is, in the conditions of settled agricultural society, what is desirable is not a large progeny, but an heir.

The importance of the heir to property, which is small in pastoral societies, becomes paramount in agricultural communities. In lower barbaric cultures paternal social inheritance has reference to rank rather than to property. The matriarchal form of succession is very commonly found persisting in patriarchal aristocratic and monarchical societies long after every other trace of matriarchal organisation has passed away: the successor to a man's rank is not his son, but his sister's son. Sometimes it is no easy matter for the men, even when they are able to afford a substantial bride-price, to break through the immemorial usages of matriarchal succession. In several parts of Africa they have adopted the plan of purchasing slave-girls and of making over their property to their children by those concubines. Thus, for instance, among the Kimbunda of South Africa a man has no power over his children, but only over his sister's children; accordingly "only those children which he has by a slave-woman are regarded by the man as his real children, and they are also

his heirs." So again the Wanyamwezi "have adopted the curious practice of leaving property to their illegitimate children by slave-girls and concubines, to the exclusion of their issue by their wives." The same practice is widely prevalent among Tuarog and Berber tribes. Thus it comes about in these instances that those children whom we should call 'legitimate' do not inherit from their father, while those whom we should call 'illegitimate' or 'bastards' are his only lawful heirs.

In patriarchal societies a 'legitimate' wife means primarily one who can become the mother of a legitimate heir. A wife who is barren is not regarded as legitimate, and can in all cultures be divorced. Sometimes, as for instance among the Maori, the 'chief wife' is she who first gives birth to an heir, irrespectively of the order in which the women have been married. Where tribal organisation is still strong, a legitimate son means one who belongs to his father's and not to his mother's clan. Islam condemned 'al-motah' marriage, a free contract between a man and a woman which was common in 'the Days of Ignorance,' because it gave the man no legitimate offspring, that is, an offspring that could be reckoned to his tribe and not to the tribe of the mother. A marriage which thus fails to comply with that patriarchal principle and does not give the father an heir is "the sister of harlotry." On patriarchal principles the woman who gives her own name to the child and not her husband's, is a harlot.

The wife, in settled civilised society, thus acquires an entirely new function. With primitive people she is primarily an economic associate, a provider of food, a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, a labourer; she is, as a labourer, the chief producer and the chief source of wealth in early forms of agricultural society. With the loss of these economic values in pastoral and higher agricultural civilisation, only her sexual value is left. That sexual value consists, in purely pastoral cultures, in her attractiveness, in her function as an instrument of pleasure and of happiness; the beauty of idle women is cultivated, and they are gathered together in

large harems. Settled agricultural civilisation bestows upon woman a new function and a new sexual value, that of legitimate wife, of mother of legitimate heirs to property.

The contrast which we have noted between pastoral and purely agricultural societies is thus further accentuated by the respective functions of wives in the two forms of culture. Pastoral property is readily subdivided and multiplies; the importance of transmitting undivided to one or a few heirs is not pressing. Essentially pastoral peoples, such as the Semites and the Arians of Asia, have never completely taken up agricultural pursuits, and have in general retained with almost fanatical conservatism their pastoral traditions. Yet the acquisition of other forms of property has undoubtedly tended to reduce, even among them, the extent of polygyny. Muhammad, who in the ecclesiastical imagination of the Middle Ages was credited with having invented the detestable doctrine of polygamy, confirmed, in reality, the general tendency of advancing economic development by reducing the permissible number of legitimate wives to four.

The causes which in the cultural tradition of southern Europe gave rise to monogamous institutions also tended to preserve the features of matriarchal society until a much later period than in those Oriental civilisations which grew out of pastoral culture, and the relations between the sexes thus acquired an entirely different character in Western and in Oriental culture. To that difference between the pastoral polygamous Orient and the land-owning monogamous West are probably due some of the deepest characters which distinguish the two types of culture. In the Orient woman remained chiefly associated with luxury and voluptuousness, in the West the morality designed to uphold the virtue of the monogamic wife, the breeder of legitimate heirs, acquired a development and significance unknown in the Orient. Patriarchal monogamy was established by stringent juridic measures centering upon the transmission of property and by moral principles protecting the legitimacy of the heir, meas-

ures and principles which had little bearing upon the economic conditions of the polygamous East.

The decay of the authority of those juristic principles and moral safeguards in our own day is perhaps not wholly unconnected with the decay in industrial civilisation of the importance of landed property.

CHAPTER X

PATRIARCHAL MORALITY

IN the Christian view of marriage, most clearly set forth by St. Paul, the institution is regarded as founded neither on social nor on economic considerations, but as regulating sexual relations by reducing them to the minimum. Marriage was widely denounced in the early Christian ages as inconsistent with a moral life, and complete celibacy is still held in orthodox Catholic doctrine, as embodied in the pronouncements of the Council of Trent, to be a superior moral state to marriage. Christian marriage, which adopted the forms of Roman marriage, was instituted as a compromise of the Christian ideal of suppressing the manifestations of sex, and as a concession to human nature and to social necessities. Those Christian doctrines were not, as has been widely supposed, a direct development of primitive ideas concerning the special 'sinfulness,' or tabu nature, of sexual activities, but of universal ideas concerning the perils of any form of gratification. Pleasurable gratification is in all stages of culture thought to arouse the envy of supernatural powers, ghosts or gods. And the theory of renunciation or asceticism, which in savage cultures is part of the magic ritual precautions designed to conciliate and control supernatural powers, became in higher religious phases a ritual requirement constituting the state of 'purity' demanded of persons entering into special relations with supernatural powers. The developments which that theory assumed among the monastic Jewish sects from which Christianity arose are peculiar to that phase of religious development. Although renunciation of all forms of gratification constituted the leading principle of their doctrine, or 'way of

life,' and vegetarianism was regarded by many early Christian sects as of almost the same importance as sexual abstinence, the latter came to occupy by far the most important place in the moral doctrine of renunciation, for the obvious reason that throughout human culture more value is set on sexual gratification than on any other form of pleasurable enjoyment.

The sexual tabus of Christian morality are thus in their intention ritual, religious, or, what is originally the same thing, magic. But in the carrying out of that moral or magic purpose for the suppression of sexual gratification, and in the practical compromises which the ascetic ideal had perforce to adopt, sexual prohibitions and restrictions having an entirely different purpose and origin were included and formed the basis of the sexual code. While the original object of Christian sexual morality was the suppression of sex and the putting down of fornication—which was identified with 'sin'—the social purpose of that morality is generally interpreted as being the safeguarding of the institution of patriarchal marriage. Hence those anthropologists who are concerned with upholding the patriarchal theory of social origins show an anxiety to trace sexual prohibitions and restrictions arising from social and magical principles to biological or natural 'instincts' or dispositions. In endeavouring to trace the germs of patriarchal institutions in an imaginary natural history of gorillas, they likewise seek to detect among the anthropoids the rudiments of Christian morality.

Nothing is, on the contrary, more striking in a survey of our available knowledge of uncultured peoples than the slow and late development of patriarchal morality. Its sociologically late appearance in strenuously patriarchal stages where already such advanced features as aristocratic privileges and monarchical institutions have become developed is much more marked than even an understanding of their purely social origin would lead one to expect. Although none of the uncultured societies available to us for study is anything like primitive and most show traces of the transition

towards the patriarchal order, yet patriarchal morality is completely absent from most of the lower stages of culture. In many of them sexual fidelity is not expected from married women. Much has been said about savage jealousy, and the manifestations of it are much more conspicuous and fierce than those exhibited by Europeans. But its scope is entirely different. The fears which arouse the sentiment have no reference to sexual infidelity, but to loss of the wife, and what is often referred to as 'adultery' in ethnological reports and discussions is properly speaking abduction. The jealous anger of the uncultured husband at the loss of a wife is at once allayed by his obtaining another. Captain Tench tells us of a jovial Australian native who was in the habit of visiting the newly established settlement which was to become the present city of Sydney. He was fond of expatiating upon the merits of his wife, and appeared to be deeply attached to that gifted lady. Some time later Captain Tench asked him how his beloved wife was getting on. "Oh!" replied the Australian, "she has become the wife of Cohee. But," he added with an air of triumph, "I have got two big women to compensate for her loss!" He was obviously the gainer. In northern New Guinea, if a woman runs away with a lover, her husband applies to her family, who either refund the bride-price paid for her or supply him with another woman. In New Britain the men, who are stated to be "fiercely jealous," never have any hesitation in parting with their wives to anyone who is prepared to refund the expenses incurred in acquiring them. In the New Hebrides adultery is only resented by the husband if it deprives him of the services of the woman. In Samoa the abduction of a wife was, we are told, frequently the cause of tribal wars; but mere seduction was thought very little of, and was not regarded as a serious offence. I have given a large number of examples drawn from every part of the uncultured world, showing that adultery is not regarded in the lower stages of culture as an offence so long as loss of the woman or of her services is not threatened. Jealousy in primitive humanity is in fact identical with animal jealousy. It is not

the correlative of personal attachment, but of sexual hunger and economic claims.

Dr. Westermarck supposed that masculine jealousy affords "the strongest argument against ancient promiscuity." But, on the contrary, the guarantees which social organisation is able to afford against dispossession renders a far greater degree of promiscuity, or of sexual communism, possible in the lower phases of human society than in any animal race. In the Urabunna tribe of Central Australia, for instance, "there is no such a thing as one man having the exclusive right to a woman," and among the Dieri the husband forms an economic association with a woman "with the fullest knowledge that she is not to be his individual wife as we understand the term." The same is true of numerous peoples in every region of the world, among whom the sexual rights of the husband are qualified by those of tribal or clan brothers, by ceremonial exchanges of wives, and by the duties of hospitality. Communal sexual rights survive, in fact, notwithstanding the existence of economic individual marriage.

Apart from the recognised and organised rights of sexual communism between clan-brothers, adultery is regarded and treated in all the lower cultures with an indifference which is staggering to patriarchal conceptions of morality. Thus, to mention one or two examples out of a long list of similar reports from every part of the uncultured world—of the Cree Indians it is said "that fidelity is not believed to be essential to the happiness of wedded life." Among the Bushmen "infidelity to the marriage contract is not considered a crime, and is scarcely regarded by the offended party." Among the southern Bantu generally, adultery is taken for granted; "it might be thought that the framework of society would fall to pieces if domestic life were more immoral." In Nigeria, as in many other parts of Africa, "adultery was considered of little moment . . . a woman may leave her husband for a time to live with another man without rebuke." Among the native races of South America, husbands "are ignorant of jealousy." The Aleuts "leave their wives in complete

liberty." Among the Mongol populations of Central Asia "adultery is not even concealed and is not regarded as a vice." Among the forest tribes of Malay an "adultery is not regarded with sufficient detestation." The native peoples of the Philippines are utterly indifferent to the conduct of their wives. In New Guinea adultery is not regarded as a serious offence. In the New Hebrides "the husband does not seem to mind much." It is significant to note that, while adultery is nowhere regarded as a serious offence in the lower planes of culture, breaches of the law of clan-exogamy are everywhere in those same cultures viewed with the utmost horror. That fact alone appears to be fatal to hypotheses which derive social organisation from the patriarchal family; for if these were correct we ought to find offences against family organisation regarded as more serious than offences against clan organisation, whereas the exact reverse is the case.

Adultery is not viewed in a serious light among those lowly forest tribes which, owing to the poverty of their economic conditions, are more or less describable as monogamous, although in none of them is monogamy general. Such tribes are, on the contrary, notable for the looseness of their sexual unions. The seriousness of the offence of adultery first makes its appearance in those phases of the cultural scale where aristocratic privileges have become established. It is in the polygamous families of African, or in a less degree of Polynesian chiefs, that the mere suspicion of adultery comes to be resented and barbaric punishments inflicted on the offenders. These punishments, which often have reference to the misconduct of a woman with whom her legal owner is scarcely acquainted, are directed against lesions to the husband's honour and to offences of lese-majesty rather than against assaults of sexual ownership. And that attitude remains the chief ground for severe views of the offence of adultery throughout advanced stages of culture.

The retrospective claim which leads to the demand for bridal virginity is as late in developing in the course of cultural evolution as the claim to fidelity. The cultural origin

and development of that claim can be very clearly traced. It is unthought of throughout the lower stages of culture. Virginity is, on the contrary, looked upon with superstitious dread and sentimental repugnance, and a whole series of usages prevalent throughout the lower cultures is expressly intended to guard against the marrying of a virgin. The claim to virginity has developed out of the widespread practice of infant betrothal. But among the great majority of peoples who are in the habit of allotting an infant girl from her birth to a man, the preservation of her chastity until she is handed over to her husband does not form an element of the contract. It comes to be demanded, and precautions are taken to guard it in those societies where an aristocratic class exists, and the dignity of the noble bridegroom requires that a tabu shall be placed upon his future bride in the same manner as a tabu is placed upon his wives. Thus in Samoa, though the strictest precautions were taken to secure the chastity of the betrothed bride of a chief, no such claim and no attempt to preserve pre-nuptial chastity existed among the common people. The virginity of the tabu bride was publicly demonstrated by digital defloration. These unions were as a rule extremely transient, and when the tabu wife had spent some weeks in the company of her noble husband, she was devoted to the entertainment of visitors. Great offence was, however, caused if any should attempt to elope with her. A similar dedication of infant brides to persons of aristocratic distinction by placing a tabu upon them was practised in other parts of Polynesia, although in the absence of such special tabu pre-nuptial relations were entirely free. Exactly similar rules obtained in the aristocratic societies of West Africa, the bride of a person of noble family being very strictly guarded while no importance was attached to the chastity of unbetrothed girls.

The claim to pre-nuptial virginity is found more especially developed where the theory of marriage by purchase has attained its crudest mercenary form and has become assimilated to the purchase of a slave. That is the case in some parts

of Africa and among pastoral populations generally. It has been acknowledged by missionaries themselves that the standard of pre-nuptial chastity has fallen considerably among Christianized natives who have been induced to give up the payment of a bride-price. "The consequence is that the native girls have no longer a market value, and the control exerted over them by their parents, and especially the mothers, is relaxed."

The tabus of bodily modesty have their origin in superstitious ideas, which, far from being associated with any feelings of shame or sense of sinfulness, are, on the contrary, connected with anxiety lest the sexual organs should be exposed to injury through magic influences, and more particularly through that of the evil eye. The use of charms and amulets, of tatlings and girilles, which do not conceal the sexual organs precedes everywhere the use of actual coverings. In the same manner as, in advanced cultures, superstitious practices of ritual continence have become adapted to the claims of patriarchal morality and confounded with those claims, so the superstitious ideas which have led to the protection of the sexual organs have been greatly developed and extended by patriarchal claims to feminine modesty. The covering of the sexual organs of women has become associated with the proprietary rights acquired over a woman through individual patriarchal marriage. Among numerous peoples girls, who are completely naked before marriage, or wear only amulets which do not conceal the vulva, assume effective covering after marriage, and it is a very general rule in lower societies that the clothing of women is extended after marriage. Among the Bagesu, when a woman's husband dies, she removes all her clothing, and either goes naked or resumes the small apron worn by unmarried girls. In many parts of Africa the gift of a piece of cloth constitutes the chief part of the ceremony of marriage, and the expression "he has given her a cloth" is equivalent to "he has married her." If, however, the husband dies, the widow removes her skirt and returns to her pre-nuptial state of nudity. Among the Kukuruku of

northern Nigeria "should a woman remove her marriage-cloth and, leaving it on her husband's sleeping-mat, appear naked in the town, or should she remove the cloth in the presence of others and turn her buttocks to her husband, he is forced to divorce her, and cannot demand either dower or a child."

The honour of the man, which is guarded by watchful custodians, by seclusion, by veils and draperies, has led to the conception of the honour and virtue of women. There are considerable diversities in the nature of those conceptions, and those variations bear in general a direct relation to the marriage customs of the people concerned. Thus among the Hindus, since by immemorial usage which has acquired the force of a moral obligation every girl must be married before she reaches the age of puberty, no occasion has arisen for guarding unmarried girls. A girl who has passed the age of nine years without becoming betrothed is practically excluded from any chance of marrying at all, and the only alternative is for her to become a bigamist or a concubine. A widow, again, if she does not commit suttee on the funeral pyre of her husband, is debarred by Hindu law from re-marrying, and although she is supposed to remain as chaste as though her husband were living, any amours she may indulge in, provided she avoids too glaring a publicity, are not judged severely by the moral code of the country. The requirements of feminine virtue thus reduce themselves, as in societies of a quite primitive type, to fidelity during the married state, and no preparation for such virtue by guarding and by the inculcation of moral principles is necessary outside that state. Consequently, not only has there been no development of the notions centering round the importance and merits of virginity, but no ideals or principles of feminine virtue and of the moral worth of female chastity can be said to have been formed. Adultery itself on the part of the woman, though, of course, condemned and resented, is not invested with an exaggerated heinousness or punished with a fierceness proportionate to the absolute domination claimed by the patriarchal husband.

Modesty and mental purity are not a part of the established ideal of the wife. She owes fidelity to her husband; but no special character or disposition, no uncontaminated sexual ignorance or conventional frigidity, is looked upon as a condition of that fidelity. Such a virtuous amputation of amorosness would, according to Hindu ideas, be accounted a defect and not a virtue in a wife.

In China, on the other hand, where marriage does not take place until maturity, and is therefore preceded by the strictest guarding and seclusion, a lofty standard of female virtue has been created which cannot be matched in any other country, and even surpasses the highest ideals of primitive Christianity. "In this species of facitious virtue," observes Sir G. Staunton, "the Chinese have preceded as well as surpassed most other nations." The first Jesuit missionaries were put to shame by the ingenious prudery of the Chinese, and were compelled to acknowledge that in this respect the latter were their superiors. "The modesty of the Chinese," writes one missionary, "is not to be paralleled in all the world, and no less the reservedness and precaution of the women." Chinese girls have been known to commit suicide because they felt themselves dishonored by having been in the company of a man, albeit for the inadequate reason, as it seemed to them, of saving him from imminent death. In desperate cases of illness the advice of a physician of high repute is sometimes resorted to by Chinese ladies; in order that he may feel their pulse a silk thread is tied to their wrist and is passed through a hole in a partition. The physician, being enlightened by studying the tremors of the thread by means of his learned touch, proceeds to prescribe for the patient. The Jesuit Fathers were sorely perplexed what they should do if called upon to administer the sacrament of baptism or extreme unction to a female convert. "The occasion of making this doubt is the incredible modesty of the Chinese women, their reservedness, and their commendable avoiding not only of the conversation of men, but even the sight of them; in which particular, unless the missionaries be extraordinarily cautious,

a mighty scandal will be given to the Chinese, and the whole body of Christians there may be exposed to imminent danger." A vast literature is devoted to the recital of edifying examples of female virtue and to singing the praises of noble women. There was a special Imperial Order the decorations of which were awarded to women signalled for their chastity and fidelity, such as young widows who led a life of chastity and devotion to the service of their deceased husbands' parents, and betrothed virgins who remained single after the demise of the fiancé they had never seen. Innumerable monuments, tablets and 'triumphal arches,' or 'F' Ai-fang,' of elaborate architecture commemorate similar exalted examples of feminine virtue.

There is, on the other hand, in the vast and minute Chinese literature of moral precepts not a single reference to chastity or purity as virtues applicable to the male sex. No form of sexual indulgence is regarded as detracting from the character of the most dignified and honoured mandarin, and if he receives male friends, he is expected to supply prostitutes for their entertainment. The sexual habits of the men are of more than average licentiousness, and they are adepts at ingenuous vice; the state apartments of the most exalted officials are adorned with obscene pictures and statues depicting unnatural vices. The ideals of female chastity and purity have reference to the character and functions of the Great Wife only; and men in the highest families commonly marry as Little Wives women with whom they have first become acquainted in brothels. Men commonly keep female slaves, and resort to the company of accomplished courtesans as a relief from the perfection of purity to which they have so successfully trained their wives.

In Greece, where the position of women, whether as wives or as hetairai, was in the classical age closely similar to their position in China, conceptions of sexual morality were modified by the clear naturalism of the Greek mind, the extreme opposite of the inveterate conventionalism and formalism of the Chinese. Chastity and fidelity were claimed and regarded

as essential virtues in wives and prospective wives. It can scarcely be said that the claim constituted an ideal. Women were consistently regarded in Greek thought as inferior beings; the Greek social system, in fact, made them so. Their virtue as wives and daughters was viewed as a family obligation towards their husbands or relatives rather than as an ethical quality, and we find no heroic view of the seriousness of transgression and of the dishonour attaching to it. Chastity was neither elaborately held up as a moral ideal to the women, nor exalted by them to the status of a faith claiming their devotional enthusiasm, as in China. Adultery appears to have been common; it was the concern of husbands or guardians not to afford women the chance. Euripides sets down the continual intrigues and adulteries of Greek wives to their seclusion, but the only remedy that suggested itself to him was a yet stricter seclusion. Socrates, who gave his gratified approval to all that Isosochos said touching the proper sphere of a wife as housekeeper, resorted, like all cultured Greeks, for congenial female companionship to the society of hetairai. Unlike him, some of the great minds of Greece felt, as did Euripides, a profound dissatisfaction with woman such as the Greek social system had shaped her. Plato, in disgust at the product of male proprietary morality, turned back as to an ideal to the primitive Greek social order such as it survived in Sparta, and advocated sexual communism. So did the Cynics; the Epicureans are said to have practised it. In a somewhat later age the Stoics, in spite of their ascetic tendencies, attached no special merit to chastity, and "did not regard loose sexual indulgence as 'per se' immoral." The conception of such a virtue as chastity, regarded as a moral merit and applicable to both sexes, was unthought of by the Greeks. "There does not appear to have been any respect for moral purity in the modern sense," says Mr. W. H. S. Jones. "The virtue of chastity was confined within narrow limits, such as loyalty to husband on the part of a wife, or to master and mistress on the part of a maid-servant. . . . Men were under no obligation except that of

avoiding adultery or dishonour to a neighbour's family. Chastity, in fact, was a family and not a personal matter. . . . It is hard to find passages in pre-Christian literature where loose intercourse is looked upon as itself an offence. Indulgence might bring with it ceremonial defilement, but in itself was no sin. This attitude is in perfect accordance with the Greek spirit, which considered no natural impulse as evil. Sexual indulgence stood upon exactly the same level as eating and drinking."

Thus at the phase of human social evolution when the foundations of Western civilisation were being laid, the conception of sexual virtue and purity remained essentially what it is in the most primitive phases of human society. Continence was no more accounted a virtue than abstinence in regard to food and to drink. The idea of morality 'par excellence'—that is, of sexual morality as it has come to be regarded in modern Europe, as a virtue transcending in importance all other moral obligations, while disregard of it constitutes corruption and sin—was, when the basis of Western culture, thought, and civilisation were laid in Greece, as yet unborn. The germs of those ideas had, indeed, already appeared in lower cultural phases and had developed in certain aspects of Oriental culture; but they were absent from that culture which was the cradle of European civilisation. It was not until a later stage of Western culture that the current values which have been regarded in European sentiment as of absolute validity, as grounded in the constitution of human nature, and in the light of which it has been sought to interpret primitive society, have been developed.

As in all else, Roman views and usages came nearer to those of our society in regard to sexual morality than those of any other people. We have noted the peculiar combination in Roman patriarchy of many features arising from a highly developed matriarchal influence. The manner in which the principles of patriarchal morality were imposed upon Roman women differed fundamentally from that which was adopted in Greece. Those principles were not enforced by precau-

tionary and coercive measures, but inculcated as precepts; the Roman woman was placed upon her honour. She was not immured in Oriental fashion in a gynæceum, but enjoyed wellnigh complete freedom. Her 'virtue' was assimilated to the civic 'virtus,' which was the moral ideal of the Roman citizen. Instead of man's honour being guarded by precautionary restrictions, the woman herself was made a partner in that honour; it became, by a sort of legal fiction, her honour. That ideal of female virtue—the very name remains somewhat incongruous, 'female manliness'—was embodied in Rome, and kept before the eyes of women in their ancient cult of Vesta. The old agrarian goddess, with her Priapic male associate, her phallic emblems, her symbolic ass, her ritual obscenities, and all the usual attributes of goddesses of fertility, had been strangely and deliberately transformed into a symbol and protectress of virginity and female virtue. The virgin goddess and her virgin priestesses were constantly kept before Roman women, as Cicero quaintly tells us, "in order that womankind might feel that it is woman's nature to suffer all forms of chastity"—"*ut sentiant mulieres naturam feminarum omnem castitatem pati.*" In addition, a special cult, that of the goddess Pudicitia, was instituted, which, significantly enough, was at first an exclusive patrician cult, no plebeian woman being allowed to take part in the rites of the goddess of modesty. Later a Pudicitia Plebeia was also instituted.

To a large extent the traditional type of the virtuous Roman matron of the old days was, like the Greek noble wedded wife of the heroic age, a retrospective convention. In all probability the type of the Italic woman of primitive matriarchal times was, so far as regards sexual morality, represented by such 'noble courtesans' as we hear of as foundresses of the Roman nation and by the proverbially free Etruscan women. The fact that in the year 285 a.c. a temple was erected to Venus out of the proceeds of fines imposed on Roman matrons for adultery is in itself sufficiently significant. Livy, who is always anxious to uphold the tradition of primitive Roman

austerity, is manifestly embarrassed in recording such facts; as also when he refers in obscure terms to an event which happened in 318 B.C., when, after a disastrous epidemic, one hundred and seventy patrician matrons were put to death on a charge of disseminating poison. The latter occurrence was probably an outburst of witch persecution. The ideal presentment of the Roman woman of the early days is only slightly less exaggerated than the ideal picture of 'corruption' under the Empire. Our earliest contemporary records of Roman life show quite as much laxity and licentiousness as those of times of so-called 'corruption.' "There is hardly a fault or vice attributed by Juvenal to the women of Domitian's time," says Professor Dill, who is disposed to take the most generous view in such matters, "which may not find parallel in the nine or ten generations before Juvenal penned his great indictment against the womanhood of his age." In the days of the Republic, as in the most luxurious days of the Empire, very much the same variety of conduct in this respect was to be found in Roman society as in our own. In both epochs there existed an austere idea of loyalty to the Roman conception of the family, which identified a woman's honour with that of the 'familia.'

The principle had no application to men, and there is nothing in Roman ideas that corresponds to a moral value attaching to sexual restraint as an intrinsic virtue. Nevertheless, owing to the method resulting from the peculiar influence of the old matriarchal power on Roman patriarchy, of relying for the enforcement of female fidelity on moral influence rather than on compulsory measures, the ideal of female purity had in Rome a restraining effect, such as it had not in Greece, upon masculine conduct. For it was a logical consequence of that principle that no offence should be shown by the men, when in the presence of women, to the ideal which they imposed upon them. Grossness in such circumstances would be an insult to the woman's husband. Hence the Romans felt bound to observe a decent restraint in language and behaviour in the presence of women, and that discipline was

imposed upon their habitual conduct by the Roman woman's freedom to join in social intercourse. Proprietary purity, among the Romans, thus came as near as possible to the notion of meretricious purity as a moral principle, but it never actually gave rise to it. The provisions of the famous 'Lex Julia' against adultery were almost barbaric in their severity, though they remained to a great extent a dead letter; but the legal definition of the crime had reference to married women only, and had no application to men. Several philosophical writers, indeed, expressed the view that equity demanded from the husband the same continence as he expected from his wife, and Ulpian set down that "it would be inequitable to the last degree if a man demanded chastity from his wife when he himself in no way set her an example." But many of Ulpian's abstract principles remain to this day in the realm of Utopias and counsels of perfection. These words were, moreover, written in the third century, and Seneca, Plutarch, and Musonius belong to a late age when quite other ideas than those of Roman patriarchy had made their way into the metropolis of Europe.

The Roman conception of good 'mores,' of propriety in sexual relations and of decency was thus, on the whole, much the same as our own. But there was, nevertheless, an essential and fundamental difference between it and the sentiments represented in European tradition. The Roman ideal of sexual virtue remained a civic and secular ideal; the only ground upon which chastity was demanded of a woman was fidelity to her husband, and the only ground upon which continence was preconised in a man was that of equitable reciprocity. The religious, mystic, paramount character which makes sexual morality 'morality' par excellence, the conceptions of 'impurity' and of 'sin,' were as unknown in Rome as in any other society, primitive or civilised. These conceptions are the products of the Christian religion. By erecting ascetic renunciation, which originally had for its object to avert the envy of supernatural powers, to avoid 'tempting Providence,' into the supreme principle of moral life, Christianity made

for the first time abstinence from sexual gratification a substantial virtue. That form of gratification being accounted the most alluring of all aspects of pleasure, was singled out as the most dangerous. Christian sexophobia identified sin with sex, and led to the assimilation of virtue and morality in the tradition of Western culture with regard for chastity. But those moral views which aimed at the complete abolition of sex, and which could never be carried to their logical conclusion, derived their chief social support from the principles of patriarchal morality and have served in turn to strengthen the latter. The regard for chastity as a substantial virtue has thus come to be viewed as serving chiefly the social purpose of safeguarding the sanctity of patriarchal marriage.

CHAPTER XI

THE MATRIARCHAL PHASE IN HISTORICAL CIVILISATIONS

Historical civilisations, having developed either out of pastoral societies or out of mixed agricultural and pastoral cultures, all present more or less firmly established patriarchal organisations, that patriarchal character being, as already noted, more pronounced in those which were originally essentially pastoral. It is, of course, owing to the immemorial patriarchal traditions of those societies that the speculations of every period concerning social origins have assumed that form of organisation to be characteristic of the constitution of human society from the beginning. Yet, curiously enough, doubts concerning the accuracy of that assumption suggested themselves in the first instance not through the study of un-civilised societies in which that patriarchal organisation has not yet become established, but from the consideration of facts in the records of the most advanced civilisations themselves, which are found to be irreconcilable with the assumption of their patriarchal origin. It is in part owing to that abnormal mode of approach, through the apparently slender surviving indications of pre-patriarchal phases in patriarchal civilisations, and not by a survey of the development of social conditions from their beginning, that the matriarchal theory suffered from the first in the manner in which it was first presented for consideration. Those indications surviving in the constitution of historical patriarchal societies are, however, as definite in excluding the assumption that their social structure evolved out of originally patriarchal conditions as the more extensive evidence presented by lower cultures.

The patriarchal theory of social origins relied in the tradition of Christian countries upon the pictures of patriarchal pastoralists presented in the Bible. Yet even the traditions of that typically patriarchal organisation supply indications so definite of its evolution from different conditions that they enabled the great Semitic scholar, William Robertson Smith, to draw from them one of the first accounts of the transition from matriarchal to patriarchal social institutions. We know, for instance, that the regular usage among the Hebrews in early times was for a man to "leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife," that is to say, marriage was with them matrilocal, as is fully illustrated by the Biblical account of the marriage of Jacob. The practice of matrilocal marriage was in fact universal among the ancient Semites, and has survived down to the present day among many of the wilder Arab tribes. "The wild men," Burton noted, "do not refuse their daughters to a stranger, but the son-in-law would be forced to settle amongst them." It was a commonplace among Jewish Rabbis that originally the "four matriarchs," Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah, had occupied a more important position, as would naturally be the case under matrilocal marriage, than the "three patriarchs," Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And in fact, the only fragment in the Old Testament which is genuinely of a heavy antiquity far exceeding the compiled traditions of a comparatively much later age, the Song of Deborah, represents the Hebrew tribes under the command of a female 'judge.'

The social features of pre-patriarchal society have sometimes survived under conditions of advanced civilisation. This happened notably in Egypt. Down to the time when a dynasty of Greek rulers sought to introduce foreign usages, the conservative society of the great African kingdom, which has contributed so largely to the material and intellectual culture of the Western world, never lost the lineaments of a matriarchal social order. A continuous progress towards the displacement of matriarchal by patriarchal institutions and usages is, indeed, clearly traceable from the beginning

of historical times through the various phases of Egypt's long career of four thousand years; but to the last the change was never completely effected, and Egypt remained a notable example of a great and highly developed civilisation which retained in a pronounced degree the character of primitive societies.

The functions of royalty in ancient Egypt were regarded as being transmitted in the female line. While every Egyptian princess of the Royal House was born a queen and bore the titles and dignities of the office from the day of her birth, a man only acquired them at his coronation, and could do so only by becoming the consort of a royal princess. It was in the queen, and not in the king, that the mystic or divine virtue attaching to the royal office was thought to reside; and the dependence of the male occupants of the throne upon the queen and the queen-mother for the legitimacy of their title was never lost sight of even by the most powerful and ambitious monarchs. Those features of the constitution of Egyptian royalty are not singular. They are substantially identical with those obtaining in all other African kingdoms. For royal families naturally tend to preserve a more archaic constitution than the families of ordinary people.

The constitution of Egyptian society and of the family was characterised, says Dr. H. R. Hall, by "a distinct preservation of matriarchy, the prominent position of women, and a comparative promiscuity in sexual relations." "Foremost in importance among the distinctive features of the social organisation," says Professor Mittels, "was the position of women; Egypt from time immemorial was a land of matriarchal right." Descent was reckoned through the mother and not through the father. Thus on funeral stelae of all periods "it is the usual custom to trace the descent of the deceased on the mother's side, and not, as we usually do, on that of the father. We read of 'Ned'emu-sneb, born of Sat-Hathor,' of 'Anhor, born of Neb-snet,' or 'Sebekedo, born of Sent,' but who were the respective fathers we are not told, or they are only mentioned incidentally." "In questions of descent the

female line was principally regarded," says Sir William Flinders Petrie. "The mother's name is always given, the father's name may be omitted; the ancestors are always traced farther back in the female than in the male line. The father was only a holder of office, the mother was the family link. Hereditary offices are sometimes traced through a succession of men, but we never meet with a line of solely male descent otherwise." In bilingual documents of the Ptolemaic period, written in Egyptian and in Greek, the mother's name alone is given in the Egyptian text; in the Greek translation the father's name alone is given, or both the father's and mother's. The usage of matrilineal reckoning persisted in Christian times and was still in force in the seventh century, on the eve of the Arab conquest. "The maternal uncle is often named as important. The father of the mother was more important than a man's own father." The care and education of a youth commonly devolved upon the father of his mother. As a consequence of the matrilinear rule of descent there were no illegitimate children in Egypt; a child born out of wedlock enjoyed the same civil rights as one born in marriage. All children belonged to the mother, and in case of separation remained with her. The 'nomes,' or primitive local totemic clans the association of which formed the Egyptian nation, were maternal clans, or motherhoods; the headship of the nomes was hereditarily transmitted through women.

"The family in Egypt," says Sir William Flinders Petrie, "was based on a matriarchal system, the office-holder or farmer who married into a family was a secondary affair; the house and property went with the woman and daughters." "The Egyptian woman of the lower and middle class," says Sir Gaston Maspero, "was more respected, more independent than any other woman in the world. As a wife, she is the real mistress of the house, her husband being, so to speak, merely a privileged guest." "The most important person in the family," says Dr. Hall, "was not the father, but the mother." The Egyptian wife was called the 'Ruler of the House,' 'nebt

per; there is no corresponding term for the husband. "There is nothing in Egyptian jurisprudence which bears any resemblance to the power of the husband as head of the household." "The word 'husband' is only found introduced in contracts between spouses after the reign of Philopator. When the marriage contract is not forthcoming it is not possible to know whether it is the husband who is referred to, except indirectly, as, for instance, when he appears as the father in a partition of property between the children or in any other act concerning them signed by the mother." In monuments of the Old Empire the wife is represented seated on the same seat as the husband, and with her arm over his shoulder in sign of possession. In a man's tomb the figures of his wife, or wives, are invariably represented, even though he be a widower; but, on the other hand, a widow's tomb does not contain the statue of her deceased consort.

Marriage was matrilineal. Where there were two wives, each remained in her own house, the husband visiting them in turn. Not infrequently, especially in the Theban district, there was no cohabitation; both husband and wife remained in their respective homes. This was in all probability the primitive practice. "As late as the XIXth Dynasty there was still surviving the idea that a man was only a boarder in a woman's home." All landed and house property was in the hands of the women; if a man built or acquired a house, it passed immediately to his wife with reversion to the children at her discretion. The women, whether married or single, administered their property personally; the husband was not consulted, and was generally ignorant of his wife's affairs; any interference on his part would, under the Old Empire, have been regarded as illegal. The duty of providing for parents in their old age consequently fell upon the daughters and not upon the sons; and the bride-price which a man had to pay on marriage was sometimes provided, or guaranteed, by his mother.

Marriage does not appear to have been associated with any

religious ceremony. It was essentially an economic transaction, and from an early time was made the subject of a written contract drawn up by a law-scribe, and specifying the economic conditions of the association. We possess several hundreds of such contracts dating from the Ptolemaic period, and at least two from the preceding centuries. In both the latter, as well as in many of the later documents, the woman is the sole contracting party, and imposes her conditions on the man. The chief provision runs as follows: "If I leave thee as husband because I have come to hate thee, or because I love another man, I shall give thee two and a half measures of silver, and return to thee the two and a half measures of silver which thou now givest me as bride-gift." The wording is identical in both contracts, although there is about two centuries' interval between their dates; so that we have to do with a stereotyped established formula. As will be seen, "the woman could divorce as she pleased, and without giving either reason or motive." Sometimes the husband expressly bound himself not to claim any corresponding right; thus we read in a contract drawn up in the name of the husband: "Thou alone shalt be free to go." In addition to the bride-gift, the man had to make regular yearly payments to the wife and also subsidiary contributions; she generally held a mortgage over one-third of his possessions and earnings, but this was often increased so as to include the whole. A condition of things commonly resulted similar to that which we have noted amongst the Beni-Hamer, the husband being deliberately exploited and his substance entirely appropriated by the wife. "In Thebes the woman generally used her position to obtain possession by arts subsequent to the marriage contract of all the husband's goods. This dispossession was often gradual, but sometimes took place at one sweep in the form of a sale, and included all the possessions, present and future, of the husband. Where, as in Thebes, the dwellings of wife and husband were sometimes separate, the man might find himself in danger of starving. He accordingly took the precaution to stipulate that the wife should 'provide

for him during his lifetime, and pay the expenses of his funeral and burial.' " In a love poem of the period of Ramesses II, addressed, as was usual in Egypt, by the lady to her beloved the former opens her heart thus: "O my beautiful friend! My desire is to become, as thy wife, the mistress of all thy possessions!"

The readiness, and even eagerness, which Egyptian husbands appear to have shown in making over their property to their wives was in all probability due in part to the fact that the property was thus transmitted to their children, for, according to matriarchal usage, it would otherwise have passed not to their own, but to their sister's children. Thus, by a curious paradox, the anxiety to secure patriarchal succession greatly contributed to accentuate the economic power of women. To the same desire to combine inheritance in the male line with the matriarchal organisation of the family was also doubtless due the practice of marrying their sisters, which appears to have been more prevalent in Egypt than among any other people, cultured or uncivilised, which we know. So habitual was the usage that even as late as the second century A.D. unions between brothers and sisters constituted in some districts the great majority of the marriages.

"Among private citizens," says Diodorus Siculus after referring to the matriarchal character of the royal family, "the husband, by the terms of the marriage agreement, appertains to the wife, and it is stipulated between them that the man shall obey the woman in all things." That statement, which has been treated with great contempt by generations of Egyptologists, is now known to be no more than a strictly accurate account. The obedience mentioned by Diodorus is inculcated on the husband as a moral precept in 'the oldest book in the world,' the 'Maxims of Ptah-Hotep,' which date from about 3200 B.C. "If thou art wise," says the ancient sage, "keep thy home. Love thy wife and do not quarrel with her. Feed her, clothe her, anoint her. Caress her, and fulfil all her desires as long as thou livest, for she is an estate which brings much profit. Observe what she wisheth, and

that after which her mind runneth; for thus shalt thou induce her to continue with thee. If thou oppose her, it will mean thy ruin." Many centuries later, during the reign of *Rameses II*, another Egyptian moralist repeats the same advice; he counsels the husband to preserve an entirely passive attitude towards his wife. The marriage contracts which we possess conform exactly to the description given by *Diodorus*. Indeed he, if anything, somewhat understates the case. The tone of almost abject servility which pervades these documents is incredible. "I acknowledge thy rights of wife," so runs one of these contracts; "from this day forward I shall never by any word oppose thy claims. I shall acknowledge thee before anyone as my wife, but I have no power to say to thee: 'Thou art my wife.' It is I who am the man who is thy husband. From the day that I become thy husband I cannot oppose thee, in whatsoever place thou mayest please to go. I cede thee . . . (here follows a list of possessions), that are in thy dwelling. I have no power to interfere in any transaction made by thee, from this day. Every document made in my favour by any person is now placed among thy deeds, and is also at the disposal of thy father or of any relatives acting for thee. Thou shalt hold me bound to honour any such deed. Should anyone hand over to me any moneys that are due to thee, I shall hand them over to thee without delay, without opposition, and in addition pay thee a further twenty measures of silver, one hundred shekels, and again twenty measures of silver." "Thou assumest full power over me to compel me to perform these things," declares another similar contract. "What would *Diodorus* have said," remarks Professor *Révillout*, "had he known those contracts by which in ancient times complete cession of all the husband's property to the wife commonly took place?" A papyrus dating from the reign of *Rameses II* recites the abject supplications of a Theban husband to his dead wife, of whose ghost he is still in dread. "This little papyrus," says *M. Choisy*, "is one of the most curious that we know." The terrified widower grovels before the deceased lady, whom he calls

'The Perfect Spirit,' and ventures to complain of the maltreatment he has received at her hands. He urges the consideration which he has shown her throughout her life. He submits that he never neglected her when he acquired an exalted position in the household of Pharaoh, but that he complied with all her whims, and never received anyone in audience except such as she approved of. "Whatever they brought to me, I placed it before thee. I never hid away anything for myself." Can we wonder at the gibes of the Greeks at the 'topsy-turvy world' of Egypt and its henpecked husbands? Yet, although we come upon instances of gross abuse of her power on the part of the wife, as when a husband, after tolerating for a long time the presence of his wife's lover in the house, is ultimately driven away and turned out of house and home, the regimen gave rise in general to the happiest results. The Egyptians, who knew no other kind of home relations and were, as Ptah-Hotep so clearly explains, accustomed to dread the consequences of any foolish neglect, were devoted and affectionate husbands. "The affections of the Egyptians centred in their homes and in their wives and children. The married woman . . . ruled her house and family with a benevolent, but despotic, power."

"The prominent position of the women in the family," remarks Dr. Hall, "led generally to a prominent position of women in Egypt." "No people, ancient or modern," says W. Max Müller, "has given women so high a legal status as did the inhabitants of the Nile valley." Whether single or married, from the earliest age, a girl or woman had the fullest legal rights and could enter independently into any transaction. The institution of guardian was entirely unknown in Egypt, and neither father, brother nor any other relative had the right to interfere, any more than had the husband, in any transaction carried out on her own account by a woman. Indeed, while the husband could not act on behalf of his wife, the latter might act as surety for her husband. An inscription of the time of Ramses III declares that "the foot of an Egyptian woman could wander wheresoever she pleased, and

no one could oppose her." "In Egypt," says Herodotus, "the women go in the market-place, transact affairs and occupy themselves with business, while the husbands stay at home and weave." And in fact under the Old Empire almost any career appears to have been open to a woman.

A continuous tendency towards the restriction of those matriarchal privileges is, however, clearly exhibited throughout the social history of Egypt. During the first dynasties the names of the women exercising the full functions of priestesses are exceedingly numerous. After the XIIIth Dynasty, apart from the sacerdotal functions exercised 'ex officio' by princesses of the royal family, and the secondary religious offices commonly held by women, there is not a single example of a priestess to be found. The freedom of divorce at will, claimed in earlier times by the wife, is in Ptolemaic times claimed by the husband, the same formula being used with the parts reversed. But even when Greek legal usages were introduced under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, they remained for the most part a dead letter, and to the very end Egyptian society retained the indelible stamp of its immemorial matriarchal constitution. "The national juridic usages of Egypt," says Dr. Mitteis, "endeavoured to resist the influence of Hellenism, and did in fact successfully withstand that influence throughout the whole period when Hellenism ruled, and down to the time of the Islamic conquest. The characteristic features of Egyptian marriage laws appear to have endured with great obstinacy."

The culture of those Hellenic lands whence came the travellers who made merry over the henpecked condition of Egyptian husbands and the foreign rulers who sought to introduce patriarchal usages into Egypt had itself formerly been, as some of the foremost authorities on primitive Greece feel compelled to conclude, even more pronouncedly matriarchal in character than was Egyptian society at the time of Herodotus or of Diodorus. Herodotus noted, as we have seen, that the Lykians reckoned descent in the female and not in the

male line, and he adds that children followed the condition of their mother and not that of their father. The statement is confirmed by Nymphis of Heraklea. In the 'Iliad,' in fact, the leader of the Lykians, Sarpedon, is represented as having inherited the crown according to matrilinear rules of succession from his mother, while in accordance with patriarchal usage his cousin Glaukos should have been the heir; and Bellerophon acquires a title to the throne by marrying a royal princess. Heraklides Ponticus says that the Lykians were from of old under the rule of the women. Nicholas of Damascus, a later writer who had access to books which are now lost, tells us that "amongst the Lykians the women are honoured more than the men," and adds the information that not only kinship, but also the transmission of property, followed the patriarchal rule, the daughters inheriting from their mothers. The evidence of monuments and inscriptions, though scanty—most Lykian monuments at present known to us are of late date, belonging to the Persian and Roman periods—corroborates that information. On several the mother is named, while the father is not mentioned. As late as the second century A.D. a certain Eutuches is called "son of Claudia Velia Procta"; no father is named. As in Egypt, birth out of wedlock did not constitute illegitimacy and entailed no civil disability. The women had the right of divorce, and appear to have freely used it. In an inscription we possess a father stipulates with a woman to whom his son is about to be married that she shall not divorce him. That property was largely in the hands of the women is evidenced by their activity as holders; it was amongst them a prevalent custom to build monumental tombs for themselves and their husbands during their lifetime.

The Lykians, who are referred to as 'Lukka' in the Egyptian diplomatic correspondence of the XVIIIth Dynasty found at Tell-el-Amarna, appear to have formerly ranged over a considerable portion of western Anatolia. Amongst the secluded population of Lykia proper, walled in and isolated by the Taurus mountains, usages that had passed away in

more frequented regions persisted until the time of Herodotus. Notwithstanding his statement, there is, however, every reason to think that there was nothing peculiar to the Lykians in the matriarchal character of their social organisation. The dynastic history of their close kinsmen and neighbours, the natives of Karia, Herodotus' own country, affords pretty clear evidence that similar usages were native amongst them. Amongst the Lydians, we are definitely told, "the men are subject to female domination." The Lydian women chose their own husbands and disposed of themselves as they pleased before marriage. Their royal house was traditionally traced to an Amazonian foundress, Omphale, whose husband was her slave and was subjected to every indignity; the throne went with the queen and not with the king.

In the same passage in which he refers to the matriarchal constitution of the Lykians, Herodotus informs us that they were a colony of Kretans. "The Lykians were originally natives of Krete. . . . When a dispute broke out between Sarpedon and Minos, the sons of Europa, concerning the throne, Minos prevailed and banished Sarpedon and his followers, who, being thus driven from their motherland, passed over into Asia, to the land of Milyas, for the country now occupied by the Lykians was formerly called Milyas. . . . In process of time they changed their ancient name and called themselves Lykians." The tradition is amply confirmed by the evidence of archaeology, language and place-names; as is also the identity of their kinsmen, the Karians, who were also "subjects of Minos," with the Kretans.

The marvellous remains of the great civilisation of Krete, the discovery of which has completely changed our perspective of the origins of Greek and of European culture, and doubled the age of the latter, afford a mute testimony, perhaps more eloquent and striking than the statements of ancient writers, as to the matriarchal character of society among the Kretans and their colonists. No feature in the wealth of pictorial remains of that civilisation which has been brought to light during the first years of the present century is more

conspicuous than the paramount place occupied by women, and the picture of Minoan Kreta which they present is that of a veritable 'Isle of Women.' The enormous predominance of female over male figures is without parallel in the art of any time or country. Not only are Kretan divinities almost exclusively feminine, as are also the innumerable votive figures, but women alone figure as priestesses in religious ceremonies. These characteristics are equally marked from the most ancient neolithic times to the height of Minoan culture. "At the dawn of civilisation woman sheds through religion a light so brilliant that the figures of males remain ignored and in shadow." On the great sarcophagus of Hagia Triada the sacrifice is being performed entirely by women, the men being attendant musicians and porters. "It may be admitted without reserve," remarks Dr. Mosso, "that at this epoch, that is to say, about 1500 B.C., Minoan religion had preserved its matriarchal character. The supremacy of woman in religion was thus maintained until Mykenean times." And, as the same writer elsewhere remarks, "the predominance of woman in religious functions, together with the fact that the idols are almost exclusively feminine, suggests that in Minoan times women played a preponderating directive part both in religion and in the family." That prominence is, in fact, no less apparent in scenes of secular life. The art of ancient Kreta as a whole is marked by "the contrast between the importance of the functions exercised by the women and the relatively humble character of the offices assigned to the men." There are numerous representations of men in Minoan art, but they one and all picture them as engaged in subordinate occupations; there are cup-bearers, pages, musicians, hull-fighters, harvesters, sailors, soldiers—not a single pictorial presentment exists representing a king, prince or hero, and devoted to the glorification of a man, or showing him in an attitude of domination or a position of exaltation. The female figures, on the other hand, bear invariably in their countenance and attitude the stamp of that self-possessed independence which, in primitive matriarchal

societies, is one of the surest indices of their status. "There is no question of a rigorous separation of the sexes." The Greeks of the classical age were aware that, in opposition to their own usages, "it was the custom in Krete that the women also should attend spectacles." Apparellled in elaborate and richly embroidered garments of ultra-modern fashion—divided skirts with variegated, peaked flounces were among their vogues—contrasting with the plain loin-cloth worn by the men, Minoan women are seen mixing freely with the latter in scenes of festival, or surveying spectacles from balconies and terraces. Their apartments are luxuriously adorned, and fitted with bathrooms and 'all modern conveniences.' Elsewhere they are seen riding in chariots driven by female charioteers. "This social position of the women is in marked contrast with the customs of all the ancient peoples that are known to us." "It is certain," remarks Dr. Hall, "that they must have lived on a footing of greater equality with the men than in any other ancient civilization." Of special interest is the representation of the 'Queen's Procession' in the palace of Knossos, of which unfortunately only the lower portion is preserved. It appears to represent a payment of tribute, and the procession is received by two female figures, the foremost of which is, according to Sir Arthur Evans, "a queen surely, in richly embroidered robe." "Probably in Minoan Krete," says Dr. Hall, "women played a greater part than they did even in Egypt, and it may eventually appear that religious matters, perhaps even the government of the State as well, were largely controlled by women." Klidemos tells us, in fact, that after the death of Deukalion, the throne passed to Ariadne, who concluded a treaty of peace with Athens.

Marriage in Krete was matrilineal, as appears from Strabo, and from the famous laws inscribed in the seventh century B.C. on the walls of the temple of Gortyna. Those laws belong to a definitely patriarchal society, but they contain many traces of older usages which stand in contrast with the institutions and juridic conceptions of later Greece. The mother's brother occupies an important position, and upon him, in the absence

of the father, devolves the care and upbringing of his sisters' children. In Mykenae, when Eurystheus went forth against the Heraklides, it was his mother's brother, Atreus, who took charge of the government; and thus was founded the dynasty of the Atreids. A man's property passed to his children; but in the absence of children his sister's children are also mentioned amongst his heirs. Both men and women inherited, and from the attention which the legislation devotes to heiresses it appears that house and land property was frequently in the hands of the women. A woman, on marriage, retained full control of her property, whether inherited or acquired, and the husband had no right to deal with it in any way; the children inherited both from their father and from their mother. The wife, like the husband, had the right of divorce at her pleasure.

Krete was the most brilliant focus of a culture which, during prehistoric times and during that period which is now generally spoken of as 'Mykenae,' and which is reflected in a somewhat distorted form in the traditions of the 'heroic' age, was common to all the peoples of the Aegean, whom the Greeks called Pelasgians, or 'The Peoples of the Sea.' We find it with the same characters throughout western Anatolia as far as the Troad, in the Kyklades, and on the mainland of Greece at Argos, Tiryns, Mykenae, where the 'Achaean' conquerors were in turn conquered by the superior native culture which they adopted, and which laid the foundation of Hellenic civilisation. Those various Aegean peoples were culturally, linguistically, and doubtless ethnically one. The same race peopled not only the Aegean, but in all probability the greater part of the Mediterranean coasts, where prehistoric cultural development presents the same features which we find in Krete; and the prehistoric peoples who decorated the caves of northern Spain were probably the kinsmen of the artists of Knossos. Every advance in our knowledge tends to confirm the view that the Mediterranean race came from Africa, driven by the desiccation of the once fertile Sahara at a time when land-bridges still spanned the inland sea. The Berbers and Tuaregs

would thus be the surviving African relatives of the race which gave birth to European culture, a view which derives interesting confirmation from the fact that the archaic writing, the knowledge of which is preserved to this day by Tuareg women, presents a striking similarity to the scripts of Minoan Krete and the Aegean.

It has been suggested that, while the aboriginal, or 'Pelagian,' populations of the Aegean were matriarchal in their social organisation, the invading conquerors, or Hellenes proper, "brought with them as a precious possession the patriarchal system." It is exceedingly doubtful whether there existed any fundamental ethnical differences between the populations which had inhabited the Aegean from neolithic times and the Greeks. If the distinction be logically adhered to, we must then regard the Athenians as not Greek. They always insisted that they were 'autochthonous,' and we are told in so many words that they were 'Pelagians.' The Dorians (whom alone Herodotus calls 'Hellenes') certainly came to the Peloponnese from the north, but there is no evidence that their northern habitat was any farther north than Epirus, or at most the southern shores of the Danube, a region where we find the neolithic culture of Butmir identical with that of Krete, and the first great European iron culture of Hallstatt. The Greeks were, like all Aegean peoples, dolichocephalic, and not, like Germans and Asiatics, brachycephalic.

Be that as it may, the invading peoples are typically, if not exclusively, represented by the Dorians. The Spartans appear to many, as they did to Pater, "the embodiment of the specially Hellenic elements in Hellenism." Their social organisation, which so greatly excited the interest of the autochthonous Athenians of later days, and which was set down to the 'legislation' of a mythical Lykurgus, was not the product of any progressive development or of the adoption of extraneous usages, but of the most stubborn conservatism, and, as Oufried Müller remarks, "preserved most rigidly, and represented most truly, the customs of the ancient Greeks." Yet nothing could be farther removed from, or less sug-

gestive of, the principles of a patriarchal society than those customs. They were so similar to those of ancient Kreta that it was the current view that they had been borrowed from the Kretans. They present a picture which reminds the ethnologist of nothing so much as of the social organisation of the North American Indians. Spartan marriage customs hark back to some of the most primitive forms of sexual organisation. The women and girls were entirely unrestricted both in their social and sexual relations, and were free to dispose of themselves as they pleased before marriage; virginity, consequently, was not demanded of a bride. Children born out of wedlock were called 'parthenoi,' that is, 'virgin-born,' and were regarded as in every respect equal to those born in wedlock, although, as Justin says, "they had no father." So customary were such extra-conjugal relations that at the time of Argesilaos, the Spartans who 'had no father' actually exceeded in number those born in regular wedlock. At the time of the first Messenian war it was found impossible to provide them all with land, and a number of 'virgin-born' Spartans accordingly emigrated and founded the city of Tarentum. The Spartans practised fraternal polyandry. These are not the social customs which we associate with the patriarchal order of society, but are features commonly found in certain phases of matriarchal society, and are, in fact, identical with the usages of the Iroquois and Hurons, and other warlike matriarchal North American tribes. The position of women in conservative Sparta differed completely from their condition in other parts of Greece during the historical age. They were, says Plutarch, "the only women in Greece who ruled over their men." "Spartan mothers," remarks Ottfried Müller, "preserved a power over their sons when arrived at manhood, of which we find no trace in the rest of Greece." They were commonly consulted on political questions; and not only could they inherit and bestow property on their husbands as heiresses, but nearly all property in Sparta was, in fact, in their hands.

As we should expect, with these matriarchal features of

Spartan society went the custom of matrilocal marriage. The Spartan Penelope, it is true, follows in the myth of Odysseus her husband to his home, but in the Spartan version of the story she is represented as breaking through, in doing so, the usage to which she was expected to conform. And it was, in fact, the general practice for the Spartan wife to remain, at least for a period, in her maternal home, where she was visited by her husband. "That this usage was retained to the last days of Sparta may be inferred from the fact that the young wife of Panteus was still in the house of her parents, and remained there, when he went with Kleomenes to Egypt." Even where a bride was removed, after a time, to her husband's house, it was customary for her mother to remain with her and to follow her to her new home.

The Lokrian colony of Cape Zephyrus, one of the most ancient Greek settlements in southern Italy, was also regarded, like Sparta, as having preserved more archaic usages than other Hellenic States. The code of laws for which it was famed was, in fact, reputed to have been the first of any Greek laws to be committed to writing. And, in truth, certain usages of ritual sexual licence, quite opposed to the sentiments of most Greek communities in historical times, survived until a late date among the Epizephyrian Lokrians. Their laws, like those of Sparta, were ascribed to a mythical legislator, Zaleucus, who, probably owing to the character of those laws, was fancifully supposed to have been a disciple of that feminist philosopher Pythagoras, although as a matter of fact even tradition assigned to him a far older date. Of the Epizephyrian Lokrians we are told that amongst them "all fame and honour attaching to descent is derived through the women, and not through the men. Those families alone are accounted noble which belong to the so-called 'Hundred Houses.' These 'Hundred Houses' are those which were already distinguished among the Lokrians before they sent out the colony." An aetiological myth was adduced to account for the fact that "nobility is with them transmitted by the women."

Current tradition in Athens represented the forms of marriage and the status of women in primitive times as having been entirely different from those which obtained in the historical age. It was said that, in primitive Athens as with the 'virgin-born' citizens of Sparta, the men had no fathers: "at one time because of the general promiscuity, men did not know their own fathers." Marriage—that is, of course, patriarchal marriage—was said to have been 'instituted' by Kekrops, the mythical king who preceded Deukalion; he "was the first who joined men and women together in matrimony." He was, therefore, surnamed 'diphues,' 'of a double nature,' for before him, children had a mother, but no father; they were unilateral. Aeschylus, in his 'Eumenides,' assumes the tradition, and represents the change from the 'ancient law' to that of the 'new gods' as chiefly manifested in the different way of viewing the relation of maternal and paternal kinship. The tradition of the contest between the 'old gods' and the 'new gods,' to which the play of Aeschylus refers, gave a detailed account of the concomitant changes which were understood to have taken place in the civic status of the women. The famous contest between Athene and Poseidon for the possession of the city was, according to the account of Varro which has been preserved by St. Augustine, decided by the votes of the Athenian citizens; but in the 'ecclesia,' or popular assembly of those days, not only the men, but also the women voted. The latter voted for Athene, while the men voted for Poseidon, and the number of the women exceeding that of the men by one, the victory went to Athene. Poseidon vented his anger by flooding the land; and, in order to pacify him, the following punishment was inflicted upon the women: "That in future they should be disfranchised, that no child should receive the name of its mother, and that women should no longer be regarded as Athenian citizens." "Athene," comments Augustine to point out his moral as to the impotence of pagan deities, "afforded no assistance to her votaries; they henceforth lost the power of voting, and their children ceased to assume the name of their mothers."

Those current Athenian traditions are not, of course, historical records, and they may be regarded as mythical in the same sense as the contest between Poseidon and Athene is mythical. But no mythologist nowadays has any doubt that the latter is not a pure gratuitous fancy, but represents an actual conflict between native and foreign cults. It would be even more difficult to imagine why a people organised on strictly patriarchal principles, and among whom the status of women was lower than in any other western civilised country, should come to devise a theory of primitive matriarchy which many modern scholars, in spite of the strongest evidence, have shown the utmost reluctance to accept. Those traditional reports, which taken by themselves would not constitute sufficient ground for any definite conclusion, are in entire harmony with those to which we are led by a considerable body of evidence.

Gods and heroes are commonly referred to in Greek genealogies by the names of their mothers, as 'Apollo, the son of Leto,' 'Dionysos, the son of Semele,' 'Herakles, the son of Alkmene,' 'Achilles, the son of Thetis,' and so forth. It is true that they are also regarded as the sons of Zeus, the universal Father; but Zeus, as in some districts Poseidon, merely plays the part of a unifying principle, which served to connect the various local gods and heroes with the Olympus of a later theology, or represented a fertilising principle in general. Such gods and heroes were in fact 'virgin-born,' that is to say, they were in the same case as the Athenians are reported to have been before Kekrops 'instituted marriage'; they did not know their fathers. Even where a father is distinctly referred to in connection with a Greek hero, a prominence is given to his mother which is quite foreign to the usage of historical times, and which leads one to suspect in many instances that the father's name is an addition of later times. Jason, for instance, is expressly stated to be 'virgin-born.' The heroes of the oldest Greek sagas, the Argonauts, or, as they were more commonly called, the Minyans, all trace their descent through women to a common ancestress, Minya, or to Klymeneis, the

mother of Jason, who was "the daughter of the daughter of Minya." Although the 'Catalogues of Women' referred to by Greek writers are unfortunately lost, early Greek genealogies are in fact little else than 'Catalogues of Women.' The relationship between Theseus and Herakles, to which so much importance is attached in archaic Athenian tradition, is traced through women, their mothers, Aithra and Alkmene, being regarded as daughters of Hippodamia. In primitive Greece the women did, as a matter of fact, give their names not only to their children, as the Athenian tradition mentions, but to their families, clans and tribes. Thus the Athenians claimed to be descended from Athis, the daughter of Kranos; the Spartans from Sparta, the daughter of Eurotas; the Thebans and the Arginetsans from the two sisters Thebe and Aegina, and so forth. In fact, "every little valley community was apt to count its descent from some local ancestress." The very grammatical form of Greek family or tribal names, ending in '-ida,' is a purely feminine form, and, in the south-western dialects at least, those names were declined as feminine names; they apply to women, not to men. Later traditions frequently substituted obscure male eponyms for the original eponymae, but that very anxiety to adapt the primitive usage to later conceptions bears witness to the significance of the former. The Ionians were supposed to be called after a certain 'Ion,' the 'grandson of Helen'; but the true eponyma of the Ionians is revealed by the fact that the Ionian Sea, which manifestly derived its name from the neighbouring Ionian settlements, was understood to be named after Io. Similarly the name of the Dorians was vaguely traced to an obscure 'Doras,' or 'Dorion,' a 'son of Helen'; but it appears more probable that the name was derived from the lunar goddess Doris, 'the Engenderer,' the mother of the fifty Nereids, of whom Thetis, the mother of Achilles, was one. Both Ionians and Dorians traced their descent from Helen, the daughter of the Moon, and there can, I think, be little doubt that she was the true ancestress of the Hellenes.

In princely houses, of which alone, of course, traditional

records have reached us, it is the women who transmit both titles and property; that is, they remain in the maternal home, and, on the contrary, the sons regularly depart, and marry in some other town princesses whose title they share. That is the form of marriage which Alkinoos proposes to Odysseus: "I should wish," he says to him, "that so goodly a man as thou art and so likeminded with me, would take my daughter to wife, and be called my son, and abide with me; a house and possessions would I give thee if thou wouldst accept and remain." For a princess to follow her husband to his own home, as did Penelope, was thought an unusual innovation in custom.

Professor Gilbert Murray thus briefly sums up the social conditions represented in the heroic age of Greece: "House property belonged to the woman, and descended from mother to daughter. The father did not count—at least not primarily—in the reckoning of relationship. He did count for something, since exogamy, not endogamy, was the rule. The sons went off to foreign villages to serve and marry women in possession of the land there. Their sisters, we have reason to believe, generally provided them with dowries."

We have, in fact, in Athens itself, in historical times, very definite indications that marriage was originally matrilineal. It was the custom that after an Athenian husband had removed his wife to his own home, and spent the wedding night there, the couple should return on the second night to the home of the bride and sleep in the house of her family. That custom, which is similarly observed by many peoples who formerly practised matrilineal marriage, as, for instance, by the Bala of Rhodesia who, within recent times were matrilineal in their marriage usages, can only be interpreted as being derived from the like practice among the ancient Athenians. And, in fact, Athenian marriage never became, even in historical times, thoroughly patrilineal. The law on the subject was extremely peculiar, and although there are countless parallels to it among uncultured peoples whose social organisation is pronouncedly matriarchal, it presents a strange contrast with

the marriage laws of other civilised patriarchal societies. The Athenian wife, though she removed to the home of her husband, never became legally regarded as a member of his family and household, but remained for all juridic purposes a member of her parental household and family. She continued under the guardianship of her father, who could at any time take her away from her husband and either bring her back home or marry her to another man. If she had no father, her brother or next-of-kin could exercise the same right, and if, by testament, her legal guardian appointed some other kinsman, however remote, to the office, he could in the same manner take the wife away from her husband without being bound to give a reason. A wife had no claim whatever on any of her husband's property, which might at his death go to a distant cousin without a penny of it passing to his widow; on the other hand, the wife had a right, whenever she left her husband or he died, to take back the whole of her dowry. When the husband died, the widow did not continue to reside in his house, but returned at once to her own people, unless she happened to be pregnant at the time, when she would be permitted to remain until the child was born. It will, I think, be seen that it is quite impossible to conceive those peculiar laws as having developed in the first place in a state of society where the traditional custom was for the husband to transfer the wife to his household, and to become the founder of a patriarchal family in which he should be absolute master; the Athenian law of marriage is evidently derived from usages according to which the wife continued to be, after marriage, a member of her own household and family. The law in historical Athens, although it placed her in a position of strict subjection and deprived her of almost every right, assigned the control to which she was subject to the male members of her own household and not to her husband; she never became a part of the latter's family. In the Islands of Greece the many vicissitudes of history have often had but little influence upon the customs and mode of life of the inhabitants, and the traveller often comes upon scenes

that answer in every detail to the descriptions of the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey.' In several Greek islands at the present day, it is the invariable custom for a husband to take up his abode after marriage with the family of his wife.

That adaptation of the laws of a matriarchally organised society to patriarchal ideas and aims is no less clearly exhibited by the legislation concerning inheritance. The Athenian law in this respect was very similar to the Kretan law preserved at Gortyna. As regards the latter we can have very little doubt that it derived from the usages of a purely matriarchal society. An enormous amount of attention is devoted in the code of Gortyna to the case of heiresses legally holding landed property. Such an heiress is compelled, according to the seventh-century Kretan code, to marry her nearest male kinsman, excepting the forbidden degrees; she must marry her father's brother, if there is one—if not, one of his sons; in any case a member of the family. It is fairly obvious that this is a provision to secure that the property shall remain with the male members of the family, although, if that had been the original intention of the Kretan usage as to the transmission of property, the purpose would have been much more simply achieved by excluding females altogether from the succession and making it transmissible in the male line only. The Gortynian law is, therefore, clearly designed to adapt an older usage of succession to landed property in the female line to the requirements of succession in the male line, in much the same way as in Egypt the same purpose was achieved by the practice of incest. The Athenian law was exactly the same, save that the interests of the male kinsmen were even more strictly protected. A woman could, and commonly did, inherit landed property, but in that case she had not the slightest control over that property or any option as to her marriage. The property lay fallow until she married, and she was obliged by law to marry her nearest male kinsman, or whomsoever the testator from whom the property was derived might have appointed as her husband. Even if the woman were already married at the time that she inherited

the land, the male heir had a right to take her away from her husband, whose marriage became null and void, and to marry her. The woman was thus tied to the land; in order to obtain the latter it was necessary to marry her, but, on the other hand, she was debarred from marrying anyone except the male heir according to patriarchal law. Here again, then, as in the ordinary law of marriage, the Athenian law was a forcible and somewhat circuitous device to adapt traditional matriarchal usage to the aims and objects of patriarchal usage, and the law would be quite unintelligible had the latter aims and objects been in view from the first. "The fact that even in classical times, when the succession was through males, the claim of a woman who had no brother to the family land remained paramount, points distinctly," Professor Ridgeway remarks, "to a time when all property descended through women." And he is not, I think, putting it too strongly when he says, on the strength of that evidence, that it is "certain that at Athens there had been a time when descent was traced and property passed through females."

The contrast between the social constitution of primitive and that of historical Greece does not, then, appear to be due to racial differences, but to the transition from a matriarchal to a patriarchal type of social institutions. And no contrast could well be more glaring than that presented by the position of women, and the social organisation pictured in the 'Homeric' world and that found in Greece in historical times. The position of women in historical Greece was, beyond all comparison, the most degraded and abject to be found in any civilised country of the Western world, and for a parallel to it we must go to China. In the Homeric poems, as in the remains of Mykenean and Aegean civilisation, we come upon the exact opposite. The discrepancy has been a source of endless perplexity to critics and scholars. "There is nothing more remarkable in the social history of Greece," says one writer, "than the difference in the character and position of women, as set forth in the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey,' and as we see them in the pages of the tragedians and comedians of the

so-called classical period." So conspicuous is the preponderance of women in the 'Odyssey' that no less a scholar than Richard Bentley, who cannot be suspected of modernism, declared that it had been specially composed for women. That feminine predominance suggested to Samuel Butler the whimsical theory that the epos must have been written by a woman. "Throughout the 'Odyssey' it is the women who are directing, counselling, and protecting the men." Whenever Odysseus goes, in "the Navel of the Sea," in the Isle of Aiale, to the country of the Laistrygonians, in that of the Phaiakians, in his own Ithaka itself, he comes upon a queen or 'queen-goddess,' ruling the land alone or with a quite subordinate consort. The royal houses are founded by women, and the royal office is transmitted by the practice of dynastic incest. In relating his interview with the shades of the netherworld, when "sent forth by august Persephone, the women came, the wives of chiefs and their daughters," Odysseus recites 'Catalogues of women,' giving the female genealogies of the Minyan and Aiolian houses. Queen Arete, "honoured as no other woman in the world is honoured," is "looked upon by her people as a goddess," and takes invariable precedence over her consort-brother in receiving and entertaining her guest, and making provision for his repatriation. "Pass him by without notice," says Nausikaa to Odysseus, speaking of her father, "and about my mother's knees clasp thou thy hands, that thou mayest see with joy the day of thy return." After he has given an account of himself, it is the queen who speaks to the assembled people: "Phaiakians! This man is my guest, though all share the honour; wherefore be in no haste to dismiss him, nor stint in giving him what he so much requires; for many are the treasures that, by the bounty of the gods, lie in our stores." As a sort of afterthought, Echenos steps in with the words: "Friends, the speech of our wise queen is verily not wide of the mark, nor far from our deeming; so hearken thereto. But on Alkinoos here both word and work depend." But that forced and clumsy attempt to reconcile the unfamiliar social rela-

tions pictured in the old saga with later usages and ideas is but one of the innumerable incongruities resulting from the re-editing in a later age of the 'chansons de geste' transmitted by an older society. "That contradiction," remarks Mr. Thomson, speaking of the whole subject of the inconsistencies that teem in the classical version of the poems, "disappears when we recognise that they were composed for a race with patriarchal institutions out of material derived from an older matrilinear society. The 'Odyssey,' in its treatment of women, recalls a society in which they held a great place. But to find such a society we must pass out of recorded Greek history, throughout which they held in Ionia and Athens, the preservers of Homer, a very different position, and awakened somewhat different sentiments." That position and that sentiment differ indeed, as much from those of historic Greece 'as do the figures of Klytemnestra, Alkestis, Cassandra, Medea, Polyxena, Hermione, Antigone, adopted, but in a different spirit from that of the epos, by the convention of the tragic poets, were unlike the shadowy Greek wife, artificially stunted in mind, and sequestered in the obscurity of the 'gynaikonitis,' who was not even permitted to witness the representation of her ancestresses on the stage. "How early," exclaims Ottfried Müller, "was the period when the ancient constitution of the Grecian family degenerated into the slavery of the wife!"

Rome stands for the very type and stronghold of the patriarchal organisation of society, and it is in a very large measure from her that our own patriarchal social organisation and sentiments have been derived. It is also from that form of society, together with the Biblical accounts of the 'patriarchal age,' that the ideas and theories of social evolution which prevailed generally before the rise of modern anthropological science were chiefly drawn by the foremost students of the subject. Roman writers themselves, with their keen interest in all political and legal questions, devoted considerable attention to the structure and development of

their institutions and, of course, interpreted them in terms of the principles which were axiomatic in their day, that is, in terms of patriarchal society. But, curiously enough, they regarded that constitution of society as in a large measure peculiar to themselves; they considered that they were the only people with whom the absolute patriarchal rule of the father as head of the family was, properly speaking, fully developed. "There is scarcely any other race of men," said their foremost jurists, "who have the same power over their sons which we have." Dion Chrysostom contrasts the servile status of the children in the Roman family with their position amongst other peoples. Yet, although the Roman patriarchal family affords the type of what, in the patriarchal theory of social origins, constituted the primitive germ of all human society from the beginning, eminent students of Roman social institutions, such as Sir Henry Maine and Fustel de Coulanges, have had to confess that they were unable to account for the development of those institutions, as represented in the existing documents, from original patriarchal families, and have been at a loss to trace in Roman sociology the development of that organisation.

The primitive Romans were, we know, divided into tribes; those tribes again consisted of 'curiæ,' which Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us corresponded to the Greek 'phratries,' or, roughly speaking, to what we may call clans. Concerning the organisation of those clans, or 'curiæ,' which constituted the fundamental form of grouping of the primitive Roman population, Livy gives us some interesting information, which is confirmed by Plutarch. We are told that the joyful peace which followed after the war between the Romans and the Sabines endeared the Sabine women to their husbands and to Romulus, who "therefore, when he divided the people into thirty curiæ gave to each the name of one of those Sabine women. Doubtless the number of those women was somewhat greater than that of the curiæ, but tradition does not relate whether their names were given to the curiæ according to their age and the rank of their hus-

hands, or whether they were chosen by lot." We need, of course, take little notice of the clumsy and manifestly ætiological explanation given to account for the origin of the women's names borne by the *curiæ*, except as showing that the metronymous *curiæ* dated from times beyond the memory of Roman tradition. The fact which stands out is that the Roman clans, or *curiæ*, were named after women, that is, after the mothers and not the fathers of the clans. And thus the primitive organisation of the Romans consisted of 'Motherhoods' similar to those which we have come across among so many primitive peoples. The Latin people as a whole, also derived their name, not from their tribal ancestor, but from their tribal ancestress; for the former, or first king of the Latins, was, according to tradition, Saturnus, and his wife was Latin, and it was after the mother of the race, and not after the father, that the Latin people were named.

The inference which those facts suggest, that the social constitution of the early Romans was matriarchal, and that the women not only gave their names to the clans, but were the owners of the land, is confirmed by other evidence. The land upon which Rome itself was built was, according to tradition, inherited by the Roman people from women. It is reported that Acca Larentia, who is curiously described as "a most noble prostitute"—"*nobilissima meretrix*"—and had her home on the Velabrum, married a wealthy Etruscan, "whose home she ruled," and that when she died she left the land to the Roman people. The same thing is also stated of the Vestal Galla Tarratia.

And in fact, as always happens when the women and not the men are the owners of landed property, the succession to the throne did not take place with the Roman kings in the male line; although they had sons, these did not inherit their father's crown. Sometimes it passed to strangers whose title, however, was confirmed by their marrying a woman of the royal house, a usage which is common in primitive royalty among matriarchal people. In other words, the rights of succession lay in the female line, and if a male of the royal family

had a claim to the throne it was not through his father, but through his mother, and he did not succeed his father, but his uncle. That this was the rule of succession in primitive Rome we are expressly told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who makes Tatia say, speaking of Tarquin to his nephew: "Not only his property, but also his kingdom belongs to you by hereditary right, since you are the eldest of his nephews." And we find in fact that the crown was in early Rome transmitted along the female line, and that with the later kings, about whom our information may be regarded as more historical than that concerning the earlier ones, a keen rivalry and hostility existed between uncles and nephews. Tarquin the Proud actually caused one of his nephews to be murdered in the hope of securing the succession for his own son. The other nephew, however, Lucius Junius Brutus, escaped by feigning, like Hamlet, mental derangement. It was upon him, in accordance with matriarchal law, that after the assault on his niece Lucretia, the duty of blood-revenge devolved, and not on her husband or on her father; and he drove the tyrant from the throne and succeeded to his power, though the office changed name, as being the rightful heir. Thus the relations between maternal uncle and sister's son followed in primitive Rome the matriarchal and not the patriarchal rule. As in all matriarchal societies, the distinction between paternal and maternal uncle was clearly drawn. The former was called 'patruus,' the latter 'avunculus,' a diminutive of 'avus,' that is, 'ancestor,' or 'the person from whom one inherits.' In our word 'uncle,' which is a corruption of 'avunculus,' is therefore preserved a relic of the primal order of succession in matriarchal society.

Of the Italian populations, by far the most important, the Etruscans, who in all probability were the actual founders of Rome, are known to have been definitely matriarchal. "The singular custom of the Lykians, of tracing their descent by the maternal line," remarks Dennis, "obtained also among the Etruscans." "There is no instance of an Etruscan agnomen," that is, of a name derived from the father. On

funeral monuments the sole name by which the deceased is designated is usually his metronymic; in bilingual inscriptions the father's name is inserted in the Latin version only, while sometimes the mother's name, which is always given in the Etruscan inscription, is omitted in the Latin. That nomenclature, Lord Crawford quaintly remarks, "illustrates that respect for mothers, and, it may be inferred, for the female sex in general, which forms so favourable a characteristic of the Etruscans." Most writers, however, far from appreciating that "favourable characteristic," have been at a good deal of pains to make excuses for the attitude of the Etruscans towards the female sex in general; for the same customs obtained amongst them as are generally found in a matriarchal order of society. Girls were unrestrained before marriage, and were said to earn their dowry by prostitution. Their freedom of disposing of themselves was scarcely more restricted after marriage. "It is a custom instituted by law among the Etruscans," says Theopompus, "that wives should be in common." In their frequent feasts or banquets, the luxury of which was celebrated, the married women lay with the men on rich couches; not, however, with their husbands, but with any man they chose, and had freedom of intercourse with him. Paternity was, we are told, unknown. "It is very significant from an ethnological point of view," remarks Canon Taylor, "that no word for 'father' has yet been detected in the inscriptions. The words denoting 'husband' and 'wife' are also somewhat doubtful." "Of marriages," says Dennis, "few representations which have not a mythical reference have been found on the sarcophagi or sepulchral urns of Etruria." In some tombs containing husband and wife, the former is not mentioned in the Etruscan text, while his name appears alone in the Latin version. "It has generally been remarked that the tombs of women are more highly ornamented and richly furnished than those of the opposite sex."

It would be extremely difficult to imagine how in primitive times two populations, which were so intimately intermingled

as were the Etruscans and the local Italic tribes which, together with them, formed the population of Rome, could each have maintained a separate and totally different form of social constitution and nomenclature of kinship, the one matriarchal and the other patriarchal. In the bilingual sepulchral inscriptions of Etruria special devices have to be adopted to render the matriarchal Etruscan nomenclature of kinship in accordance with later Latin usage. A paternal 'cognomen' has to be fabricated. But the Latin 'cognomen,' which denoted the 'gens,' that is, the 'generation,' with which a Roman was connected, properly means a name derived from maternal relations, 'cognates.' The correct term for a patronymic, derived from the paternal, or 'agnatic,' relatives, would be 'agnomen'; but the term was never used, and was only introduced by grammarians in the fourth century.

The very same language which is used by Theopompus in speaking of the Etruscans, and which is the usual manner of referring to a matrilinear organisation, was employed in speaking of the Roman plebeians themselves; they were said not to know their fathers. But that originally the nobility were in exactly the same case we know from the evidence furnished by Vergil, who was thoroughly familiar with primitive Latin tradition. The most eminent of the Latin nobles, Drances, the friend and counsellor of King Latinus, "was proud of the nobility derived from his mother; as to his father he was uncertain." That uncertainty of the Latin nobility as to their paternal descent was shared by the kings of Rome themselves. Not only Romulus, but also Aucus Martius and Servius Tullius, knew their mothers, but not their fathers.

The patriarchal principle, the legal provision by which the man transmits his property to his son, was evidently an innovation of the 'patricians,' that is, of the partisans of the patriarchal order, the wealthy, the owners of property. They disintegrated the primitive mother-clan by forming patriarchal families, which they 'led out of' the clan—'familiam ducentes.' The patricians set up the paternal rule of descent, and regarded the father, and not the mother, as the basis of kin-

ship—"patres ceteri possunt." "They are either called 'patres,' " says Mommsen, "inasmuch as they alone are, or can be, fathers, or else in adjectival form 'patricii,' inasmuch as they alone have a father." We find in other parts of the world the classes with whom wealth accumulates adopting precisely the same measures to transmit it in the male, and not in the female, line. Thus among the Tlinkits of Alaska, while the poorer or lower classes are matrilinear in their reckoning of descent, the wealthier are patriarchal; they have become patricians. Similarly, in Dahomey the chiefs and land-owning aristocracy reckon descent in the paternal line, whereas the common people continue to reckon it in the maternal line.

The contest between the plebeians and patricians which occupies so considerable a place in early Roman history is not merely part of the eternal conflict between Disraeli's 'two nations,' the poor and the rich, but also a conflict between the two forms of organisation of human society, the primitive matriarchal order and the later patriarchal order, brought about by the development of property. The transition from the one to the other appears, then, to have taken place in Rome within almost historical times. The elder Cato refers in pretty clear terms to that legal establishment of male supremacy. "Our fathers," he says in his defence of the *Lex Oppia*, "have willed (*voluerunt*) that women should be in the power of their fathers, of their brothers, of their husbands. Remember all the laws by which our fathers have bound down the liberty of women, by which they have bent them to the power of men. As soon as they are our equals, they become our superiors." Cato knew what he was talking about, for he was the author of a book on "Roman Origins"; and he was defeated in the debate on the law by arguments drawn from his own book—"Tuas aduersus te 'Origines' reuoluum"; "I will refute you from your own book," he was told by Lucius Valerius.

Much as the loss of Cato's book is to be deplored, we know enough to be assured that it referred to a state of society

which hardly accorded with the patriarchal or patrician ideas of a later age. Plutarch represents Roman senators as scandalised at the notion of a woman raising her voice in their august assembly, but in the primitive age of 'Romulus and Tatius' women, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, were commonly in the habit of delivering lengthy orations in the Senate. Tacitus notes as a striking and characteristic peculiarity of the Germans that they insisted upon female hostages, but Porcenna did exactly the same thing in regard to the archaic Romans. Much in Roman cult survived from an earlier time which became incomprehensible; in the temple of Ceres, for instance, the names of male relatives were never pronounced, and in the rites of Mater Matuta it was the custom for Roman women to pray first for their sisters' children, that is, for the children of the maternal clan. The whole of Roman 'origins' is replete with the influence exercised by women. The Romans, observes one historian, "had a most remarkable predilection for ascribing to women the most important events in their history." Far from this being a 'predilection,' there are, on the contrary, pretty definite indications that the traditions of a matriarchal society were edited in the light of patriarchal ideas; nevertheless, they reflect a state of society in which the position of women was wholly different from that which they occupied in historical times. Of the story of Coriolanus, Mommsen remarks "through the whole story there runs a romantic, and tender tone, but, above all, a veneration of women, such perhaps as is not to be found anywhere in the same degree in the whole of ancient tradition." Vergil represents the Italic tribes as being led, in their resistance against the invader, by an unwedded queen, Camilla, high-priestess of Diana, who, though she has a brother living, reigns over the Volsci in her own right. He pictures the Latin Queen, Amata, as claiming as her due the privilege of choosing a husband for her daughter, that is, an heir to the throne, and as inciting not only Turnus, but the Latin women, to resist the nominee of her husband. She appeals, in addressing the women, to their 'maternal right.'

Horace recalls the time when Roman youths were wont to hew and carry wood "under the orders of a severe mother."

Patriarchal Roman marriage was deliberately instituted by the patricians to protect the interests of their caste. They did not recognise the marriage arrangements of the plebeians, and thus very much the same condition of things existed in early Rome as in those Polynesian islands where marriage, we are told, was confined to the propertied classes. The plebeians "did not know their own fathers," their sexual unions were regarded as little better than the promiscuous congress of animals. But not only did the patricians pour scorn on the marriages of the plebeians, they refused to allow them to adopt patrician marriage. It was a patrician privilege. And that privilege consisted in having a legal heir who should inherit from his father and not from his mother. The patricians did not allow the plebeians to use that juridic devise for the transmission of property, not to the clan to which it went under the old law, but to their heir, that is, to the family. The foundation of the patriarchal civil order was the foundation of the juridic family.

The Roman family rested on the notion of "patria potestas," that is, on the power of the father. The word 'family' comes from the Oscan 'famel,' a servant, or slave. The word 'father,' 'pater' (Sanskrit 'pithra') means owner, master, possessor. The Roman patrician, or 'pater familias' was thus literally 'an owner of slaves.' The juridic purpose of Roman marriage was the transference of the wife from the 'patria potestas' of her father to that of her husband, so that, in Roman law, the wife occupied the same position as regards her husband as she previously did as regards her father. She was technically her husband's 'daughter'—"filiae loco est." The marriage contract was thus necessary in order that a man should be absolute master of all who dwelt in his house; the previous rights of the wife's father over her had to be made over to the husband.

Such in theory was the juridic transaction effected by Roman marriage. In point of fact, owing to the original matri-

archal character of primitive Italic society and to the relatively sudden and artificial manner in which the change to patriarchal institutions had been brought about, women retained in Rome a dignity and privileges which were in strong contrast with those principles, and with their status in Greece. Compared with the Greek wife, the Roman matron was a free woman. Unlike the women of cultured and intellectual Greece, Roman girls received the same education as boys, and indeed in 'mixed schools.' There was no Oriental seclusion such as the Greeks had learned from their Eastern neighbours. The Roman woman was free to come and go as she liked. When her husband entertained friends not only was she not excluded, but she was expected to act as hostess. The Romans did not fail to note the contrast. "What Roman," exclaims Cornelius Nepos, "would be ashamed to bring his wife in to dinner, and who of us does not regard his mother as occupying the first place in the house and in his regard? They do things very differently in Greece, for a woman is never present at a dinner, unless it be among her own relatives, and she never sits down except in the internal apartments, which they call 'gynaiconitis,' and which no one but her own nearest relations may approach."

The social and legal position of women in Rome was thus marked by a strange combination of patriarchal institutions and matriarchal sentiment which is to be found nowhere else except in the Western European society which has evolved out of Roman civilisation. It is that peculiar combination which has in a large measure determined the position of women in the European social order.

Roman marriage was the last step but one in the evolution which has led to our own institutions and to our traditional conceptions. The next stage was the establishment of Christian marriage. The juridic Roman procedure for the conveyance of property was transformed by Christianity into a religious union, a sacrament, the consecration of the relation between the sexes. It was eventually imposed upon the northern barbarians who were destined to become the heirs

of Western culture. The Anglo-Saxon synod of 786 decreed "that the son of a meretricious union shall be debarred from legally inheriting, for, in accordance with the apostolic authority of holy decrees, we regard adulterine children as spurious . . . We command then, in order to avoid fornication, that every layman shall have one legitimate wife, and every woman one legitimate husband, in order that they may have and beget legitimate heirs according to God's law."

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

PATRIARCHAL marriage, the patriarchal family, and patriarchal moeality are features of our social organisation the development of which can be traced in the cultural history of human societies. They are, indeed, relatively late products of that social evolution. The view that they are primordial elements of all human societies from their earliest beginnings has naturally tended to be assumed in societies where those institutions and those principles have been regarded as sacred foundations of the social order. But the value of any human institution does not rest upon its being traceable to the natural dispositions of savage humanity, and the most valuable elements of our social heritage are the products of cultural development. Scientific thought has not, however, always been uninfluenced by the values laid down by social tradition. That influence is particularly liable to deflect judgment in those branches of historical enquiry which have that social tradition itself for their subject-matter. Hence many writers on social anthropology distinguished by great scholarship and industry have perceived no incongruity in transferring the origin of those features of our social organisation from cultural history to the operation of biological 'instincts.' The theory of organic evolution renders it necessary to trace what is not accounted for by cultural development to the reactional behaviour of animals. The patriarchal theory of social origins has thus been supported by the assumption of an imaginary natural history of animals and by quite fabulous accounts, in particular, of the habits of anthropoids. Both that social anthropology and that natural

history stand in much the same relation to the knowledge available to modern man as the mediæval conceptions of the universe supposed to rest upon data furnished by Hebrew Scriptures stood in relation to scientific astronomy.

The facts are plain. In no surviving lower stage of social culture are patriarchal marriage, the patriarchal family, or patriarchal morality to be found. Still less is any trace of them to be found among animals. The evidence may, I think, be claimed to be conclusive and irrefragable that the patriarchal form of marriage, in which the woman joins the family of her husband, has everywhere been preceded by usages according to which the men joined their wives, and the latter were never severed from their own homes and families. Such a relation is identical with that which obtains under the conditions of animal life, and it is therefore natural that it should have been the original behaviour of primitive humanity. The patriarchal form of marriage is not found in any stage of culture where the men are not able to acquire the right to remove women to their own home by means of a payment or barter. The development of the patriarchal features of civilised society is clearly traceable in social history. By what name we may choose to call the form of social organisation which has everywhere preceded the development of patriarchal institutions and traditions matters little. It is non-patriarchal. In it are not to be found any of the features which, in historical societies, constitute masculine predominance and which have excluded women from most of the functions and activities whereby civilised human culture has been built. In pre-patriarchal society, as among animals, the family-group does not consist of a mother and father, but of a mother and her offspring only. The father has no function in such a group beyond that of aggregating the female. His acknowledged relation to the maternal group, that is to say, what corresponds under those conditions to marriage, is defined by, and essentially confined to, that relation of paternity. It implies neither continued cohabitation, nor association, nor permanent duties towards either mother or offspring. The

mother, in whose charge are the children, continues in her natal group and forms no connection with that of the father. The group does not consist of a family formed round the authority or economic supremacy of the father, but consists of various generations of women associated with their brothers and uncles, and the kinship relations of the maternal clan are matrilineal. The economic privilege upon which the patriarchal family is founded does not exist. Economic production, fundable wealth, communal property are in the hands of the women and are transmitted through them.

Such a constitution of human society which has everywhere preceded the comparatively recent development of the forms more familiar to us, differs entirely from the latter. These have long been known as 'patriarchal.' Sir Henry Maine, in his work on *Ancient Law*, defines his purpose as being "to establish that view of the primeval condition of the human race which is known as the Patriarchal Theory. There is no doubt," he adds, "that this theory was originally based on the Scriptural History of the Hebrew patriarchs." That theory, which the facts of social history show to be as erroneous as the geocentric mediæval theory of the universe, is opposed by that founded upon those facts, and may accordingly be very properly called the Matrarchal Theory. Human society, according to that theory, was originally formed around the mother and not around the father.

The matrarchal theory of social origins, which regards patriarchal marriage, the patriarchal family, and patriarchal morality as products of social evolution and not as original biological constituents of human society, is independent of any estimate of the power, influence, or activity of women in primitive society. Mere abstract power or influence are difficult to estimate or to define exactly apart from the concrete foundations of that power or that influence. It is properly with the latter factors only that sociological science is competent to deal. In patriarchal society women have been to all intents completely excluded from social and cultural activities. That exclusion was founded upon the complete eco-

conomic monopoly of men. The factor is entirely absent from the matriarchal order of society. Neither is there such a thing in that form of organisation as a corresponding economic monopoly on the part of women. The position of women in matriarchal society is therefore free from the disabilities imposed upon them in patriarchal society. But, on the other hand, the coöperation, the division of labour between the sexes is much more closely observed in lower than in higher phases of social development.

The conditions in the former phases being entirely different from those obtaining in the more advanced stages of culture, the matriarchal theory of social origins bears only indirectly upon the doctrines of feminism. There can be no doubt that a large proportion of the secondary sexual characters, both psychical and physical, which have been set down as biological are in reality the effects of the operation of the social circumstances obtaining in a patriarchal order. At the same time it cannot be assumed that sexual differentiation is devoid of biological foundation. There is not in the lower phases of society the contrast between the physical and psychical capacities of men and women which is assumed as characteristic in patriarchal societies. But, as I have pointed out, it must be borne in mind that the spheres of activity which constitute the field of operation of masculine capacities in patriarchal civilisations, are likewise absent. All activities whatsoever are on a lower level of culture. The parts of nature and of culture have to be disentangled in regard to secondary sexual characters as in regard to all other human characters; in every instance each character is in part due to both. Women may be quite as capable as men to manage an intricate industrial concern or to make discoveries in science; but that capacity is not to be inferred from the ability of primitive woman to manage her household or to make pots. The matriarchal theory of social origins bears undoubtedly upon the claim of women to share in social and intellectual activities in a manner which has been denied to them by the organisation of patriarchal society, but it cannot

be adduced as a proof of any biological aptitude. The questions raised by the claims of feminism rest upon entirely different grounds. The practical lesson which the true history of the relations between the sexes does seem to point is that mutual coöperation between them and social equality are more conducive to the smooth working of social organisation than any form of sex antagonism.

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- all animals bite a lot
- 42 Tribe women love child more.
- 62 Tribe cons. dominates all other.
- 64?

179 Male society is late!

180 Mother based on equal.

(18) Carnivora wide as male on eat

74-75 Slow growth like G.H.

48 Bite during sex

76 No social contact out of Tribe Fight

(59) TRIBE stops development of TRIBE Ind.

80 They ~~are~~ Red Whale season huge

75 In breeding ~~are~~ not bad but good

43 Child sex

(144) Mother in law, man becomes slave

151 Family no like ours

152 Men + women live apart 153

(6) Men can nurse

165 women fight back hard

186 Percentage of Blat TRIBE

140 women do all work

202 Non-picked husbands

219 Many changes in view

222 open Set

236 No-one wants to finally not father

242 Pure - on to the di

243 Virtual male

244 Good account of sex life

260 Communist Set

275 Lloyd never got passed M.I.

292 Virginia Post

